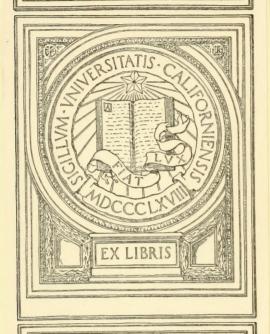


## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES



## GIFT OF

MR. ROBERT HUNTER

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## INDUSTRY

AND

## PROPERTY:

A Plea for Truth and Ibonesty in Economics, and for Liberty and Justice in Social Reform:

BEING A DISCUSSION OF PRESENT-DAY LABOUR PROBLEMS,
WITH PROPOSALS FOR THEIR SOLUTION, COUNSELS
TO EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED, AND WARNINGS TO
STATESMEN, POLITICIANS, AND SOCIAL
REFORMERS.

BY

## GEORGE BROOKS

(Lexophilus).

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR,
MELLS LODGE, HALESWORTH, SUFFOLK.

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## PROPERTY

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1936 2v. GW 10-1-36

BIFT OF Rebert Hunter

TO

#### THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

### The Earl of Wempss,

WHO HAS STEADFASTLY RESISTED THE INSIDIOUS ADVANCES INTO ENGLISH POLITICS OF IRRATIONAL AND DESTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM AND STRENUOUSLY UPHELD THE

SANCTITY OF PERSONAL FREEDOM AND THE SECURITY OF INDIVIDUAL PROPRIETORSHIP:

TO WHOSE FORESIGHT AND ENERGY THE MOVEMENT AGAINST SOCIALISTIC TYRANNY IN ENGLAND MAINLY OWES ITS INCEPTION AND GROWTH:

AND WHOSE KINDNESS OF HEART AND TRUE SYMPATHY WITH THE POOR ARE NOT LESS CONSPICUOUS TO THOSE WHO HAVE THE HONOUR OF HIS ACQUAINTANCE THAN HIS ZEAL FOR THOSE GREAT PRINCIPLES WHICH LIE AT THE BASIS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND OF NATIONAL

WELL-BEING.

#### This Work is Dedicated

AS A HUMBLE TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT

BY THE

AUTHOR.

### SYNOPSIS OF THE WORK.

EVERYWHERE throughout this work the following fundamental principles are either expressed or implied:

- I.—That the interference of the State with the conditions of Adult Male Labour, except for the protection of workmen from dangers to health and life, is unwise and injurious; the regulation of the hours and wages of such labourers being altogether outside and beyond the function of Government.
- 2.—That the tendency of a people to transfer to the shoulders of the State responsibilities which ought to be borne by the individual citizen is a sure symptom of national decay.
- 3.—That Capital has its rights no less than Labour; that Labour has its duties as well as Capital.
- 4.—That the first right of Labour is that it should be Free; while the first right of Capital is that it should be Secure.
- 5.—That both Capital and Labour have the right to combine their forces for legitimate ends; but that both should exercise this right in subordination to the higher rights of the community at large; and that any combination, either of Labour or Capital, which seeks to use its power for selfish and sectional ends, against the common weal, is illegitimate and reprehensible.
- 6.—That it is the inherent right of every labourer to dispose of his labour as he thinks fit, without coercion from others, and that correlatively every employer has the inherent right

to manage his business according to his own convictions, without dictation from outsiders.

- 7.—That Capital and Labour are inter-related and inter-dependent, and to some extent *identical*, inasmuch as Capital itself is Labour in another form, being that part of Labour which has been accumulated in the past to supply the needs of the present: that the capitalist is himself a labourer; that therefore, Capital and Labour cannot truly be antagonists, whose interests lie in divergent and opposing directions, but must always be allies and co-adjutors, whose fundamental and ultimate aims are the same, however much their immediate interests may appear to differ; and that, consequently, a state of war between them is unnatural and irrational.
- 8.—That Labour is the instrument which Capital (or past Labour) uses in the work of production.
- 9.—That wages consist of that portion of the profit of production which remains after interest and working expenses have been paid; which is paid out of the results of past Labour (or Capital); and which the workman contracts to receive as his full and final share of the results earned by the conjoined efforts of Labour and Capital.
- value to commodities, but only an effective demand for those commodities on the part of those who desire them.
- 11.—That an employer, whose interests are bound up with those of his workmen, is, on every principle of reason and common-sense, likely to prove a truer friend to those workmen than a professional agitator who has no interests in common with the workmen, and whose chief concern may be to serve himself by exploiting them.
- 12.—That Labour conflicts and strikes can be avoided only by the exercise of a large and tolerant spirit on the part of employers, and by the growth of an intelligent and reasonable temper among workmen.

#### BOOK I.

Recent Developments of the Labour Movement— Historical.

Chapter 1.—The Great Dock Strike.

- " 2.—Smaller Dock Strikes and Miscellaneous Trade Conflicts.
- ,, 3.—Railway and Omnibus Strikes.
- ,, 4.—Insubordination in the Public Services.
- ,, 5.—How Socialism is permeating our Literature, Legislation and Politics, and the Attitude of our Public Men in relation thereto.

#### BOOK II.

Proposed Legal and Political Solutions of Labour Problems; or the Relations of Politics and Law to Capital and Labour.

Chapter 1.—The Limitations of Law.

- ,, 2.—Recent Action of Parliament on Labour Questions,
- ., 3.—The Demand for an Eight Hours' Law.
- .. 4.—The Dangerous Consequences of Legal Interference with Contracts, Accumulations, and Exchanges.
- .. 5.—Manhood, not Law, the Great Desideratum.

#### BOOK III.

Proposed Revolutionary and Socialistic Solutions of Labour Problems; or the Relation of Democracy to Liberty and Property.

Chapter 1.—The Socialistic Spirit and Socialistic Systems.

- .. 2.—Socialistic Dreamers and their Delusions.
- ,, 3.-Warnings from History and Experience.
- ,, 4.—The True Socialism.
- ,. 5.—Grave Dangers Ahead, arising from the Timeserving Spirit of our Political Parties.

#### BOOK IV.

The True Solution of Labour Problems Economical and Moral; or the Wisdom of Profiting by Past Experience.

Chapter 1.—The Old Political Economy.

- ,, 2.—The New Political Economy.
- ,, 3.—Individualism the True Antidote to Socialism.
- " 4.—Combinations of Workmen and of Capitalists.
- ., 5.—The Application of the Christian Virtues to the Solution of the Industrial Problems of our Times.

Note.—For list of Subscribers, see the end of the book.



### PREFACE.

I CLAIM, not as a favour, but as a right, that this work should be judged in accordance with the limitations which I have perforce imposed upon myself in writing it. It is not designed to be a philosophical treatise on Political Economy. I do not pretend to have the qualifications necessary for producing such a treatise, and, even if I had such qualifications, the work has already been so well done by others that it would be merely a piece of conceit on my part to imagine that I could improve upon it. Nevertheless, it is hoped that such references to Political Economy as are made in this work will be in harmony with the teachings of its most eminent and authoritative expositors. The aim of the work is severely practical, and perhaps it is explained with sufficient clearness in the Synopsis.

I was impelled to undertake this work by a profound conviction of the importance of placing before the electors, and especially those of the working classes, a plain statement of the principles which lie at the basis of national prosperity, and even of civilisation itself. The signs of the times indicate that if we have not reached, we are at all events approaching, a crisis in our industry. There are forces at work which, if allowed to operate unchecked, will effectually compass the ruin of Great Britain as a manufacturing nation, simply because they are antagonistic to the Capital and energy and skill upon which our manufactures depend. Yet a considerable proportion of our working men have been

deluded into the belief that these destructive forces are really beneficent, and accordingly they hail them with delight as harbingers of their social salvation. To see multitudes of toiling men thus hugging to their hearts a fatal delusion, and straining all their energies in the pursuit of a phantom, is as pathetic a spectacle as that which moved the heart of Christ when He pityingly remarked that the common people of His time were "as sheep having no shepherd."

I say that I was "impelled" to undertake this work, and I use the term advisedly. The God who called me to preach the Gospel from the pulpit, has also called me to write this book—which, indeed, is but preaching the Gospel in another and a more comprehensive form. Of this I have no doubt whatever. Under this conviction I have written it; by this conviction I have been sustained amid many difficulties incident to the writing of such a book; and I send it forth in the full persuasion that it will tend to promote truth and righteousness, freedom and justice, and the cause of social progress in general.

It is quite likely that many of my critics will say that the work is written in the interests of capitalists. In one sense no doubt this is true, inasmuch as the interests of capitalists are the interests of commerce and industry. But I certainly am not a capitalist—nor a landowner—nor a monopolist. The only capital I possess consists in the brains and the health which God has been pleased to give me. I never possessed £500 in my life, and as my only chance of ever possessing that amount depends entirely upon the earnings of my pen, I fear it is an exceedingly remote one. So far am I from being connected with the capitalist classes that I am an agricultural labourer's son. At the age of nine I began to work in the fields of my native county of Lincoln: while my youth was spent as a factory operative in Oldham. When I left

the factory for the pulpit and the editorial chair, I only did what many others have done before me. The way is open still for others to do the same. There is no secret about it. Men who raise themselves from the working classes into the ranks of the professional or the wealthy classes do so by dint of their industry, perseverance, and integrity. But with such antecedents as these, is it probable that I can be lacking in sympathy, true sympathy, with the working classes? Among these classes are numbered many of my dearest friends. The companions of my youth are still farm labourers and factory operatives, and I have not less regard for them now than I had then.

Let not the reader infer from the last sentence but one that I am one of those who have risen from poverty to wealth. On the contrary, I am in many respects less well off than when I worked for weekly wages, the main difference betwint the two positions being that I now have to work harder and longer, and to endure much more anxiety and fatigue, than I did in the old days of manual toil; while at the same time the duties and responsibilities pressing upon me are more numerous and heavy. This very work has been written to the accompaniment of the howls of the wolf at the door. This is not pleasant music: but it sometimes sharpens one's wits. The wolf has more than once got his nose inside, gnashed his teeth in fury, and howled triumphantly in anticipation of the feast which he now regarded as indubitably his own, to the no little dismay of those whom he intended to make his victims. While the Wolf of Hunger has howled at the door of my dwelling, the Angel of Death has hovered above it. Yet, by God's good providence, the growling and grinning monster has been driven back disappointed; and, in the words of St. Paul the great Apostle: "Having obtained help of God, I continue unto this day." This reference to

my position is not made from any vulgar desire to parade my circumstances before the public eye, still less with a view to drawing forth the sympathies of the charitable (though I confess that if any man or woman should, for my work's sake, desire to help me, I could accept such an expression of sympathy without feeling any more degraded than does a man who accepts a pension from the Stateespecially if it should be the case that he had done nothing to earn or to deserve it); it is on the contrary made with great reluctance, and purely from a desire to emphasize the fact that I am still, though in a different station of life, a poor man, and therefore not pre-disposed to be lacking in sympathy with the poorer classes or to take the side of the rich against them. Whatever else my critics may say about me, they cannot say that I am an aristocrat, or a plutocrat, or a capitalist; they cannot deny that I am the son of my father, who was an agricultural labourer, or that I myself have, in the most literal sense, gone "through the mill." I am a poor man pleading for poor men; if in defending the interests of the poor I defend those of the rich also, it is because the interests of rich and poor are in the nature of things, and by the design of Providence, inseparably bound up together.

If some of the things which I have felt it my duty to say respecting working men seem a little severe, I can only say that I have in every instance conscientiously spoken the truth according to the facts and the circumstances under discussion, and that I have spoken it with a sincere desire to promote the interests of men for whom, as a class, I have a very high and sincere respect, and with whom I am allied by ties of birth and early experience. The best friend of the working classes is the man who tells them the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; who points out to

them the results which will inevitably flow from a given course of conduct; who warns them against ignorant or fanatical teachers and against false friends; and who logically demonstrates that they are flying in the face of their own interests if they allow themselves to be beguiled by the specious pretensions of an impracticable Socialism.

No: this work is not written in the interests of capitalists as such: it is written in the interests of both Labour and Capital, of both employers and employed, of the poor as well as of the rich-in short, in the interests of all classes of the nation; in other words, it is written purely in the interests of economic truth. Where true economical doctrines are believed and practised Liberty will thrive, and its hand-maid, Prosperity, like a good angel, will attend the steps of every citizen and march side by side with the nation as the Guardian of its life and its glory; there the State will be free, and every man in it free also, and whatever inequalities may exist will be such as were designed to exist by the wise Creator Himself, and are therefore really in the interests of mankind in general, and not least in the interests of those who are most disposed to chafe under them; there beneficent and constructive forces will attain their highest energy and efficacy, and will succeed in developing the most perfect type of civilization. Of nations, no less than of individuals, it is profoundly true that they are made free and strong and great by the truth. As a contribution to economic truth, to constructive social reform, and to national progress, this work is sent forth, and it is submitted with hope and confidence, and not without some degree of anxiety also, to the judgment of the British public.

Mells Lodge, Halesworth, Suffolk. June 1, 1892.



## INTRODUCTION.

DEMOCRATIC government threatens to assume the same relation towards Despotic government as was assumed by the rule of Rehoboam towards that of his father and predecessor. After Solomon's death certain discontented persons complained to his son in these terms: "Thy father made our yoke grievous; now therefore ease somewhat the grievous servitude of thy father, and his heavy yoke that he put upon us, and we will serve thee." Rehoboam's reply was: "My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. For whereas my father put a heavy voke upon you, I will put more to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." The change from a heavy yoke to a heavier, from whips to scorpions, marks the change from the absolutism of an individual, or of a class, to the absolutism of the impulsive and uninstructed multitude. Democracy has succeeded Monarchy and Aristocracy; for though these still exist they are no longer effective forces of government; the more's the pity! The thought, the reason, the intelligence, the wealth, the commerce, the vital interests of the nation, material and moral, wait upon Demos and say: "Thy predecessors made our yoke grievous; now therefore ease thou somewhat the grievous servitude of thy predecessors, and the heavy yoke that they put upon us, and we will serve thee. We have awaited thy coming, O Demos, with large hopes; we have hailed thy advent with great joy, as an oppressed people hail a Deliverer; now therefore let our desires be fulfilled and our emancipation accomplished." And Demos, elated with his triumph, intoxicated with dreams of yet larger success, proud of his achievements in humbling a mighty nation and bringing it to its knees, and strong in his

consciousness of security, knits his brows and replies, haughtily: "My little finger shall be thicker than my predecessors' loins. For whereas they put a heavy yoke upon you, I will put more to your yoke; they chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." And, judging from the beginning he has made, the arch-Tyrant will be

as good as his word.

Democracy is rapidly developing into a general and formidable attack upon property, and not only upon property. but upon that which is even more precious-liberty; the weapons used being platform incendiarism, the unscrupulous and illegal and immoral use of the power of combination, the boycott, intimidation, and the ballot box. In other words Democracy is avowing and revealing itself to be the enemy of all who possess anything beyond their brains and hands and the clothes they stand in. And as in every country the majority are poor (the Havenots), it follows that when they are empowered to coerce the minority (the Haves), whether under the forms of law and order or otherwise, they are likely to use their political privileges as a means of gratifying their selfish propensities: so that Democratic government will be virtually synonymous with sordid greed, malignant envy, furious hatred, and mad revenge, all directed against those who are guilty of the aristocratic crime of possessing property. Democracy may be shortly defined as the struggle of the Have-nots to become the Haves. This is a state of things which is fraught with deadly peril to any civilized community. We are now face to face with it in this country—as they are face to face with it in France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Spain and Italy, and as they are face to face with it in the United States-though it is a more serious danger for us than for them, because we have no Written Constitution and no Supreme Court to enforce it.\*

<sup>\*</sup>The Marquis of Salisbury, speaking at Edinburgh on Nov. 23, 1882, said: "I confess I do not often envy the United States, but there is one feature in their institutions which appears to me the subject of the greatest envy—the magnifi-

With the tyranny of kings, aristocracies, and Parliaments we have dealt, and dealt effectually; but how are we going to deal with the more portentous and monstrous tyranny of Democracy, so galling and grinding, so pervading and hydra-headed? That is the problem which we have now to face, though all our statesmen, Tory and Liberal alike, seem to be engaged in shutting their eyes to it as hard as ever they can. It seems to be so much more congenial to them to bury their heads in the sand heaps (or mud heaps) of sensational political controversy than to clear their evesight, uplift themselves erect, and look straight ahead at the battalions which are marching down upon us. Yet they are supposed to be the nation's guardians and watchmen, as wel as guides. Solemn and awful is their responsibility. To them the nation may say: "If the watchman see the sword come and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand."

That section of the community which ranges itself under the banner of Labour, as if it loved labour for its own sake, appreciated its dignity, and gloried in its practice more than other classes of the community (none of which things is true), is up in arms all along the line, not in defence of that which alone properly belongs to it—the ability to labour, but in aggression upon the property of others, which is the cumulative result either of their labour or of that of their fathers. As a natural corollary those classes which march under the banner of Capital are up in arms too. The forces

cent institution of a Supreme Court. In the United States, if Parliament passes any measure inconsistent with the constitution of the country, there exists a court which will negative it at once, and that gives a stability to the institutions of the country, which, under the system of vague and mysterious promises here, we look for in vain. Again, in a more recent speech, Lord Salisbury says: "The Americans, as you know, have a Senate. I wish we could institute it in this country. Marvellous in efficiency and strength!" The Senate was designed by Hamilton to be a check both on the monarchical ambition of the President and on the democratic lawlessness of the House or the people. Its powers are chiefly of a negative character.

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are joined in battle array. It is a lamentable state of affairs, but it seems to be a stage necessary in and to the evolution of a commercial society, and it will work for ultimate good if it is wisely and firmly dealt with at the outset. Anyhow, it is a state of things for which Capital is not responsible, and from which, in the long run, it has nothing to fear.

What may be called the first great pitched battle betwixt the two forces under the new conditions took place about a year and a half ago, and a fierce and obstinate conflict it was. In the Dock strike the forces of the Socialistic "New Unionism" measured themselves for the first time against the forces of the Old Individualism. The former gained the victory for the moment, not by virtue of its own prowess or the merits of its own cause, but by reason of the illegitimate support of outsiders. It was a Pyrrhic victory, however, for which the dockers and the community generally have suffered ever since, as I will presently more fully show. Perhaps the most disastrous consequence of the Dock strike, as regards the working classes, was that it swelled the heads of the leaders of the "New Unionism" to such a size that they have never assumed normal dimensions since.

The serious and far-reaching effects of the Dock strike have never yet been properly estimated by the nation at large. "The new Trades Unionism," which may be said to have been brought to the birth during the throes of that conflict. constitutes the most formidable danger to our trade and commerce, to both Capital and Labour, with which we have ever had to deal in this country. Socialistic in its character, it aims at despoiling both landowners and capitalists of their property, and transferring the said property to the State without compensation to its present possessor, by inducing the Have-nots to combine their votes for selfish purposes. That is its ultimate purpose; but for the present it confines itself to individual corporations or firms of employers, with the view of coercing them into granting the extravagant demands of "labour"; and if they refuse to obey these industrial dictators, and resist their coercion, the whole machinery of the "New Unionism" is brought into play against the employer, with the deliberate intention of crippling or crushing him. Brutal violence, illegal intimidation, dishonest violation of contracts, boycotting and outrage, are all used in order to force the employer to yield. The liberties of the employer and of those who are willing to continue in his employment, although they are guaranteed to them by the law, are trampled under foot by mobs of strikers (led by men who never need to strike because they never work), and the authorities who ought to execute and vindicate the law too often stand idly by while legality is defied and illegality deified. To talk of "the liberty of the subject," or of justice being the inalienable right of every citizen, has been the merest mockery during the last two years wherever a strike has taken place on a large scale.

The Dock directors were first singled out for attack, and they succumbed, owing, firstly, to the supineness of the Home Office authorities, who denied to the directors and to their loyal servants the protection to which they were entitled by law; and secondly, to the misplaced and mischievous sympathy of the public with the strikers. The leaders of the strike found their occupation too profitable to be abandoned, and so they proceeded to make it permanent by creating labour agitations and strikes all over the country. A spirit of social envy and strife had been engendered, of which they were able to take advantage to serve their own ends. The results have been seen in the various local conflicts which have taken place between Capital and Labour, and in the general uneasiness which prevails all over the country. Railwaymen, sailors, gas-stokers, coal-miners, policemen, postmen have all in turn come under the dangerous influence of the Radical-Socialist demagogue, and in all these classes, to the dishonour of the British workman be it said, there have been found men who were willing to act as the instruments of agitators whose aim is to coerce capitalists through the community, their calculation being that if the community can only be terrorised sufficiently, and subjected to inconvenience,

loss, and peril for a few weeks, it will turn upon the capitalists and rend them. The policy of these industrial monsters is to paralyse society by bringing about a general and simultaneous strike in those industries upon which the very existence of society depends. So far their villainous calculation has been only too well justified, for a considerable proportion of our millions of "mostly fools" have justified their designation by walking into the trap laid for them by the Socialist firebrands, while multitudes of our working men have disgraced themselves and their class by the eagerness with which they have become the dupes and tools of those enemies of society who are no whit less dangerous than Anarchists, Nihilists, and Dynamiters.

Since the Dock strike occurred there has been a perfect epidemic of strikes, large and small, all over the country, and nearly all of them have been instigated by the "New Unionism." Most of them have virtually failed, although in every case the characteristic methods, both illegal and wicked, of the "New Unionism" have been brought into operation. We have seen large and flourishing towns temporarily given over to mob violence, and, what is even worse, we have seen the authorities of such towns temporising and negotiating with lawless agitators, who represented nobody but themselves and the lowest dregs of the population. Even worse yet, we have seen the municipal authorities of at least one of our largest towns capitulate most ignominiously to a violent body of their own workmen, who had not only placed their town in darkness, but had resorted to the most despicable and cowardly outrages in order to prevent other men doing the work which they had refused to do. Events such as these may well fill the minds of thoughtful and patriotic men with concern, and suggest forebodings of the most gloomy character as to whether it is possible to preserve law and order, and to administer justice sternly and impartially in a democratic community where the Government is absolutely at the mercy of a chance vote of the majority.

Railway directors and shipowners have, on the whole,

courageously resisted the attacks which have been made upon them by the Radical-Socialistic New Unionists, and they have thereby earned the thanks of the nation. The shipowners have taken vigorous measures, and have formed themselves into a defensive combination, the Shipping Federation, which can promptly crush any strike; for if the worst comes to the worst they are prepared to lay up their ships for months or even years. This organization will be more fully treated of in the following pages. Meanwhile, the example of the shipowners in forming themselves into a combination so compact and invulnerable, whose motto is "Defence, not Defiance," may be commended to other bodies of employers, especially to railway companies. The Railway strike in Scotland, which was commenced just before the Christmas of 1800 was, next to the Dock strike, the most serious industrial battle of recent years. The facts relating to it will be found fully set forth in the succeeding pages, and a careful perusal of those facts will afford ample proof of the truth of the declaration that the object of the "New Unionism" is to make open war upon society for the sake of carrying out its malignant purposes. During this strike teachings of the most wicked and abominable character were persistently poured into the minds of the men by blatant agitators of the new type; boycotting and intimidation were resorted to, and in short every species of illegality and immorality that could be made to serve the turn of the strikers was daringly and unscrupulously employed. For these doctrines and practices Trades Unionism must be held responsible; they are its offspring, they exemplify its spirit, and they are used to accomplish its ends. It is amazing that a strike so commenced and conducted should have been supported for a single day by hard-headed Scotsmen, still more amazing that those Scotsmen did not drive from the platform the agitators who insulted them by advising them to "ca canny" (i.e., scamp and spoil their work, idle away half their time, and yet take a full day's pay for it), urging them to maltreat peaceable free workmen, and inciting them to break the law; and most amazing

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of all that any portion of the public should be so utterly idiotic as to give support to strikers who are virtually making war upon society itself. The only hopeful sign is that Trade Union leaders of the more reputable type, such as Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Howell, Mr. Burt, and Mr. Fenwick have hitherto held aloof from the "New Unionism." But we have seen how the tail wagged the head in Scotland, and we may conclude with certainty that such men as those just referred to will either be dragged into the vortex of Socialistic Unionism or drummed out of Unionism altogether. The Trades Union Congress of 1890 was virtually dominated by the new school of Unionists, and the last Congress was entirely captured by them.

Ample evidence will be adduced in the course of this work as to the nature and magnitude of the economic and social calamities which seriously threaten us, and as to the duty of all good citizens to bestir themselves in defence of the oldfashioned and fundamental principles of the sanctity of individual freedom and of the inviolability of established rights of ownership which underlie all civilization, and which have made England the mighty nation she is. Working men especially need to be on their guard against the advance of the destructive principles which are now being so loudly and widely promulgated. The political power of the working classes is now very great: their responsibility for the way in which they use that power is also great in proportion. Their votes may, if given under the influence of ignorance or envy, not only wreck their own fortunes but may also ruin the commercial prosperity and primacy of Great Britain. Were this to be accomplished, working men would themselves be the first to suffer, ave, and the last to suffer too, for they would be compelled to remain in the country, then ruined and desolate, whilst those who possessed wealth could betake themselves to other lands and actually suffer very little loss or inconvenience. The whole fabric of our civilization depends upon life and property being made and kept secure, and upon every citizen being able to rely upon the law for

that security. Once take away that assurance from the citizen, and he will take his own measures for defending his life and his property, and for resisting to the death those who seek to deprive him of them. This, of course, would mean that we should at one bound be plunged into the abyssof anarchy. Demagogues, with their usual short-sightedness, are seeking to convince the uninstructed masses that this is a question which primarily affects the rich, and that the poor have very little concern in it at all. Precisely the opposite of this is the actual fact. The rich, who possess the greater part of the land and capital of the country, can always hold their own, even where anarchy prevails. But can the same be said of the poor? Undoubtedly not. Under such a condition of things they would be a hundredfold worse off than they are to-day. That the condition of the poor is in many respects lamentable is not to be denied: and that every political and social reformer should endeavour to better their condition by legislation—as far as the problem can be dealt with by law—and still more by moral agencies, is a proposition equally indisputable. It is not to be overlooked, however, that many even of the poorest of the poor are merely suffering the consequences of their own improvidence, intemperance, or indolence. These ne'er-do-weels of society would be pretty much what they are under any conceivable condition of things. And as for that other large class of the abject poor, who are honest, and thrifty, and sober, who struggle earnestly from day to day to secure work and the subsistence which work brings, who are really the most deserving of sympathy and help because they suffer in silence, making no attempt to advertise their woes, and who would rather die than resort to such infamous practices as have been perpetrated in Ireland with the concurrence and sympathy of whole neighbourhoods; even of this class it can at least be said that they live in a country where they enjoy unmolested every civil right of citizenship; where they have absolute religious freedom, where they are free to make the best of their capacities and opportunities, and to rise

from the lowest to the highest ranks; and where every man's house is his castle-or a sanctuary-which not even the greatest in the land dare to violate or invade. Whatever may be the needs and woes of the working classes in this country they are far and away better off than the same class in any other country on the face of the earth. advantages which they now enjoy would disappear, as if by magic, if Irish Communists, English Nihilists, and Radical Destructives could once get the upper hand. The best friends of the working-classes are those who endeavour to attract to this country, and to retain in it, the Capital which is so offensive to the new Radicals in the abstract-though not one of them has any objection to possess as many thousands of pounds as any "bloated aristocrat" or "coldblooded monopolist" in the world,—but which furnishes employment to our industrial millions; who are seeking to bring about such changes in our Land Laws as will leave the landlord undisturbed in the possession of his property, whilst securing to the tenant the full fruit of his labour in the soil; and who are endeavouring to convince the people that they must look rather to education, to the control of appetite, to industry, and to prudence, than to legislation, for the improvement of their condition. This is emphatically a poor man's question, and the men who are fighting the poor man's battle are the men who are seeking to conserve the laws and institutions on which the comfort and prosperity of rich and poor alike depend.

The great Dock strike furnished a remarkable and impressive illustration of the truth of what has been said with regard to the dangers which are now threatening society in this country. Whatever genuine grievances some of the dock labourers may have had, there can be no doubt that the strike owed its origin to the action of men who were both Socialists and Anarchists, and whose deliberate purpose is to wage war upon Capital in every form. In one sense this strike was an outgrowth of the Parnell movement (as will be more fully demonstrated in the body of this work). Just

as the Irish peasant has been taught to regard the landlord as his hereditary foe, so British working men have been taught to look upon the capitalist as their most deadly enemy. In addition to the dangerous doctrines which have been instilled into the minds of the masses in our large cities by means of revolutionary speakers and unprincipled journals (who are reproducing here all the vicious and corrupt elements of the American Press), the working classes have had presented before their eyes an object lesson of the most pernicious character in Ireland; they have seen the Irish landlord despoiled of property which he held by as good a Parliamentary title as that by which the millionaire holds his consols or bank or railway shares; and they have seen this property taken from the landlord and given to the tenant by the arbitrary action of a Parliamentary majority, mainly in order that certain men might secure office. What is good for the Irish landlord is also good for the English capitalist. If one can be despoiled by the votes of ignorant masses, and by the capricious action of a Parliamentary majority, why not the other also? So the dock labourers and multitudes of the working classes have reasoned, and their logic is not so far astray as might at first sight appear. When a British political party, once great and honoured, can ally itself with such a predatory movement as Parnellism, ignorant labourers may be forgiven if they imagine that they may safely act upon the principles which have received the countenance and the support of the "Liberal Party" and its leaders. Industrial war, ferocious envy of the rich, base ingratitude and malignant enmity towards employers, are some of the first fruits of Parnellism in Great Britain. What its ultimate results might be, were it not sternly checked, it is impossible to say. Everything that is most precious, most useful, and most attractive in our social system is threatened by this immoral Socialistic agitation.

As one who has himself sprung from the labouring classes, and who has their interests at heart, the writer exhorts working men with all the earnestness that he can command

to abjure the Communistic and Socialistic teachings which they are now being invited to accept, to turn a deaf ear to the evil counsels of designing men, who, although they may have once been bona fide working men, have now degenerated into professional agitators, and whose chief concern is to stir up and to maintain strife between employers and employed, and who may be safely trusted to resist any attempt to promote a good understanding between these two classes, for the simple reason that if such understanding existed their occupation would be gone.

The writer freely admits, however, that it is not from the working classes, nor even from their "leaders," that the perils which now threaten society draw their vitality. Even agitators and demagogues are comparatively harmless while they are left to themselves. Working within their own sphere, upon their own plane, and among their own equals, they may be left to do their worst without any undue anxiety. It is when they are taken up and patted on the back by rich and aristocratic patrons, and petted by sentimental people who have more money than brains, that they become really dangerous. For they thereby acquire a standing and an influence, as well as substantial means for carrying out their designs, which they could never have obtained without the countenance and the support of those outside and above their own class.

Among the many strange things which we have witnessed in this country of late, there has been none more strange than the spectacle of Marquises, Earls, Barons, Baronets, Knights, and M.P.s hobnobbing with avowed Socialists and Communists who are at war with society and with civilization, and whose principles, if carried out, would produce a revolution amid which not only the Monarchy and the Nobility, but also industry, commerce, and even freedom itself, would all be ruthlessly destroyed. To be sure these titled and wealthy personages have usually some personal end to serve, and wish to use their Socialistic "comrades" merely as instruments to attain that end. Probably, too,

they would, if necessity arose for doing so, cast away these singular companions as easily and as rapidly as they took them up. But in the meantime incalculable mischief will have been done. By the names and reputations of these noblemen thousands of people have been, and thousands more will yet be, deluded into the belief that the fire-brands whom they thus patronize are not only harmless but are actually promoting the best interests of the community. It is considered immoral for an influential man to lend his name to a fraudulent public company, and thereby to induce honest but uninformed people to put their money into a rotten concern. Is it not a graver crime still for such a man to allow his name to head a list of Socialistic conspirators, and thus to encourage the belief that this conspiracy is nothing more than a wholesome social reform movement, whereas it is in reality a most virulent and poisonous disease which will blight and consume the vitals, and even the very structure, of civilized society? Certain peers and politicians who might be named, have, by coquetting with Nihilistic Socialism, incurred a heavy responsibility towards the nation, and in the stormy times which are coming upon us the nation will not fail to bring this responsibility home to them and to exact from them a fitting retribution.

During the progress of this work the writer has been at some pains to elicit the opinions of all classes of men upon the subjects which are discussed therein. The Synopsis of the work was submitted to representative men of all parties, who were invited to express their views upon it, and in this way the writer was able to obtain an insight into the minds of many of the most eminent and influential men in the kingdom. The result, while in some respects encouraging, has on the whole been to intensify and deepen his sense of the perils which now menace the highest interests of the nation, not so much from Trade Unions and their Bosses, or even from Socialistic conspiracies and conspirators, as from the more exalted personages who flatter and feed these organizations and their leaders. Without mentioning the

names, or even indicating the politics, of some of the most eminent patrons of Radical-Socialism who have favoured him with their views, the author appends a few of their expressions of opinion, which may be useful as indicating what is passing in the minds of certain men of rank and wealth who are anxious to use the "Labour Vote" as a means of gratifying their own ambitions.

One gentleman, a Baronet, wrote in the following terms:

"I do not believe that landlords and capitalists are the true friends of the working classes, they have ever acted a selfish part and have endeavoured to keep them 'in that state of life in which it hath pleased God to call them.' The working man can only elevate himself by union with his fellows, and as I desire to see the great bulk of the people in the enjoyment of greater comforts and more opportunities for self-improvement, I cannot subscribe for a work which is intended to influence them in the direction of reliance upon those who, in the main, do not seek their advancement towards a higher life and a nearer equality."

#### In replying to this letter the writer said:

"I am surprised that you should express the view that land owners and capitalists are not the true friends of the working classes, the more so as I have always understood that you are a capitalist yourself . . . . in the sense that you live upon the proceeds of Capital. Your case, therefore, proves that a capitalist is not necessarily unfriendly towards the labouring classes. If this be true of you, why not also of others who are in a similar position?

"It seems to me to be a most unjust assertion that landowners and capitalists 'have ever acted a selfish part and have endeavoured to keep down' the working classes. They have never tried to keep me down; they have been much more ready to help me up than have some men who have started with nothing and have accumulated wealth. My own experience upon this point seems to me to be more conclusive than any dictum whatsoever.

"I share your desire to see 'the great bulk of the people in the enjoyment of greater comforts and more opportunities for self-improvement.' But how are they most likely to obtain these benefits? By treating their employers as their natural enemies, making war upon them, and subjecting them to annoyance and loss, or by regarding their employers as their best friends, whose interests are really identical with their own? I think in the latter way. I regret that a man in your position should seem to prefer the former one.

"I have nothing to say against your view that the working man should elevate himself, if he can, 'by union with his fellows,' though I dissent from your opinion that 'the working man can only elevate himself by union with his fellows.' I was a working man myself once, and I elevated myself by quite other means. Union among working men for the purpose of elevating themselves, is, however, one thing; union among them for the purpose of ruining their employers and inflicting injury and loss upon the community is a totally different thing. I regret that you can give any countenance to that destructive force the 'New Unionism, which is one of the greatest curses of our time."

A second gentleman, also a Baronet (who by-the-by has the reputation of driving his workmen, and of having a keen eye to the main chance), wrote in these terms:

"I do not sympathise with your object. The dangers you are fearing are very much exaggerated. I have been an employer of labour for 35 years, and am glad to say in the course of that period, although I have had one or two serious contentions, I have got on very well with work-people. I am sorry to see, that sprung from the working-classes your-self, you are siding with such men as Lord ——, and Lord ——. against their interests."

In replying to this gentleman the writer said:

"If your experience with working men had been among dock labourers who had been incited by Socialistic demagogues to hate all capitalists, instead of with intelligent artisans, it might have been very cifferent. But what is now going on at ——— shows that the contagion is spreading to your neighbourhood.

"You are good enough to express your regret that I, having sprung from the working classes, should now be 'siding with such men as Lord—and Lord—against their interests." I have yet to learn what these two noblemen have done or tried to do against the interests of the working classes. I do not think it any reproach to stand by their side in defence of the interests of Capital, which, in the long run, will be found to be co-incident with the interests of Labour. I regret that a capitalist like yourself can give any countenance to teachings which, while they tend to injure all classes, will in the end inflict more suffering upon the masses who labour with their hands than upon anybody else besides."

A third gentleman, who expressed his agreement with the author's view "that dangers of an Imperial kind underlie many of the popular Socialistic labour doctrines of the moment," and who welcomed "a wholesome protest against such doctrines," nevertheless considered that the Synopsis of this work was "in many points arbitrary and one-sided," and added:

"Whilst sympathising with the general drift of your argument, I think you should have left room for the play of new Social Forces which, whether we like it or not, are certain to develop. Thus it is a question of guiding these forces rather than suppressing them."

In replying to this the writer expressed his regret that the points in which his Synopsis was deemed to be "arbitrary and one-sided" had not been specified, and said that as his only anxiety was to learn and state the truth, he would be exceedingly grateful to any person who would undertake to show him where he was in error. He proceeded thus:—

"You further intimated that you think I 'should have left room for the play of new Social Forces,' which have come to stay, and which require to be guided rather than suppressed. There, again, I wish you could have specified the particular Social Forces which you have in your mind. If they are described by and embodied in the new Trade Unionism, then I do not think they are new, neither do I think that they are certain to develop. These are old ideas and forces which have re-appeared in new forms, and which have been exploded and defeated over and over again. Nowhere has the New Unionism been so thoroughly defeated and discredited as in the United States.

"I am sure you will admit that forces which are in their nature unjust ought to be suppressed rather than guided. Now, I think these new forces are essentially unjust. Let me illustrate my meaning. The dock labourers, the Scottish railway men, and the Welsh miners, not only struck work, but they determined not to permit anybody else to work, and thus endeavoured both to injure the property of their employers and to destroy the liberty of their fellow workmen. Such combinations against employers on the one hand, and against non-union workmen on the other hand, are flagrantly unjust. Take again the case of a tradesman who declines to close his shop at certain times because others do so—say Mr. Haile, of Harrow-road; because he declines to do this at the dictation of the Shop Assistants' Association, crowds assemble round his premises, handbills are distributed imploring his customers not to deal with him, and other similar tactics are resorted to.

"Surely such new forces as these require to be suppressed rather than guided, for they are incompatible with the first principles of a free civilization. If such machinery were brought into operation against you in the conduct of your business. I think you would take my view of it. Let working men strive to improve their condition by all means, but they must do it without entrenching upon the liberties or damaging the possessions of other people. After all, working men are not the only people who have to be considered. They may have a majority of votes; but all the votes in the world cannot repeal God's moral laws or make two and two any thing else than four."

#### A third Baronet wrote:

"I think your Synopsis is clearly and temperately expressed, but it hardly seems to me in touch with the present circumstances. I have for some time felt that the old Political Economy must be modified by Social Economy; the happiness of family life being more essential than the production of wealth."

From this gentleman the writer desired to know how the laws of Political Economy could ever be modified by Social Economy, for example: How any Social Economy could ever so far modify the law of supply and demand as to make commodities, including labour, dear where they were superabundant, or cheap where they were abnormally scarce? The only reply vouchsafed to him was that the principles of Political Economy, as hitherto understood, could not be admitted to be Laws of Nature, though no doubt demand and supply were facts which had to be taken into account; and further that—"The world is not governed by logic, however clear." Alas! The truth of the latter observation is only too obvious. Logic, or, in other words, reason, is the last thing that is allowed to have any influence over the ideas or the conduct of our new Social "Reformers."

Another gentleman, who is the son of a Peer and is moreover associated with a large capitalistic undertaking, wrote thus:

"I do not agree about the Socialistic tendencies of the late movements in the labour world. I believe if all workmen were members of a Union, agricultural and others, they would be better off and happier in their relations towards their employers."

In reply to this gentleman the writer said:

"It is no part of my purpose in my forthcoming book to attack

ordinary Trades' Unions. These Unions may, or may not, be as beneficial to the working classes as their friends hold them to be. This is a matter upon which I am indifferent. If a Trades' Union attends to its own proper business, and attempts no dictation to employers and no coercion of workmen, then I think it may safely be left to go its own way and to do its own work, and if a workmen wishes to join such a Union he has of course a perfect right to do so.

"I should, however, be glad to hear from any earnest supporter of Trades Unions what can be said in their behalf. Personally I doubt whether they have ever done much good, except in so far as they have been benefit societies for the relief of the sick and the aged; though I think not many Unions are benefit societies in this sense. I know it is claimed for the Unions that they have raised wages; but as far as I can understand the matter, no Union can raise wages for very long in defiance of the laws of supply and demand. Where labourers are many, wages will be low, whatever Unions may do; where they are few, wages will be high, even if no Union exists at all.

There is not, however, any analogy between the old Trades Unions and the new ones. These latter make it their leading aim to deprive both the employer and the workman of the freedom to which he is justly entitled. They seek to dictate to the employer on what terms he shall conduct his business, while they use violence to prevent the workman from working as he likes, when he likes, and for whom and for what he likes. Now, I hold these objects to be absolutely illegitimate and immoral, and I think every man who values the liberty which has made England what she is ought to fight this bastard Trades' Unionism to the death. If these Unions were to succeed in their purposes, both the security of Capital and the freedom of industry would be destroyed, and these once destroyed we may say a long farewell to England's commercial and political greatness. This 'New Unionism' will receive no quarter at my hands.

"I should be pleased to have your frank criticisms upon the Synopsis of my book. My only anxiety is to learn the truth and follow it. And if you can point out where I am in error I shall take it as a favour.

"I cannot but regret that a gentleman in your position should have any sympathy at all with the nebulous semi-Socialistic ideas which are floating in the air, and which I believe to be as dangerous as they are impracticable. However, when I discover that men like you are in sympathy with these ideas, I am simply stimulated to redouble my efforts in opposition to doctrines and practices which I believe to be inimical to the highest and soundest interests of our native land."

The Omnibus strike had just taken place in London, and this gentleman was asked what he thought of the destruction of the Omnibus Company's property and the coercion of their men. He replied that he did not think any worse of the uneducated men who had committed these outrages than he did of the educated men who refused to give their men a twelve-hour day until they forced them to strike for it, and then conceded it in twenty-four hours. In a further letter the writer said to this gentleman:

"In my letter I asked you what you thought of the wanton destruction of property by omnibasmen, and also of the gross coercion and intimidation which certain Unionists exercise upon their fellow workmen, who merely wish to be let alone and to pursue their work in peace. The latter point you ignore altogether; while as to the former you virtually palliate the lawlessness and the violence of men who perfectly well know what they are about, on the ground that they are ignorant. If they are so ignorant as not to know what respect is due to the law and to other people's property, obviously they are too ignorant to be entrusted with such powers as they are now seeking. You also state that the actions of these ignorant men are much less reprehensible than the conduct of their educated masters in working them for sixteen hours a day. You will perhaps torgive me if I say that there is a vast deal of moddle headed sentimentality abroad as regards this question of hours et. You, and a few other gentlemen of wealth and position who talk in this strain, would no doubt think it very harsh if you were called oppressors, slave drivers, etc., because you worked your cooks, conchmen. grooms, and other servants sixteen hours a day; and you would think vourself very badly treated if all these servants formed a union and struck for twelve hours, and at the same time prevented anybody else. from doing for you the services which they had been accustomed to do, and also destroyed your property, unless their terms were conceded. This is a perfectly analogous case. Private gentlemen have no more rights in the eyes of the law than a public company; a public company ought no more to be subjected to tyranny and spoliation than private individuals. I have the misfortune to be a practical man, and I am compelled to look at things from a real and not from an idealist point of view."

Perhaps one of the most curious letters received by the writer was from a gentleman who said:

"Though an employer of about 1,500 people, my sympathies have always been with the workmen, and I assisted the dockers during their strike, so that as your book is largely in the interests of the employers it would not commend itself to me."

The author, in reply to this gentleman, said:

"If you assisted the dockers, I am sure you would not approve of some parts of my book; but for that very reason you ought to read it. You say that you are an employer of 1,500 people, but that my book does not commend itself to you because it is 'largely in the interests of employers.' That shapes itself in my mind thus: 'My book, being in the interest of employers, must be in Mr. —'s interest; but because it is in Mr. —'s interest, is it therefore against the interests of his employés? Is not Mr. —'s interest the interest of those whom he employs?'

"Your own case proves, I think, the truth of my contention, namely, that to uphold the interests of capitalists is really the very best thing that

could be done for the labourers."

These expressions of opinion, which might be added to at much greater length, will suffice to show how crude and confused are the ideas of some very able and intelligent men when they come to deal with such matters as those discussed in this work. These ideas pass muster very well on the platform, and they are greedily swallowed by multitudes who never stop to think or reason; but they will not bear the cool reflection and the deliberate investigation of the thinker and the logician. Well might the Baronet, before referred to, declare that the world is not governed by logic. Happy would it be for this country, at any rate, if it were governed more in harmony with the methods of logic and less under the impulses which are generated by popular clamour and by hysterical excitement.

It is a significant fact that not one of the gentlemen whose utterances have been adverted to was able to clearly point out to the writer where he was in error, although all of them were ready enough to find fault with the Synopsis of his work in a general way; or to explicitly define and defend the principles of the Socialistic Labour Movement which finds so much favour in their eyes. Their inability to do this tended to confirm the judgment of the author in the accuracy and soundness of his views even more perhaps than the cordial commendations of those who approved his work.

Perhaps this Introduction may be fitly concluded by a

reference to the opinions of one of the most able and eminent and venerable members of the House of Lords, who, although he fully sympathised with the writer's views and aims, yet endeavoured to dissuade him from entering upon this work on the ground that no adequate recompense would ever be received from it for the labour involved in it. This worthy nobleman said:

"I agree in the opinion you express as to the serious danger to the country which arises from the labour doctrines of the Radical-Socialists and the tyranny of Trades Unions. But I regret that I cannot share your hope that this danger can be perceptibly diminished by arguments addressed to the working classes. These arguments, however able and conclusive, fly over the heads of the working-classes; who listen to little but the passionate and utterly unreasonable declamations of their leaders, and I do not therefore think there is a prospect that the labour your proposed work would cost you would be repaid. In my opinion the clanger resulting from the actual state of feeling among working-men is mainly a natural consequence of the great mistake which was made by throwing such an overwhelming preponderance of political power into the hands of the most ignorant classes of the people. This has made it the interest of unscrupulous candidates for power to flatter the prejudices of the uninstructed, and all Administrations of late years have shown by their conduct how much they are influenced by the desire to secure for themselves popularity among those whose support now carries with it the ascendency of the party on which it is bestowed. For these reasons I am not satisfied that the work you contemplate would prove of any real use."

This does not sound very encouraging. Nevertheless, the writer felt constrained to carry out the plan which he had formed, and one reason why he resolved to do so was that he has a somewhat higher opinion of the intelligence of working men than appears to be generally entertained. Over and over again it is said by politicians that it is utterly useless to write books with the view of appealing to the reason or the conscience of the working classes, and it is continually asserted that the only form in which literature is read by these classes is in the shape of leaflets. If this were as generally true as it is represented to be the outlook would indeed be a dark one. The author does not believe it to be true in this unqualified sense, and as he sprang from

the working classes he claims to have some knowledge upon the point. There are working men who will read books even books upon economical and social questions. No doubt they are a minority, but their influence among their fellows is altogether out of proportion to their numbers. It is to this intelligent minority that the writer appeals. In the present condition of the working classes it is obviously hopeless to expect that the bulk of them will act with intelligence and discretion as regards the vital, social, and political questions which their votes now do so much to decide. Let us never forget, however, that the number of the enlightened and the reasonable among working men is continually increasing. and that the influence and the votes of these men, small as is their number in comparison with working men in the aggregate, will, in co-operation with the moral influence and the political activity of the upper and middle classes, be sufficient to provide a bulwark of defence for the liberties and the institutions of Old England against which the surging waves of Socialism and Anarchy will dash themselves in vain.



## BOOK I.

# RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

HISTORICAL.

## ANCIENT TYRANNIES, AND THE MODERN MORAL POINTED BY THEM.

"The Greek had no abhorrence for Kings; the descendant of a hero race, ruling over a people whom his fathers had ruled from time immemorial, was no subject of obloquy, either with the people or with the philosophers. But a tyrant, a man of low or ordinary birth, who by force or fraud had seated himself on the necks of his countrymen, to gorge each prevailing passion of his nature at their cost, with no principle but the interest of his own power, such a man was regarded as a wild beast that had broken into the fold of civilized society, and whom it was every one's right and duty by any means, or with any weapon, presently to destroy. Such mere monsters of selfishness Christian Europe has rarely seen. If the claim to reign by 'the Grace of God' has given an undue sanction to absolute power, yet it has diffused at the same time a sense of the responsibilities of power, such as the tyrants, and even the Kings of the later age of Greece, never knew. The most unprincipled of modern sovereigns would vet have acknowledged that he owed a duty to his people, for the discharge of which he was answerable to God; but the Greek tyrant regarded his subjects as the mere instruments of his own gratification; fortune, or his own superiority, had given him extraordinary means of indulging his favourite passions, and it would be folly to forego the opportunity. It is the total want of regard for his fellow creatures, the utter sacrifice of their present and future improvement for the sake of objects purely personal, which constitutes the guilt of Dionysius and his fellow-tyrants."

DR. ARNOLD.

#### CHAPTER I.

### THE GREAT DOCK STRIKE.

No attempt to deal with the industrial history of England during the last two years would be adequate or satisfactory without ample reference to the Dock Strike of 1889, and this for two reasons: first, because that strike was the fruitful cause of the industrial disturbances from which we have since suffered, are still suffering, and are yet likely to suffer more; and secondly, because it showed that the conditions which prevail in modern Democracies are favourable to the development of men and of movements which are hostile to that moral freedom which is the glory alike of the individual and of the State, and also to that material prosperity which is essential to the moral health and progress of the nation, and which is founded upon, and guaranteed by, the fundamental right of individual liberty.

It is not practicable, however, within the limits of a work like this, to treat of the Dock Strike in detail. All that the plan of the work will admit of is a general outline of the events which led up to the Dock Strike, and which characterised its course.

The Dock Strike of 1889, commonly spoken of as "The Great Strike," was the most gigantic and disastrous conflict between Capital and Labour which this century has witnessed in England. Yet it commenced in so obscure and unostentatious a fashion that nobody outside the ranks of those immediately interested heard anything of it until several days afterwards, when the mischief was virtually done. The event was esteemed of such slight importance that on the day when it occurred, August 14, the *Times* did

not think it worthy even of mention in its columns; not until the 17th did the leading journal find it necessary to refer to the subject, and then only in an out-of-the-way paragraph of twenty-two lines. Five days later "The Strikes in the East End" were mentioned in the Table of Contents, and before many more days had elapsed over a dozen columns of the Times were filled day after day with news of the strike and its attendant circumstances. On the 24th of August journalists and public men first began to realize that the position of affairs was serious.

Parliament was still sitting, but a goodly proportion of its members had fled away from their irksome duties to the moors and mountains, utterly unaware of the fact that the greatest industrial war of the day had commenced, and that the security of their property, as well as the liberty of the workman and the commercial prosperity of the nation, was gravely menaced. The Appropriation Bill, which always means that the Session is at its last gasp, was introduced on August 25, and weary legislators had no heart to take up any new task. Had their eyes been open to perceive the gravity of the signs of the times they would have deemed it prudent and patriotic to sacrifice their holidays, well as they had been earned, for one year, and to extend the Session by a month, so that the authority of the Government in its collective and executive capacity, as well as of Parliament, might be brought to bear directly upon the strike. As it turned out. Parliament had risen before the crisis of the strike arrived, and the Home Office, in other words Mr. Henry Matthews, Home Secretary, was left to deal with the strike uncontrolled. Mr. Matthews, however excellent and able a man he may be, and however well qualified for the ordinary routine of his department, was not capable of dealing vigorously and prudently with the serious state of affairs with which he found himself confronted at this extraordinary juncture. A wise head and a strong hand were imperatively needed in the circumstances which had arisen. Mr. Matthews displayed neither shrewdness nor firmness. His policy was

to shut his eyes very hard to events which he did not wish to see, and to sit immovable in his chair instead of exerting himself to deal with unpleasant duties. When Sir Robert Fowler, on the 27th of August, asked the Home Secretary in the House of Commons "whether his attention had been called to the organized system of intimidation which prevailed in connection with the wharves on the Thames, and whether he would direct the police to give protection to those who were engaged in their legitimate business," Mr. Matthews replied: "I am not prepared to admit that there is anything which can properly be described as an organized system of intimidation;" though he was constrained to acknowledge that "a considerable amount of pressure" was exercised, "which in some cases passed into acts of intimidation, but of a nature very difficult for the police to interfere with "; and he said that the police had orders to render all the assistance in their power when applied to. He also took the opportunity of uttering some platitudes on the inconvenience and damage which were being inflicted upon the trade of London and upon the general public, and with regard to the desirability of a rational and satisfactory settlement of the dispute. This answer revealed the utter unfitness of Mr. Matthews to occupy such a responsible position during so grave a crisis, when the property of London capitalists and the liberty of London workmen were at the mercy of an ignorant and fanatical mob, led by men whose ruling passion was hatred of the rich-except, indeed, that their personal ambition and inordinate love of notoriety and popularity over-mastered even their Socialistic envy and malice. A different type of man at the Home Office during this month of August-say a man who would have treated conspiracy and crime against the property of capitalists in London as Mr. Balfour treated conspiracy and crime against the property of landlords in Ireland, would have been worth millions sterling to the nation. This fact illustrates the tremendous power for good or for evil which modern Ministers possess, and it ought to lead to greater consideration and judgment being exercised in the appointment of Secretaries of State, especially at the Home Office. Upon Mr. Matthews must rest no small share of the responsibility for the events which disgraced this period of our history, and which sowed seeds of lawlessness, from which bitter harvests will continue to be reaped for many a long year to come; though a share of this responsibility must be indirectly bornaby those who appointed Mr. Matthews head of the Government department which most intimately affects the lives and the liberties of British citizens, and who continued him in his post after he had demonstrated his unwillingness or his inability to exert the authority of the law in defence of the most cherished rights and liberties of Englishmen, when they were rudely and contemptuously trampled underfoot by Socialistic mobs and their leaders.

The commercial world had no more anticipated the strike than the political world, and consequently it was quite as much taken by surprise. Reports from the leading railway companies, made up to June 30, were of a most hopeful and reassuring character. Dividends were higher than they had been for some time past, and at the same time larger amounts had in most cases been carried to the Reserve Funds. The London and Brighton had paid 41 per cent. instead of 3 per cent., as in 1888; the London and Chatham paid 31, as against 21; the Manchester and Sheffield paid 11, against no dividend at all in the previous year; the Great Western and North-Eastern raised their dividends by I per cent., and the North-Western, Midland, and South Western by ? per The receipts of the twelve principal lines were £27,268,000 for the half year, against £25,836,000 for the first half of 1888, an increase of  $f_{1,432,000}$ , or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The prosperity of the railway companies was, as it always is, a reflex of the general prosperity of trade throughout the country. For the first six months of 1889 trade had been expanding, especially the iron and steel trades, and it seemed probable that the expansion would continue. The Times prophesied "that the expansion of business would go on

steadily for many months to come, so far as politics are concerned."

The Labour correspondent of the Board of Trade adopted the same optimistic tone. On August 15 he said: "During July the demand for labour has in no way fallen off. The market has been stationary and continues so, while at the same time it is characterised by great steadiness, and there is an absence of serious disturbance of any kind. All the great industries are well employed, and work is plentiful. Of the nineteen societies reporting, ten state trade to be "very good," seven "good," and two "moderate." The total membership represented by the societies reporting is 191,023, of which only 3,302 are out of work, or 1'7 per cent. as against 4'6 per cent. for the corresponding month of 1888."

It will be seen, therefore, that the men who were most intimately acquainted with commerce and industry, and most vitally interested in their condition and movements, were utterly unconscious that a blow was about to be struck by Labour for the mastery. Yet these men ought, not merely on the ground of self-interest but on the higher ground of public policy, to have been better informed as to the course of events, and more alert in their judgments. For ominous signs had appeared on the horizon months, or even years, before. Every winter for several years past the "unemployed" had put themselves in evidence in ways which showed that they meant mischief. They had marched in procession through the streets of London, and held violent and disorderly meetings in Trafalgar Square and other places, which culminated in a riot and an attempted sack of South Audley Street and other portions of Belgravia. The authorities, as usual, allowed these seditious and riotous assemblies to continue until incalculable mischief had been done, and then they tardily adopted the policy which they ought to have promptly and vigorously initiated at the outset, and excluded the Socialist agitators and mobs from Trafalgar Square and many of the leading thoroughfares of the West End. Owing partly to the vigorous policy of the authorities,

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and partly to the revival of trade before referred to, little had been heard of the Socialists for some months previous to August, 1889. But they were carrying on their incendiary and anarchic operations as actively as ever, while the authorities jogged on in sleepy indifference to all that was going on around them. Shut out of the West End (except as regards Hyde Park, where they were practically harmless), the Socialists transferred their propaganda to the East End. Here they were allowed to do pretty much as they willed, though occasionally the authorities—as in the case of Dod Street-excluded them from some places on the ground that they obstructed the thoroughfare. Week after week, and month after month, under the guise of an affected or mistaken loyalty to freedom, the Government permitted preachers of plunder and anarchy to sow evil seed in the minds of idle, vicious, ignorant, and disaffected multitudes, the fruition of which could have no other result than to destroy both the liberty of the individual and the national prosperity which was founded upon it. Governments who give licence to demagogues must not be surprised if they find themselves driven to defend the elementary and fundamental principles of civilization against their most deadly enemies. They who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind. The Dock Strike was the direct result of the Socialistic teaching with which the East End had been deluged, and the men who figured most prominently in it were the self-same men who had been imprisoned some months previously for violent and seditious conduct in Trafalgar Square. For proof of this we have only to turn to the words of Mr. John Burns himself, who says: "It is now some six years since John Williams, myself, and others, commenced our crusade among the dockers. A crusade of the dawn, I may call it; for we did our haranging amongst the men in the hours of the morning before their work and ours had commenced. I myself, with my wife, have frequently left home at three and four o'clock in the morning, winter and summer; tramped to the docks, made speeches at three different gates, and returned to begin

my day's work in the West End at seven or eight o'clock. I have done this for weeks and months together. I was doing it at intervals during the years 1884, 1885, and 1886. . . . I was actively concerned in the spreading movements of the unemployed throughout the whole of the East End of London-Working thirteen hours a day for my own bread and cheese, I made time to do something as a Socialist propagandist, and formed, or helped to form, several new trades unions in various parts of London. The last and most important of these was the Gas Stokers' Trades Union. . . . Many of the meetings of the Gas Stokers' Union were held in the East End, in the neighbourhood of the docks. The dockers came in numbers, and Mr. Mann, Mr. Champion, and myself, addressed thousands of them. They caught the spirit that we were trying to inform them with, and when the gas workers had won their victory, the dockers in their turn became restless. It was that victory, in a word, that induced the strike of the dockers." Mr. Burns describes himself as "an apostle of discontent," and he says further: "We who were thus openly agitating and spreading discontent in this neglected corner of the world of Labour, learned thoroughly the whole condition, economic and social, of the various classes of dock labourers; saw how wretched it was, and deliberately set ourselves to make the men revolt against their lot." Describing his intervention in the Dock Strike on the day after it had commenced, he says: "Discontent was simmering, I spoke to the men and found them eager and receptive. The end we had been striving after was coming into view. . . . On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, August 15th, 16th and 17th, I spoke thirty-six times outside of wharves, docks, and warehouses. Mr. Mann, Mr. Tillett, and Mr. Champion did as much. We put the match to every corner of the building-sitting on walls, or standing astride of palings." Finally Mr. Burns says: "As a Socialist, I rejoice that organized labour has shown how fully it can meet the forces of capitalism, and how small a chance the oppression of labour has against the resolute combination of men who,

having found their ideal, are determined to realise it."\* This is quite conclusive as to the Socialistic origin and nature of the Dock Strike, and it proves that Mr. Norwood's statement that the strike owed its origin to the deliberations of a Socialistic Congress in Switzerland was not so very far wide of the truth. Socialistic it certainly was, and its Socialism was of the Continental type-violent, infatuated, and desperate. The Gas Workers' Union, referred to by Burns, the "Tea Operatives and General Worker's Union," formed in 1886, and the Dock Labourer's Union which sprang out of this, were all Socialistic organizations, having scarcely a point in common with Trades Unions of the ordinary type. From these facts it will be perceived that a vigorous propaganda of a Socialistic character, perilous to the interests of the community, had been openly and vigorously carried on in the East End of London for years; nevertheless, statesmen, police authorities, and commercial men were all taken by surprise when the natural fruit of this propaganda manifested itself in the fierce attack upon property and liberty which culminated in, and was exemplified by, the Dock Strike.

The strike commenced on Wednesday, Aug. 14, 1889—a black Wednesday in English history. A day or two after the half-yearly meeting of the Millwall Dock Company was held, at which a dividend of 4 per cent.—a \(\frac{1}{4}\) per cent. increase—was declared. Mr. C. H. Parkes, the chairman, said: "There had been a strike at the East and West India Docks, but he did not think there would be any disturbance at their own docks respecting the question at issue." So little was the gravity of the situation realised.

On the 16th it was announced that 10,000 men were on strike, and 2,000 of these, after holding various meetings, marched in procession on that day to the City, where six of them had an interview with Mr. C. M. Norwood, Chairman of the Docks' Committee, who received them courteously, but declined to make any promises to them until they were

<sup>\*</sup> The New Review, Oct., 1889.

in a "different frame of mind." On the 18th, 1,800 stevedores, who were in receipt of high wages and had no grievance of their own, joined the strike, which extended to nearly all the docks, including the Millwall. Several meetings were held and addressed by Burns. Tillett, and M'Carthy, and the procession was said to be a mile and three-quarters long, and crusts, penny loaves, bones, and vegetable refuse were carried on poles, ostensibly to show what the dockers lived on; but singularly enough there was no exhibition of ale, whiskey, gin, &c., to indicate that these "distressed" men could afford to spend thousands of pounds weekly upon intoxicating liquors. On the 19th the strike extended to all the docks, and there were the usual meetings and processions. So it went on day after day for a full month.\*

It soon became evident that the strike was not so much an attempt on the part of the dockers to secure a reasonable remedy for actual grievances as an attack upon capitalists as a class, which of course was not at all surprising to those who knew the true "inwardness" of its origin. Bitter and malignant attacks were made upon the Dock Directors, who were denounced in the most coarse and brutal language, although they were guilty of no crime but that of paying the men whom they employed the fair market rate of wages. The utterances of the strike leaders, and indeed the whole spirit which underlay the conduct of the strike, were almost as antagonistic to capitalists in general as they were to the directors of the docks, and there was scarcely any attempt to conceal or disguise this Socialistic temper. Yet singularly enough capitalists and employers who were not directly interested in the strike were so incapable of understanding the broad issues which were involved that many of them actually supported the demagogues who were endeavouring to establish a state of things which would

<sup>\*</sup> For detailed statement as to the course of the Dock Strike see the "Diurnal of Events During the Dock Strike," in Appendix A at the end of the book.

have deprived every capitalist in the land of his property... This was no doubt due in part to the unpopularity which the Dock Companies had incurred among ship-owners and merchants, who regarded the dock charges as unreasonably high, owing to past mismanagement and extravagant expenditure on the part of those who controlled the dock property; but even supposing that this were true, and that ship-owners and merchants had a real grievance against the dock companies, they ought to have manifested more common-sense, not to say prudence and wisdom, than to have attacked the Dock Directors when they were fighting the battle of all the property owners in the land. The ultimate victory of the dock labourers, which has inflicted such serious injury upon the commerce of the nation and entailed the loss of millions upon British capitalists themselves, was largely due to the action of the short-sighted and foolish members of their own

class who supported this strike.

The strike commenced by some 300 labourers in the South West India Dock quarrelling among themselves as to division of the "plus," and by their refusing to resume work until the dispute was settled. No doubt it would have been settled in a day or two but for the intervention of the "Apostles of Discontent," who saw their opportunity and made the most of it. The flame, so small at first, vigorously fanned by Socialistic windbags, soon spread, and in the course of a few days multitudes of men, numbering tens of thousands, threw up their work and joined the strikers. This was hailed as a wonderful illustration of the "Solidarity of Labour." The power of combination was extolled, and the labourers were told that they had gloriously distinguished themselves by exhibiting such splendid manhood—the manhood consisting in throwing up their work against their will and their better judgment at the command of autocratic demagogues. sober truth of the matter, however, was that the spread of the strike was almost entirely owing to the gross intimidation which was practised by the strikers upon those who wished to remain quietly at their work. Day after day the same story was told of men being threatened, assaulted, and driven from their employment by mobs of discontented and lawless strikers who, having refused to work themselves, determined that nobody else should work either. In view of these facts the high-flown rhetoric of the strikeleaders as to the power and the achievements of labour combinations is seen to be so much sentimental gush. The power of combination exhibited by labourers during the Dock Strike, so far as it had any reality, rested upon illegality and violence. Without the boycott, conspiracy, outrage, and intimidation, the strike would have worked itself out in less than a week in spite of all the power of combination that could have been brought to bear

upon it.

Even with the support which it derived from illegal practices, the strike would soon have been ended if the Home Office and the police had done their duty, which was to protect the liberties of workmen who desired to follow their employment and who had no quarrel with their employers, and the rights of capitalists whose property was placed in peril by the action of violent mobs, who for days held the larger portion of the East End of London at their mercy. This duty, the primary duty of a Government, was almost entirely neglected, and the employers and merchants and workmen of London found that, although they were living in a city supposed to be the most enlightened and civilized in the world, they might almost as well, as regards the sacredness of their liberty and the security of their property, have been living in the centre of heathendom. Indeed, the latter would in some respects have been the preferable case; for in a barbarous country, men take effective measures for defending their freedom and possessions by their own efforts. But in a civilized country these police duties are relegated to the civil Government, and if a Government in a civilized country declines to fulfil its obligations towards the citizens of that country those citizens are placed in a position which is actually worse than that of barbarians; and to this

position during the Dock Strike tens of thousands of men were reduced in the City of London, simply because the British Government, as represented by the Home Office, failed to fulfil its most fundamental duties. It is a matter for astonishment that this default on the part of the Government has been passed over so lightly by the British public. For far less serious crimes Governments have been dismissed from office in disgrace, and impeached, and the reputation of statesmen has been irretrievably ruined. In these ultrademocratic times, however, the tendency is to worship the inultitude, and a Government which sacrifices the rights of the few because they are few, in order to please the many because they are many, is apt to be commended rather than condemned. Even in England the majority of the people have not yet learned that the meanest and poorest citizen in the land has an indefeasible right to be protected by the Government in the exercise of his personal liberty and in the proprietorship of that which is indubitably his own. The Dock Directors had both reason and justice on their side when they complained from day to day that the Government neglected to guard their property against the assaults which were made upon it by crowds of law breakers, and to protect their workmen in the exercise of their liberty to follow their employment. No greater ill can befall a nation than that its Government should on grounds of mere expediency decline to fulfil the cardinal and fundamental duties which it owes to the community. It is to be hoped for the honour as well as for the prosperity of England that we shall never again witness the pitiable and painful spectacle of an Executive Government giving license to mobs of strikers because they possess votes.

General circumstances also favoured the Dock Strike. Trade was remarkably good just at the time. Had it been otherwise the strike could never have succeeded in its object. The weather, also was unusually fine. Day after day there was brilliant sunshine and no rain, and as the operations of the strikers were carried on out of doors, this was an almost

indispensible condition of success. If August, 1889, had been like the August of 1891, the strike would have simply been drowned out; for even the spirits of dock labourers could not have kept up day after day and week after week against incessant and drenching rains, violent thunderstorms, and cold and depressing weather generally. In fact, the strike succeeded by a fluke, or a series of flukes, and consequently the fact that it did succeed possesses not a tithe of the importance which its originators have sought to attach to it.

With all the advantages which the strikers possessed in being allowed their own lawless way by the Government, in possessing the support of many foolish and unthinking persons of wealth, and in being favoured by almost continuous fine weather, it could never have succeeded had not large amounts of money been sent from Australia. This money, as is now known, was sent under an entire misconception of the real facts of the case, a misconception for which the Press of Australia (or rather its correspondents in London) was almost entirely responsible. A large portion of this money was actually sent by capitalists, who intended it to be used merely for relieving distress in East London. and not as a weapon to fight their brother capitalists with in Great Britain. So far as the Australian funds were contributed by Australian working-men, they were due quite as much to their selfish desire to keep English labour out of the Australian labour market as to sympathy with the "down-trodden" dockers of London,

If the reader has carefully perused and thoughtfully considered the Diary of events which occurred during the Dock Strike they will probably have suggested to his mind some very serious reflections. The gravity, the significance, and the far-reaching effects of the Dock Strike have not yet been adequately realised, either by the rulers and leaders of the nation or by the nation itself. Perhaps the most obvious suggestion conveyed to the mind of an intelligent observer by the events which occurred in connection with the Dock

Strike is that the industrial atmosphere has been permeated by perverted or inverted ideas as to the rights of property. It was assumed by the dock labourers that they had in some mystic fashion acquired a share of proprietorship in the docks, and that, consequently, they had some right to say how the property belonging to the Dock Companies should be used. Of course this assumption had not the slightest foundation in fact. These men really attempted to appropriate the property of their employers, to which they had not one jot or tittle of right. The origin of this strike, and of a good many others also, is to be found in this perverted idea with regard to the ownership of property. Masses of working men have become inflated with a sense of their own importance since they have obtained the franchise, and have become the idols of time-serving politicians. These politicians, with their allies in the Press, puffed up the workingman and encouraged him in the belief that he was part owner of any industrial undertaking to which he condescended to sell his labour. One truculent journalist wrote in these terms: "That the labourer everywhere has at last risen to the level of his principles, that he has learned that his power now is the only really omnipotent one in the Commonwealth, is in itself an incalculable gain to humanity, which will give a tremendous impetus to the cause of progress. dockers' 'tanner,' if this social agitation goes on, as now seems probable, will rank in the history of this period as the humble origin of one of the most far-reaching reforms in the condition of the people; it will stand as the symbol of the emancipation of the labourer from the tyranny of Capital, and the heroes of this movement, the London stevedores, who were the very first to back the demands of their humbler and more helpless brothers, will have won by their gallant and self-sacrificing action the gratitude of their class through all time."\*

The omnipotent one has been written and preached at in this

<sup>\*</sup>Reynolds' Newspaper, September 8, 1889.

strain for a dozen years past, and it is perhaps not surprising that he has come really to believe that he is omnipotent. Certainly he entertains an exaggerated sense of his own work and worth in the community. He has persuaded himself, and seeks to persuade others, that he alone creates or produces anything; that, consequently, he alone has the right to appropriate or enjoy anything: and that, as a further consequence, he has the right to deprive everybody else in the community of what they may possess. He is apparently incapable of conceiving the idea that however valuable may be his work to society, it is work which exists, which can exist, only as the result of the wealth and enterprise and labour of other people. It suits him to shut his eyes to the palpable fact that it is only by the employment of the capital and the energy of employers that any work can be provided for him to do. It is, however, a little surprising that not merely the general public, but that men who claim to be the leaders of the public, men of education and position, should ignore these vital factors in the problem; and it can be accounted for only on the supposition that they are so blinded, either by self-interest or by love of popularity, that they have come to regard it as the highest manifestation of intelligence to accept whatever may be decreed by the Infallible People. Our commerce, our shipping, our docks, our factories, our mines, our railways, and indeed our whole civilization, are the aggregate result of the exertions of the men who lived before us and who have had the skill and intelligence to devise, and the energy and the money to carry out, these great undertakings. The real constructors of our nation have belonged to the very classes who are now so loftily despised by the people who owe everything to them-the classes who have brains and money, and who for that very reason are able to find employment for the lower order of workers.

Under the teaching of the Radical-Socialistic demagogues who lead our "free and independent" working men by the nose, it seems to have become the fixed idea of the industrial

classes that the capitalist is their deadly enemy. In their speeches and in their literature the man who has by his industry accumulated money, and who has in most cases risen from their own ranks, and who, moreover, is giving to them employment, is represented as a selfish monster, a voracious ogre, an economical Minotaur, who preys and feasts upon the blood and sinew, the virtue and the happiness, of his helpless victims. No idea could of course be more grotesquely or more fundamentally wrong. This industrial monster is invented by crafty men for their own purposes, and he is made to strut and swagger upon the stage, and to give character and colouring to innumerable pages of fiction, in order that his supposed victims, thoroughly alarmed, may throw themselves into the arms of their "leaders" and "saviours." The influence of the capitalist (or of Capital) is, taking a just and broad view of it, wholesome and beneficent, and, so far from being the foe of the working classes, the capitalist is in reality one of their best friends, since without his brains and money the majority of them would have no work to do.

Capital and Labour, properly understood, are not antagonistic, since they are both the same thing, viz., labour, under different forms and in varying degrees of development. The capitalist and the labourer, so far from being rivals and opponents, are in reality fellow-helpers who co-operate in the same good work, viz., the production and distribution of the commodities which society needs for its sustenance or its comfort. How, then, can they be antagonists, seeing that both are labourers and both capitalists? The money of the employer, which is the accumulated result of Labour, is his capital, and his management of it in his business or estate is his labour; while the skill and strength of the workman, which are the combined results of heredity, tradition, environment, and personal acquisition, form his capital, and his daily use of that skill and strength constitutes his labour. Both these factors, Capital and Labour, are used in co-operation to produce a common result, which

result, as it could not be produced by either one independently of the other, so when it is produced belongs to neither one in any such sense as to exclude the other, but to both alike. Labour, however, as its needs are more urgent and immediate, receives its share of the result a! once, while the share of Capital is allowed to accumulate; and, as the contribution of Labour is proportionately much less than that of Capital, its drawings from the common proceeds must of course be less in the same proportion. The labourer who draws his wages weekly receives, provided his wages be fair, his share of the product down; receives it just as actually as the capitalist receives his when he sells his goods; and, what is more, the labourer's share has to be advanced by the capitalist until such time as the latter can turn his goods into money—after a period of weeks, or even months or years.

The workman, however, because he draws his share weekly, and sees the share of the capitalist remaining in the business and growing, is very apt to get the idea that he does not receive a fair share of the value of the commodities which he has helped to produce. But this idea usually arises, first, from his shortsightedness in failing to discern that he really gets his share as he goes along; and, secondly, from an exaggerated and fallacious estimate of the importance of his own work. He helps to produce, but after all he only helps; whereas he is liable to flatter himself that he is the actual and only producer, the skill and energy and money of the employer counting for nothing in his view of the case. Capital is said, and rightly said, to be the accumulated result of Labour. But of what labour? Of whose labour? Here is a palace worth half a million of money. Upon this edifice the first labour expended was that of the architect, who although he sat in his office and wore a black coat all the time, and used compass and pencil instead of trowel and hod—his brains instead of his muscles, was the real designer and builder of the house. His mathematical and geometrical calculations, his choice of the foundation and style, his arrangements and specifications for its soundness and safety and comfort, his estimates of the cost—all this constituted the real building of the house. It was erected in his mind, subjectively and essentially, before any of the other workers so much as touched a spade or a pick, or even knew that the building was projected. Those who came afterwards and gave the house an objective and accidental manifestation merely followed and built over the lines which had been created by and in the architect's mind, just as a scholar imitates the copy set him by his master. Is it to be said that the architect's labour is not an essential part of the capital sum represented by the value of the completed house?

Strictly speaking, however, even the architect was not the first labourer. Before he could do his work the owner of the house, his employer, had to do a prior work. In the first place he had to find the money to pay for the house (a part of the transaction which can scarcely be regarded as nonessential even by Radical Socialists). That money was the result of Labour, either of its owner's labour or of the labour of those who went before him. Not only had he to find the money, but he had to do a great deal of actual work as well. He had to think and plan before the architect could think and plan. After all this, as the third step in the process of building the house, come the manual workers, the men who digged the foundations, mixed the mortar, carried the bricks, did the bricklaying, the joinery, the plastering, the decorating, who, in short, fulfil the architect's design. Is it to be tolerated that manual labourers, who could never have been employed on the work at all but for the owner's money and the architect's skill, and who received their full share of the result while they were doing the work, should turn round when the house is finished and say that its value represents their labour alone, and that they have a right to it? Emphatically not. Yet this, and nothing else or less, is what working men are now said to be entitled to. If this preposterous claim could be enforced (conceded it can never

be) the result would be that no houses would ever be built. since no man would ever be such a simpleton as to lay out his money only to be robbed of it by those whom he had employed. The Capital represented in the house is the result of Labour truly—but of what labour and whose? Firstly, of those who earned the money with which the house was paid for; secondly, the labour of the architect who designed it; and only, in the third and last place, the labour of those who do the rougher and coarser work of putting it together, who were paid for their labour at the time. Both the architect and the manual workmen received their share of the value of the house in the shape of payment for their labour, and consequently they have no further claim whatever upon the Capital represented by that house, which now belongs absolutely to the man who proposed and paid for its erection.

The same process of reasoning may be applied to any other architectural or engineering work—to the Forth Bridge, for example, or to the Manchester Ship Canal, to a railway or to a steam-ship; while it applies even more forcibly to a merchant's business or to a great industrial concern. It is equally true of the London Docks, of which we have lately heard so much. These docks were constructed by the expenditure of millions upon millions of money, which represented the labour of hundreds of thousands of hard-working people, many of whom lived before either this generation or the one that preceded it. Before they could be built, even when the money was at hand, it was necessary that skilled engineers, men who had technical knowledge of ships and shipping, and of that peculiar kind of building, should devote their ability, acquired by years of expensive education, to making plans, estimates, and calculations. The Docks, like everything else, had to be built subjectively before they could be built objectively. Even after they were built and fully equipped for work, the Dock labourers could have made no use of them without the capitalists, the ship-owners, and the skilled managers. Millions of capital—ave, hundreds of

millions—which has been put into ships and estates and business enterprises all over the world, which Capital is the accumulated result of the Labour of farmers, cattle-breeders, sugar producers, shipbuilders, and traders of all kinds, had to be employed in order to provide the labour by which the dockers subsist. Yet these latter, who represent no money or skill, but simply the coarsest and crudest forms of manual labour—who are the mere scullions of commerce, have taken to putting on airs, and have become so inflated with the sense of their own importance, that they talk as if the Capital represented by the Docks in some subtle fashion actually belonged to them. And all this because Parliament has been generous enough to give them votes which many of them do not know how to use!

This notion, that the result of Labour stored up in Capital belongs to the manual worker alone, is one of the most pestilent economic heresies of our time. It arises, in the main, from a total misconception as to the nature of the laws which govern value. Working men have persuaded themselves, and apparently some other people as well, that it is their labour, and that alone, which confers value upon what they produce. Nothing could be further from the truth. However much labour may have been spent upon a commodity, it acquires no value unless and until what Adam Smith calls an "effectual demand" arises for it. When a commodity is in demand it is valuable; when it is not in demand it is practically worthless, although as much labour may have been spent upon it in the latter case as in the former.

"The market price (i.r., the actual price) of every particular commodity is regulated by the proportion between the quantity which is actually brought to market and the demand of those who are willing to pay the natural price of the commodity, or the whole value of the rent, labour, and profit, which must be paid in order to bring it thither. Such people may be called the effectual demanders, and their demand the effectual demand; since it may be sufficient to effectuate the bringing of the

commodity to market. It is different from the absolute demand. A very poor man may be said in some sense to have a demand for a coach and six: he might like to have it: but his demand is not an effectual demand, as the commodity can never be brought to market in order to satisfy it."\* When a number of men, by the use of their money—the result of their labour and that of their predecessors, and by the further use of their practical knowledge and technical skill, have built up a large and profitable business, and in so doing have been benefactors of the community, since they have at once supplied it with the commodities which it requires and at the same time afforded employment to thousands of men who otherwise either might not have been employed at all or have been employed less profitably, they are told that the said business belongs in equity, not to them, but to the men whom they have already benefited by giving them work to do, and who in reality have exerted no formative or constructive powers in building up the business at all. One of the newspapers which had a great deal to do with producing the Dock Strike, and which hailed it as though it were the harbinger of the Millennium, said: "There are, speaking broadly, only two sets of men interested in the industrial question—the creator of the profits and the appropriator of them, the labourer and the capitalist. The middleman is a parasite on both. The appropriator has hitherto had all the advantages, and has grown through the practice of centuries into the belief that the real creator of what is called wealth is his bond-slave, with whom he can do as he pleases. The strike, to some extent, has been the means of bringing the parties into a true relation . . . . The organization of Labour became more than the dream of the Socialist; it was an actuality. Then the noble example was followed by others, and the battle of Capital and Labour began. And what happened? The former, with all the accumulations of centuries, was helpless; the latter omnipo-

<sup>\*</sup> Wealth of Nations. Vol. 1., Page 85.

tent. Mr. Norwood was right, the strike was a blow aimed at Capital unrighteously employed,\* a blow that will have far-reaching consequences. When Capital is the oppressor of Labour, as it is to-day, or was till this revolt occurred, it is a social anomaly and antagonistic alike to common-sense and justice." † This is a fair specimen of the kind of teaching which is now being poured into the minds of the masses (who are voters). The labourer is here represented as the sole creator of wealth, which emphatically he is not; while the capitalist is held up to execration as the privileged appropriator of what labour creates, which most emphatically he is not. It might have been supposed that even uneducated manual labourers would, by the force of native commonsense alone, have perceived the hollowness of this rubbish. But, no, they accept it all as Gospel truth; and they act upon the silly and mischievous teaching, greatly to their own hurt.

The strike party made a good deal of Punch's cartoon, in which the docker is made to say to the director: "If you would think less of your luxuries and more of my necessities it would be better for the interests of Labour." But with all due respect to Mr. Punch it must be stated that his implied censure of the Dock Directors was wholly beside the mark. To taunt men who are paying the fair market rate of wages with indifference to the welfare of their workmen may be a cheap way of catching a gust of popular applause, but assuredly it is not the way to win the respect of intelligent and reasonable people. Punch was in a much more sensible form of mind the following week, when he represented the docker as about to cut off the head of the goose that laid the golden eggs-viz., Capital. Over this cartoon the strikers did not go into ecstasies. One of their journals said, however, in reference to it that "the docker had no interest in

<sup>\*</sup> Of course Mr. Norwood never said what is here attributed to him.

<sup>†</sup> Revnolds' Newspaper, Sep. 15, 1889. It would be interesting if Revnolds would state how much it pays its writers. Is Capital the oppressor of Labour in that sanctuary of Democracy?

the precious bird except that when Norwood & Co. have sucked the eggs they chuck him the shells." If the ignorance of a journalistic M.P. is so abysmal as this, what may be expected from dock labourers? Everybody knows that the docker has been carrying away some of the golden eggs in his pocket every week, yolk and shell and all.

The Dock Strike was due mainly to the idea, which for years has been instilled into the minds of the labourers, that the workmen have not received their rightful share of the profits and that their employers have been robbing them. (And most of the subsequent strikes have been due to the same notion.) Now, most of these Dock labourers are casual and irregular workers; many of them are wastrels and ne'er-do-weels; very few of them have been employed at the docks for five successive years. What share can such men possess in the business, the goodwill, the profits of the docks? What have they done to establish that business? Will the Bishop of London, or Sir James Whitehead, or Mr. Sydney Buxton enlighten us on these points? Boss Burns, fond as he is of dealing with figures, never went into calculations under this head; he would rather make a fine swinging assertion to the effect that as the profit from the docks for a given year was £218,000, the dock labourers ought to have—and meant to have—f100,000 of it, (of course in addition to their usual wages). The London Docks, whatever injustices and abuses may have prevailed in connection with them, have been, on the whole and in the main, a boon to the out-of-works in the East-end. In the wages which these men have received out of a concern which they did nothing to establish they have had their full share of its returns. "Public opinion," however, or the hysterical clamour which now-a-days too often passes for it, thought differently, and so in order to gratify the whims of irresponsible people, who have no money in the Docks (or anywhere else, most of them), the shareholders, according to Mr. Norwood's statement, were mulcted to the extent of £150,000 a year to inflate the wages of one class of men

above the market rate. The strike owed its vitality entirely to the unintelligent and irrational sympathy which it received from people who knew nothing of the merits of the case. A considerable proportion of these persons belonged to the hated capitalistic class against whom the strikers were breathing out threatenings and slaughter. Their love of applause, their desire to curry favour with the voters, their Pharisaic philanthropy, their generosity, or whatever other motives prompted their action, were certainly more conspicuous than their common-sense. Boss Burns was able to boast on August 21st, 1889, that "they were receiving sympathy on every hand because their cause was just. The merchants and people along the route which the procession took had helped them by their money, which showed that public feeling was strong in their favour." On another occasion he boasted that Dock Shareholders. wharfingers, military officers, and Pall Mall mashers had contributed, while aristocrats had condescendingly asked to be allowed to help, and it must be admitted that he had only too much reason for his swagger.

"Their cause was just." Well, let us see where the justice lay. The Dock Committee pointed out that they were paying their men just double the wages received by agricultural labourers, who received 21d. per hour, or from 14s. to 16s. a week, their hours being twelve per day. This is a tolerally high estimate for farm labourers, many of whom do not get 12s. a week. Where is the injustice of paying the dock labourer double the wage of an agricultural labourer -the latter being really a skilled workman? It may be said that the latter can count upon his twelve hours and his six days per week, while the former can reckon on nothing certain. But that is a different issue, owing to the nature of the work, and the Dock Company cannot be held responsible for it. The incontestable fact remains that their men, for the actual time they worked, were twice as well paid as agricultural labourers.

Take another fact. During the week ending August 17,

1889, there were forty-seven gangs of men working at the Millwall Dock. The most earned by any one gang of six men was £18 19s. 8d. for the week of sixty hours, £3 3s. 3d. per man; the least earned by any one gang was fio 17s. 7d. or f. 1 16s. 6d. a man for a week of sixty-two hours. Where, again, is the injustice? Yet the men at the Millwall Docks went out on strike! The lightermen were so unjustly treated that they could earn only from 50s. to 60s. per week. So they also struck! In face of facts like these the dunderheaded "public" thought the dockers and other riverside workers so harshly treated that they subscribed some £40,000 for the purpose of compelling the Dock Directors to disgorge their ill-gotten gains! These Directors were really trustees for some 5,000 shareholders, many of them widows and orphans of limited means, who had received little or no return for their money. What did that matter to "the public"? There is nothing so unreasoning as the public; nothing so pitiless and cruel and unjust; it is continually committing two injustices in the attempt to remedy one. In this case it insisted that the diminished incomes of a small and feeble class should be still further curtailed in order to pay another and numerically (and electorally) stronger class wages above the market rate. Even the Trades Union Congress passed a resolution affirming that a class of men who were twice as well paid as agricultural labourers were "more than justified in the position they had taken up"!

It may be said that the increased charges imposed upon the Dock Companies have been by them transferred to the shoulders of the public—the consumers. It is certain, however, that the shipowners, though they were very profuse in their advice to and criticisms upon the Dock Directors, did not display any eagerness to pay increased dues; nor did the other sections of the public who encouraged the dockers manifest any greater alacrity in putting their hands into their pockets. The intention was that the Dock Shareholders should be bled. Even if the additional cost is now borne by the consumer, what right has a body of irresponsible nobodies

to compel the consumer to pay an increased price for his commodities in order that one class of labourers may have their wages inflated above the market rate? Talk of class legislation, and of taxation without representation! Here we have them with a vengeance, and in forms peculiarly irritating and odious. One of the most serious of the perils which are to-day menacing the stability of our institutions is shallow humanitarianism, which is afflicted with lightness in the head and fatty degeneration of the heart. This diseased benevolence, this harum-scarum charity, is a greater danger to the commonwealth than stolid hardheartedness. In the case under consideration, it caused the interests of the Dock shareholders to be sacrificed, did permanent injury to trade and commerce, and raised the price of commodities, without conferring any commensurate advantage, or indeed any real advantage at all, upon the labourers. It is the case of the Irish landlords over again. The dockers and their sympathisers commanded many thousands of votes, and in order to propitiate them and win their votes, the doctrines of political economy and the dictates of justice were thrown to the winds. It is all very well to say that politics had nothing to do with the strike. If it was not a political movement there never was one, and the men who "bossed the show" had political objects in view. The whole thing was conceived and carried out in the interests of a new political body, the so-called "Labour Party," properly described as "An Association for the Destruction of British Trade, for the Ruin of British Employers by Robbery and Boycotting, and for the Conversion of the Working Classes into Sneaks, Skulks, and Loafers." We are told that Boss Burns has established his right to a seat in Parliament by his conduct during the Dock and other strikes, while Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., one of his henchmen during the former conflict, is said to have won a place in the next Liberal Government! Mr. Buxton may be quite worthy of such a position; but that his claim to it should be based upon his conduct during the Dock strike is strikingly indicative of the deterioration of modern politics, while it is not very flattering to himself.

The ideas which have been disseminated among the working classes by industrial agitators with regard to the liberty of the individual workman are as perverted in their nature and as vicious in their effects as the ideas with regard to property which we have just considered. It has been proclaimed from every Labour platform that an individual workman who dared to act upon his own judgment and in his own interests, and to oppose the general body of his fellows, was a coward and a traitor. The idea that a working man should be free to act according to his own lights and his own conscience, is denounced as a doctrine of devils by the very men who prate most loudly of liberty. The Trade Union notion of liberty is that the individual workman should efface himself by giving himself over body and soul into the hands of some autocrat or some committee whose orders he is to obey as unquestionably as a slave obeys his owner, however unreasonable or preposterous those orders may be. If he acts this part of a slave, acts as a being who possesses no rational or moral powers, who is incapable of perceiving and judging for himself what is right and wrong, or of acting upon his own convictions of duty, he is said to be manifesting the highest dignity of manhood; but if he has the courage to act as a truly rational and moral being alone can act, that is, to reason out all matters for himself and to do what he himself believes to be right without regard to the smile or frown of any other being in the universe except his God, he is called in mockery and contempt an ignoble exemplar of unmanliness. For such a man no insult is too vile, no abuse too foul; assault and maltreatment are regarded as his just deserts; and those who lay violent hands upon him think that they are doing humanity service. Even the murder of such a man would be esteemed as no crime in the eyes of thousands of men whose moral judgments on other matters are fairly sound. For confirmation of this, one only need to study carefully the words which were used and

the deeds which were committed during the Dock strike towards men whose only offence was that they dared to set at naught the laws of self-constituted industrial law-givers. These men were assailed in the most scurrilous and violent language, and many of them were in imminent danger of being maimed and murdered, and this at the hands of men who professed to be true lovers of freedom and exalted ensamples of morality.

The approbious epithet which is commonly applied by Trade Unionists to the workman who dares to act as a free man, namely, the term "blackleg," is in itself sufficient proof of the animus which is felt towards his class. The alacrity with which the Press and the public adopted the terminology of the strikers, if not one of the most surprising, was certainly one of the most mischievous elements in the case. Incalculable mischief has been done in the domain of Theology by the thoughtless repetition of a false terminology. This has caused more heresy than all the deliberate efforts of the greatest heretics in the world. However false a term may be, if it is used often enough and long enough it will insensibly exert a great influence upon the mind, and multitudes of people will assume it to represent truth. As in Theology so in Economics. Undoubtedly the terminology in use among Trades Unionists has done immense injury, and for this very reason every person who desires his words to be an expression of pure truth should avoid the use of terms, which, however accurate they may be when used in their true relations, are essentially false when used outside of those relations. Take the term "blackleg" for example. As defined by the dictionary this term means a swindler, a low cheater, a scoundrel. To apply such a term to men who have not only committed no crime or sin, but who have emphatically been doing well in performing their duty in serving the interests of society, is an illegitimate use of language which cannot be too strongly condemned. It is, of course, easy to understand why the strikers employed such terms, for their aim is to cover with odium every man who will not accept his code of morals and of freedom from them. But why should the newspapers, by using the term "blackleg" instead of the term "non-unionist" or "free-labourer," help to create the impression that these men were guilty of some sort of infamous conduct? Men who profess to be literary craftsmen ought to jealously guard the purity and the truth of our noble language, and they cannot be held guiltless in this matter. The average human mind is so constituted that the persistent use of such terms as "blackleg" tends by imperceptible processes to create prejudice in the minds of those who hear and read them.

What is called the "New Unionism" may be said to have been brought to the birth during the throes of the struggle at the docks. For legitimate Trades Unionism it is perhaps possible that a plausible defence should be made by its advocates; but for this bastard Trades Unionism nobody can make out a good case. It meets no real need on the part of the working classes; it performs no useful functions in society; it is utterly alien to the spirit of the English people and to the spirit of their institutions. It is like its procreator Parnellism, of which it is an exact reproduction, a monstrous excrescence upon the fair face of the community, a rank and poisonous fungus growing upon the trunk of civilisation. In one respect only do Irish Land Leagueism and the New Unionism differ; the former applies itself to agrarian matters, the latter to industrial matters. This is, however, merely an accident. Essentially the two things are one in spirit, in principle, and in aim. Both are the offspring of ultra-Democracy; they may be said to be the issue of the unhappy marriage which took place between Enlightenment and Ignorance when the State rashly bestowed the Franchise upon every man who rented a cottage or a mud hovel, without any regard whatever to his fitness to be entrusted with so powerful an instrument. Men unenlightened and intellectually undeveloped who possess the power to vote, in other words the power to set up and to overthrow Governments, to make or mar the fortunes of the nation, are like so many

pawns upon the chess board in the hands of an accomplished player, or, to use a better simile, like so many troops in the hands of a general on the field of battle; they are moved, marched, and massed without any regard to their own will, and with scarcely any consciousness of the aims which they are being used to accomplish. In this condition of things there constantly lurk most alarming dangers to the State. What these dangers are, and what they may yet become, is faintly conveyed to us by the difficulties with which we have had to grapple in Ireland during the past few years, and by those which now threaten the industrial peace and prosperity of the entire kingdom.

The main significance of the Dock strike lies in the fact that it was symptomatic of the Socialistic disease which is eating so deeply into the very vitals of the Commonwealth. It was the first symptom of a really alarming character, but it has been followed by others scarcely less grave, the chief of them perhaps being the railway strike in Scotland. This malignant Socialistic malady has been re-acted upon by the Parnell movement, which is also Socialistic, and has thereby gained an immense accession of strength. Indirectly, but still in a very real sense, the Dock strike in London was one of the fruits of Parnellism. The masses of this country, in addition to the inflammatory and dangerous propaganda which has appealed to their ignorance, and envy, and cupidity, have had presented before their eyes in the case of Ireland an object-lesson which has been even more effective for mischief. They have seen a political party there built up on Rapine; they have seen thousands of voters send scores of members to Parliament for the purpose of transferring the property of the landlord to the tenant; and they have also seen a great English party ally itself with this predatory agitation. Is it any marvel that they have taken the lesson to heart? If Irish landlords can be attacked with impunity with the sanction and assistance of English political parties, why not also British capitalists? The rude logic of the Dock workers is not so much astray as many people imagine, for

they have quite as good a right to secure for themselves—it they can—a portion of the property of the Dock Companies as the Irish tenants had to secure a portion of their landlords' property. Might is the only form of right that the Democracy acknowledges.

It is a most significant fact that some 40,000 of the East-end workers who struck in connection with the dockers were Irishmen and Roman Catholics, men who were saturated through and through with the spirit of Irish Leagueism. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., speaking in Manchester on September 27, 1889, in his capacity of President of the Irish National League of Great Britain, said: "Allusion had also been made to the struggle which had so triumphantly closed in London on behalf of the Dock labourers. In that struggle he was permitted to take a small, humble, and modest part, and he was glad to say that the part he took aided in some degree the final success of the strikers. A good many of these dockers were men of Irish race, a good many of the labourers throughout the country were men of Irish race too, and Irishmen in England, and Scotland, and Wales, if for no other reason would for their own personal interest and advancement always be found in the vanguard of those who were fighting for better houses, better wages, and greater comfort and enlarged liberties for the working classes in this country. . . . Attacked by Coercion, Ireland had its revenge by the emancipation and uprising of labour in England and in Scotland." From all this it is evident that the spirit which animates Land Leagueism in Ireland, and the spirit which animates the Socialistic Labour movement in Great Britain, is one and the same. Not only is the spirit one and the same, but to a large extent the agents which have worked the two movements have been one and the same also. Michael Davitt. T. P. O'Connor, John Dillon, and numerous lesser lights of Parnellism have been almost as active in stirring up hatred towards employers among the working classes of Great Britain as they have been in stirring up hatred towards Irish landlords on the part of their tenants.

The Socialistic aspect of the Parnell movement has been too much lost sight of. That movement has appealed to the selfishness and the envy and the greed of the ignorant peasantry, and has persistently instilled into their minds the idea that they ought to arise and possess themselves of the property which belongs to their landlords. Mr. Parnell succeeded where Mr. Butt and Mr. Shaw failed. And why? Simply because he appealed, in the most open and unabashed manner, not to the heads or the hearts of the smaller Irish cultivators, but only to their pockets. It is impossible to tolerate such teachings as those of Parnellism. much less to allow them to make their impress upon legislation, without paying the penalty for it. The process of exacting that penalty has already commenced. People who are given to look upon the appearance instead of looking into the reality of things imagine that the Parnell movement exists purely for the purpose of obtaining Home Rule for Ireland. This is a complete delusion. The Parnell movement exists in order to subvert those fundamental principles of morality, those elementary and old-fashioned notions of right and wrong, which lie at the root of all greatness, both individual and national. It is in its essence anti-social and anarchical, since its triumph would dissolve the bonds by which society is now held together, and would substitute the chaos of barbarism for the settled order of civilization. It is an attack upon property, primarily upon the property of the landlord, and secondarily upon that of the capitalist: while it is also an attack upon liberty, as it seeks to deprive the citizen of the freedom which is his right, viz., the freedom to act as he deems best in his own interests, so long as he observes the law and avoids interference with his neighbour. When the Parnell agitation was started in Ireland shallowminded and short-sighted people imagined that its effects might be confined to one country and to one class of property. But more acute observers perceived that it must necessarily, if unchecked, affect all kinds of property and spread throughout the United Kingdom. The forecasts and

the forebodings of this latter class have already been abundantly justified. The attack upon landed property is now developing into an attack upon Capital and upon property in general, as well as into an attack upon the liberty of the subject at almost every point. If the Englishmen who aided and abetted the Parnell movement are not still blinded by political prejudice and rancour they must sometimes stand appalled at the consequences of their own handiwork. They have nursed in the bosom of their party a viper, and now that it is awaking into life it is attempting to strike its poisonous fangs into the very vitals of the body politic. They have sown the wind: they are reaping the whirlwind. But alas! the reaping cannot be restricted simply to those who sowed the evil seed; the bitter and deadly harvest must be gathered by the whole community. Some of the dock and railway shareholders, shipowners, manufacturers, iron masters, colliery proprietors, employers, and merchants who have suffered so severely in consequence of recent strikes have helped to bring their misfortunes upon themselves by countenancing and propagating Parnellite principles.

The analogy between the Parnell movement and the Radical-Socialistic-Labour movement which has caused the recent strikes is very close and very instructive.

1. We have in each case agitators who exploit distress in order to serve themselves.

Burns, Tillett, Champion, Mann, McCarthy, Toomey and Co. correspond with Parnell, O'Brien, Healy, Dillon, and Davitt in Ireland.

2. We have masses of men exhibiting the most abject servility to their "leaders," and an extraordinary readiness to be deluded and manipulated by those whom they fondly imagine to be seeking their true interests.

The dockers, like the Irish peasantry, seem to think that when they are allowing themselves to be blindfolded by agitators, and to be led captive by them at their will, they are giving the highest evidences of manhood. Men who can be treated like "dumb, driven cattle," or who follow their

leaders and each other as sheep follow a bell-wether, are not exactly the kind of persons who ought to be allowed by mere force of numbers and of combination to terrorize the rest of the community, and to jeopardize the interests of order, of commerce, and of civilization itself; nor ought they to be granted by the Constitution privileges and powers which enable them to neutralize the political influence of the intelligent and the reasonable. Whether such men ought ever to have had votes or not is very doubtful, though it would be bootless to discuss the question now that the mischief is done. It is quite conceivable, however-nay, quite certain-that if the "Social Revolution" goes beyond a certain stage, society will be compelled to grip it by the throat and to disfranchise those who are working through it against the interests of the nation—their own interest of course included.

3. The Capitalist in Great Britain corresponds with the Landlord in Ireland.

Of both the crime is that they possess something which somebody else wants, and as the somebody else can wield the largest number of votes, politicians of a certain class think it is quite right that he should take this something as his own. Where the masses are concerned might is right; where the "almighty vote" comes in, common-place considerations of morality must take a back seat. In Ireland a holocaust of victims has been sacrificed on the altar of Household Suffrage; in Great Britain the same god is crying out for his prey, and the Radical-Socialistic politicians will make desperate efforts to propitiate him. Irish landlords and English Dock shareholders have already been ground between his iron teeth, and fresh victims are being prepared.

4 The "land-grabber" in Ireland corresponds with the "blackleg" in Great Britain.

The crime of these classes is that they have the audacity to exercise their legal and moral rights, and to use their money and their labour in such ways as they deem most desirable and most profitable. There is no law, Divine or human, against a man taking a farm because the previous tenant was turned out for dishonesty; neither is there any law against a workman continuing at his work for wages which he deems sufficient, rather than be idle and see his family starve. But according to the new Democratic Decalogue these men are cowards, criminals, traitors, and reptiles; they are branded as infamous for doing that which they have a legal and moral right to do; and for exercising their freedom in their own interests they are subjected to insult and injury and outrage.

5. The boycotting and intimidation which have been practised in Ireland, and which have made that country a by-word among the nations of the earth, have been imitated in England's capital, the first and greatest city in the world, and in many other

centres of industry and commerce.

The majority of the men who struck at the docks had no grievances worth speaking of. Many of them admitted this, and admitted it, strange to say, without any sense of shame. Why did these men, who professed to be satisfied with their wages and with the conditions of their labour, throw up their work? Partly because they were cowards, unworthy of the name of Englishmen; partly because they were the dupes of cunning and unscrupulous agitators; but chiefly because they were intimidated, bullied, and maltreated. Hundreds of men were practically compelled to leave their employment under threats of violence and murder, and many were brutally assaulted. So it has been likewise in connection with every great strike since. In this connection attention may be called to some very significant remarks which were made by Mr. John Dillon on August 24, 1890. He said: "Nothing could have been achieved of all the past advances which have been made since 1880 but for boycotting. We should never have had the Act of 1881. There would be no Arrears Act. and the Land Commissioners, when they were appointed, but for fear of boycotting would never have given you one shilling reduction in your rents. When we commenced boycotting in Ireland every vacant farm had half-a-dozenmen looking for it, hedging against the old owner; and if you had the Land Purchase Act to-morrow in Ireland without boycotting and with the land-grabbers in abundance, what price, I would like to know, would you have to pay for your farms? What was the salvation of the Irish people to-day? The salvation of the Irish people of to-day is this—that there is no one but the one buyer for each farm, and when a man who is in a farm does not like the price, well, then he can wait until the price comes down."

Equally significant were certain remarks made by the Star in commenting upon this subject: "The English labourer and Irish peasant have both the same end at heart, and are using the same methods to enforce it. And they have the same foes to fight. Clanricarde there and Norwood here are all for 'free '-that is, blackleg-labour. Clanricarde's plan was to produce a reckless and incessant competition in farms, an endless supply of Irish cottiers. Their lives were to be regulated by the beneficent law of supply and demand, freedom of contract, and the rest. It worked out in Clanricarde's eyes as a simple Rule of Three Sum: 'As so many Irish peasants are to so much land, so is my rent.' . . . The Land and National Leagues stopped all that. They did away with 'free competition' in flesh and blood by the simple method of the Union and the 'boycott' for 'blacklegs.' . . . The boycott has, doubtless, been oppressively used, but its general tendency has been to put down outrages by rendering outrages unnecessary. So with the New Unionism. It has organised labour to such a point of perfection that 'rattening' is no longer the method which commends itself as either an enlightened or a righteous proceeding."

6. Picketing, as a method of the "Labour" movement, corresponds with moonlighting as a method of the Parnell movement.

The object of the pickets is, by the use of violence and intimidation, to prevent men from working who have a right and a desire to work; the object of the moonlighters is, by violence and intimidation, to prevent tenants from paying

their rents or taking evicted farms; the ultimate aim in both cases being to prevent the break-up of the combination which has been set up, in the one instance against the landlord. and in the other against the capitalist. The force of the analogy under this head is not weakened because the picket. did not at first shoot people in the legs, or pour pitch upon their heads, or murder them, as the moonlighters are in the habit of doing. Considering the aptness, however, with which the strikers have learned the worst lessons of Parnellism, and the readiness with which they have adopted many of its vilest practices, they may be expected before very long to imitate the moonlighters to the very letter. The remarks of Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., upon this point apply much more closely than many people are willing to a lmit. Presiding at a National League meeting during the Dock Strike, Mr. Sullivan said that "when numbers of fellows, labelled blacklegs, were engaged to take the strikers' places, the Dock labourers were able to induce them to leave. In a similar case, if such a thing were attempted in Ireland, the parties interfering would be punished severely. The blackleg in England was the landgrabber in Ireland, and if a person attempted to induce the landgrabber to leave the farm by any means the result would be a lengthened term of imprisonment." Very true. And a most excellent result it would be. It is a result which ought to follow upon picketing as swiftly and as surely as it does upon moonlighting.

7. The "Labour" movement, like the Parnell movement, seeks to interfere with the natural operation of economic laws.

These laws, whatever may be said against them (and there is something to be said against all laws), are realities; they are forces with which we have to reckon: and to run amuck against them is to display the blind infatuation of a mad bull or a runaway horse. The wages of labour are regulated by the quantity of labour that is in the market. Where the supply of labour exceeds the demand, wages will be low: where the supply is not equal to the demand, wages will be high. In the East-end of London, and in many of our large

towns, there are three times as many workmen as there is work for; consequently those who can get no proper or regular employment are glad to work when, where, and for what they can; and their working for what they can get is the best thing that they can do in the circumstances of an overcrowded labour market. The effect of strikes is not to diminish the amount of available labour (in the case of the Dock Strike the effect was to increase it, as it attracted more men to London by the prospect of higher wages), and therefore they do not touch the real evil at all. The Dock authorities now employ fewer men and employ them more regularly: naturally they have chosen the strongest and most capable men; and the thousands of casual labourers who aforetime were able to earn small sums of money at odd times when there was a pressure of work now find themselves out in the cold. How does this benefit the majority of the strikers? Essentially the conditions are unchanged and unaffected. There are more men than can be employed, and as a consequence wages rule low. All the strikes, all the abuse of capitalists, all the sentimental gush, all the worship of the masses, all the emotional charity in the world, will never permanently better the condition of the worker while he remains as multitudinous as he is to-day. Strikes may change the position of a small minority of men for the better; but upon the ocean of industrial distress they can produce no more effect than Mrs. Partington's mop did upon the Atlantic. Economic laws are stronger than Socialistic gasometers.

8. Alike in the Parnell movement and in the Labour movement there is a strong tendency to substitute arbitrary opinion for moral law, or, in other words, to set up a new standard of right and wrong.

Over large tracts of Ireland that is right which Parnell and Co. decree to be right; that is wrong which they decide to be wrong. If their edicts come into conflict with the authority of Scripture, with the august dictates of the human conscience, or with the doctrines of right and wrong which are accepted throughout the civilized world and have been consecrated by the usage of ages, then it is the authority of Scripture and conscience and tradition which must go to the wall, and not the authority of Parnell and Co. Through this setting up of a false and arbitrary standard of right and wrong in Ireland things which are lawful and commendable in themselves have come to be regarded as most heinous crimes. For example, when some of Mr. Smith-Barry's Tipperary tenants paid their rents against the decree of Wm. O'Brien and Co., as they were in honesty bound to do, Mr. T. M. Healy referred to their action thus: "Their SIN was undoubtedly very great, because if their example was imitated the result would be that their combination would be smashed, and the heart of William O'Brien broken." Precisely the same spirit was manifested during the Dock Strike. Boss Burns was called, by one of the journals which lauded him to the seventh heaven every day, "the law-giver of the Democratic Israel." Well, a law-giver in a certain sense he undoubtedly was, for what he said to those overgrown babies, the Dock labourers, was accepted by them as law. Here are some specimens of the Democratic law-giver's wisdom: "The end justified the means. Everything that assisted the dockers' strike was moral: everything that retarded their cause was immoral." After this, one ceases to be surprised at picketing, intimidation, boycotting, or anything else. No doubt the strikers who received money at Lusk's warehouse on the understanding that they were at once to begin work, and then never went to work at all, thought they were doing a very moral act. Mr. Tillett deemed their conduct worthy of public praise—though he is a preacher of the Gospel! Here are some more gems from the Democratic law-giver: "The Directors had stated that their backs were up, but his was not yet up. When it was, the Directors would know it. On the previous day they had sat in solemn conclave for six hours, and like the mountain in labour they had brought forth a mouse, which was the offspring of the rat Norwood. . . . If the men accepted the proposal that contract work

was to be converted into piece work as soon as possible they would be degraded to the contemptible vacillation displayed by Norwood and his dirty crew. . . . They must take unto themselves the wealth they earned in order to keep their mind, body, and soul in decent condition. . . . The letters and speeches of the Directors which had been published were unworthy of men, and were the language of ghouls in human shape and the sentiments of financial Jackthe-Rippers." In a speech on Sep. 3, 1889, he said that a "Russian vessel laden with eggs had not been unloaded, and the eggs had become rotten, and they had better keep them until the end of the strike and then pelt Norwood with them." In the same speech he said: "In spite of what had been done for the docks, he repeated they were going to bombard all the dock gates with horse, foot, and artillery until every blackleg was got out of them." Respectable and honest men who went to work against the wish of Boss Burns and his supporters were spoken of as criminals, and as deserving the treatment of criminals. Had they committed theft or murder they could scarcely have been spoken of in terms more opprobious, and probably they would have been spoken of much more leniently; just as in Ireland a ma who takes an evicted farm is considered a scoundrel to whom the pains of hell are too good, while a man who shoot. a landlord or a policeman is acclaimed as a hero. There 1 not only a palpable distortion, but a complete inversion, the ideas of right and wrong. And there are no persons so dangerous to the community as those who call evil good an good evil. Obfuscation of the moral vision is a lesser ev than its obliquity.

9. The Parnell movement and the "Labour" movement resemble each other in this vital particular—that they are both promoted and sustained by extraneous support.

The Parnell movement would have collapsed years ago but for the sinews of war supplied from America, and the great strikes of the last eighteen months—the Dock Strike, the gas-stokers' strike, the railway strikes, &c., would in each

case have broken down in less than a fortnight had not outside support been given. In the case of the Dock Strike, it was as we have seen the arrival of Australian money which enabled the strikers to win.

10. Just as moonlighting and other agrarian outrages have followed upon the speeches of agitators in Ireland, so in connection with the "Labour" movement intimidation and outrages have followed on the speeches of the leaders.

Tillett and Burns were never weary of denouncing the men whom they chose to call "blacklegs," and urging that they should be boycotted and treated as traitors. The results were seen in the bullying, the brutality, and the violence which took place in the streets of London, in railway stations, and at the Dock gates. Men who had committed no crime were set upon by hordes of cowardly ruffians and kicked, beaten with straps, stoned, thrown into pools of dirty water, and in some cases their injuries were so serious that they had to be taken to the hospital. These outbursts of brutality were even worse after the strike was settled than while it was going on. In a case heard at the Thames Police-court on September 19, 1889, evidence was given to show that a man named Garfield said to some non-union men: "Would you like some of this soup (producing a stevedore's hook). Burns says we are to pull you blacklegs out of the docks with our hooks. If I had my way I'd rip you up with them." Undoubtedly the "Labour" leaders are primarily responsible for the intimidation and outrage which disgrace these strikes, but as is too often the case the leaders get off scot free, while those who acted on their advice (if caught and convicted) get two or three months hard labour.

Unfortunately the analogy betwixt the Parnell movement and the "Labour" movement cannot be carried to the extent of saying that the law as promptly suppresses intimidation and outrage in Great Britain as it does in Ireland. Offences which are rigorously stamped out in Ireland are allowed to luxuriate in London and Edinburgh. There men are prosecuted and imprisoned, and very justly so, for boycotting and

intimidation; here the same practices may be carried on with impunity. Parnellites exulted over the fact that men could do in the East End of London, without let or hindrance, what they would have been punished for doing in Ireland. This state of affairs amounted to nothing less than a national disgrace. All through the recent strikes the authorities have manifested a mysterious tolerance towards picketing, intimidation, and violence; so that men who wished to work, and who had an indefeasible legal right to be protected at their work, were left to the mercy of their persecutors. peated complaints of Dock and railway directors and other employers, that adequate protection was denied to those of their men who wished to work, and their declarations that this condition of affairs was an injustice and a scandal, were both justifiable and reasonable. At one time the London Docks were given up to the rioters, the Police Commissioner declining to take any action in the matter. Compare with this the state of things in Ireland. On September 17, 1889, the very day after the Albert Docks were at the mercy of rioters, the following incident occurred in Ireland. Five persons were prosecuted at Blarney by the constabulary for intimidation in connection with a contemplated strike at a flax mill. These persons had threatened thirty workmen, and caused them to leave the factory, business being stopped. They had a grievance too, for they got only 12s. per week, and skilled foremen were brought from Belfast. The magistrates expressed their determination to put down such conduct, and fined the ringleader \$20, or three months' imprisonment, and three others £15, or two months. Mr. Munro, the (happily the late) Chief Commissioner of Police, in London, appeared to be more anxious to gain the favour of the lower elements of the populace during the Dock Strike than to put down lawlessness and protect quiet citizens; while even the Home Secretary, it must be repeated, shut his eyes very hard to what was going on, possibly because he did not wish to lose the Government any votes. It has been remarked in a previous sentence in this chapter that Mr. Balfour at the Home Office and Sir Charles Warren at Scotland Yard would have been worth millions to the commercial interests of the country. There is some reason, however, to fear that even Mr. Balfour looks with greater favour upon intimidation and boycotting in England than he does upon the same practices in Ireland. This may have been excusable at the outset, for neither Mr. Balfour nor any one else was quite able to realise while the Dock Strike was proceeding that it threatened serious injury to the security of property and to the liberty of the subject. If the mischief had grown to anything like the same proportions in Great Britain that it had reached in Ireland, and Mr. Balfour had been called upon to put it down, there is no doubt that he would have acted with as much determination and vigour in the one case as he did in the other. From some remarks which Mr. Balfour made in Parliament on the 8th of July, 1890, it is, however, clear that even his notions with regard to intimidation and outrage in England require a little stiffening. These observations were made in reply to a speech of Mr. Dillon. and it may be well to give the remarks of both speakers. Mr. Dillon said:

"What had the vigilance men to do? They went to fairs for the purpose of pointing out the stock of boycotted persons, such as Mr. Smith-Barry or the members of the Property Defence Association. The vigilance men were exactly analogous in their operation to the pickets of English trade unions. When the dockers struck they had 4,000 men around the Docks to prevent the blacklegs from entering, and the Dock owners denounced their conduct, and used precisely the same arguments as the Irish landlords used now. But what was the action of the Home Secretary? He made the police allow the system, and the police by-andby fraternized with the pickets. If the people in Ireland attempted to do what the dockers had done in London, and the gas-stokers had done in Leeds, they would have been cut to pieces or ridden down by the cavalry. Let the people be left without those strong combinations, bound by rules

which were enforced under severe penalties, and what liberty was given them? The liberty of starvation. working people of this country were beginning to see that their brothers in Ireland by boycotting were doing nothing more than following in the footsteps of the Trade Unions. But the system of shadowing was carried on not because it was practised by the people in Ireland, but because the right hon, gentleman thought that in it he had discovered a new instrument of torture for his political opponents."

Mr. Balfour replied:

"The hon, member for East Mayo attempted to demolish the case I made yesterday with regard to boycotting at fairs by telling us that the policy which he recommends in Ireland in no sense differs from the policy which the Trade Unions have legally adopted in England. I traverse that statement absolutely. Pickets in England-at the Dock Strike for example—are not allowed to intimidate those that are coming in to work, and if they do they break the law. If they inflict any suffering, if they threaten or coerce men who desire to obtain occupation, they are subject to legal penalties. Now, I want to know what parallel there is between the procedure of those pickets who cannot threaten, who cannot coerce, and who cannot use violence, and the procedure of those shadowers at fairs who ruin their victims, and whose object is to ruin their victims. There is no parallel. The version of the English law which the hon. gentleman has given is erroneous as regards shadowers at fairs. Because we have had in England a legal case absolutely on all fours with these cases in Ireland. We have had a case of shadowing at fairs and of boycotting at fairs at Salford. It was tried before an English judge and an English jury. There was no hesitation as to the law laid down by the judge, there was no hesitation as to the verdict given by the jury, and judge and jury alike agreed that the law-not the coercion law, but the common law-was in England and Ireland alike violated by these shadowers at fairs. Therefore, it is not open to the hon, gentleman to pretend that in denouncing his subordinates as criminals in this matter we are in any way relying upon exceptional Irish legislation, or that we are not simply vindicating the law common to both countries."

In spite of what Mr. Balfour says, however, it will be difficult to convince impartial men who have acquainted themselves with all the facts that the law has dealt as rigorously as it ought to have done, or even as rigorously as it has done in Ireland, with offences which are precisely similar in their nature and purpose. There is point in what the Pall Mall Gazette said on October 4, 1889: "If the strike leaders had been Irish peasants instead of London dockers they would have been laid by the heels long ago; and as for the insulting effigies of Mr. Norwood himself, why, if an Irish landlord had been similarly treated under his very nose half of the village would have been put in jail for it." To the same effect the Star said on August 27, 1889: "It isn't necessary, however, to look to Ireland for instances of the same kind of 'conspiracy.' What is going on in London under our ·eyes? Are not the workers in every trade in the East-end being advised and exhorted to combine for the support of the dockmen against their employers? What possible distinction can be drawn between what Messrs. O'Brien and Gilhooly are now condemned for doing, and what Messrs. Burns and Tillett (more power to them!) have been doing every day for a fortnight past? Nay, more; we very much question whether, if only Mr. Matthews had a couple of Removables at work in the East-end, Mr. Buxton, M.P., could not be packed off to Holloway Gaol for his address to his constituents on Saturday."

The attitude of the general public towards the Dock Strike may be described as one of irrational sympathy, almost of blind infatuation. One effect of the pseudo-humanitarianism of the age is that the public conscience (or rather the public emotions) is very sensitive to the sufferings of the poor, and almost as sensitive to those which are spurious as to those which are genuine. No doubt there is a good deal of uninformed sentiment and of hysterical gush in these dramatic

manifestations of sympathy; yet, on the whole, they are rather to be commended, perhaps, than condemned. The public, like women, never reason; though, also like women, they often hit the mark pretty well without going through any logical process. Sometimes, however, they blunder very badly, and they did so with regard to the Dock Strike. They did not take the trouble to enquire into the facts, to ascertain whether the demands of the men were just or not, or if just whether they ought to be, or could be, granted immediately or within a specified time. They simply rushed to the conclusion that the Dock Directors were a set of hardhearted, close-fisted, and selfish monsters, and they took no heed whatever of the 5,000 or so of Dock Shareholders, many of them widows and orphans, whose interests are quite as sacred, perhaps, owing to their helplessness, a little more sacred than even those of the dock labourers. That the latter had been down-trodden, oppressed, and treated with brutal injustice; that they were patterns of forbearance and long-suffering for not having risen in their might and destroyed the Docks and warehouses; and that they had at last struck because their oppression was too intolerable to be longer borne—all these assumptions the public accepted in blind confidence without once taking the trouble to look into the actual facts. If the Dock Strike had occurred anywhere but in London, or anywhere even in London except in the East-end, it would have attracted very little notice, and still less support. But the East-end of London has been advertised and exploited to such an extent of late years that it has become the spoilt child of philanthropy. As a matter of fact there are other districts in London which are quite as destitute as, and much more dirty and squalid than, the East-end, and yet it is almost impossible to excite any sympathy on their behalf. The facts which were brought to light by the evidence given before the Sweating Commission have tended to make this sensitiveness as regards the Eastend even more acute than it was before. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the publication of these facts has not done

more harm than good; for while the condition of the sweated work-people has not been appreciably ameliorated a feeling of uneasiness has been created in the public mind. Commissions of this sort had better never be held at all unless the Government is prepared to at once supply a remedy for any evils which may be brought to light by their investigations. The facts which have already been stated with regard to the actual condition of the Dock labourers in London before the strike show that as a matter of fact these labourers were in a much better position than most other unskilled labourers in the country. Yet the public heedlessly subscribed money in order to support men, all of whom were receiving more than the market rate of wages for their labour, and some of whom were earning between £2 and £3 per week.

The action of the Australians in supporting the strike has already been referred to, and to what has been said upon that point it is not necessary to add much more. The colonial public, however, displayed more amazing folly than even the British public. In the nature of the case the Australians could know but little about the real merits of the dispute; yet they rashly subscribed thousands, and even tens of thousands, of pounds in support of the strikers. We now know that the bulk of this money was subscribed by Australian capitalists, whose sympathies, had they been fully acquainted with the facts, would have been on the side of the Dock Directors as against the Dock labourers, and this portion of the Australian funds was subscribed purely for the relief of distress. As for that comparatively insignificant part of the money which was subscribed by "Labour" in Australia, it was subscribed rather from selfish than from philanthropic motives, the object of the donors being to prevent British labour from flowing into their markets and so depressing their wages. It is possible, indeed, that some of the contributions of Australian workmen may have been purely benevolent, as a certain proportion of these workmen might have relatives in the East-end of London; but in the

main they were of a very different character, and were sent by men whose one purpose was to keep the Australian labour market to themselves. Probably they will have defeated their own purpose after all; for through this strike an immense number of labourers in East London have been thrown out of work, and some of these may find their way to Sydney or Melbourne, Adelaide or Brisbane.\* Possibly the strikers in this country and their friends abroad may both have been justified in acting as they did from selfinterest, but at least their conduct should be described in truthful terms, and not exalted and glorified as the highest expression of altruism. We have been treated of late to a good deal of swollen talk with regard to the new spirit of brotherhood which has arisen among working men; but when stripped of its drapery this so-called spirit of brotherhood is seen to be nothing more nor less than the rankest form of selfishness. The various classes of labourers who supported the dockers did so because they saw that the strike would dislocate, even if it did not paralyse, the trade of London, and put the public to serious inconvenience; and because they further saw that if this inconvenience could be carried to sufficient length, pressure would be brought to bear upon the Dock Directors to compel them to concede all the demands of the men, and victory to the Dock labourers would mean victory also to those who had backed them up. Working men generally, both Australian and British, supported the Dock Strike, not out of love for the dockers, but because they saw that the strike could be made to serve their own ends. This was seen more clearly, perhaps, in the case of the stevedores than in the case of any other class of work-The stevedores professed to strike out of pure sympathy with the Dock labourers, and their unselfishness in taking this action was extolled to the skies; they were said to be heroes, splendid examples of self-sacrifice, perfect

<sup>\*</sup>It is significant that in less than two years after the Dock Strike these Australasian cities had their demonstrations and processions of "unemployed," who made frantic appeals to the Government for public relief works, etc.

prodigies of magnanimity; and yet it ultimately turned out that the stevedores were really working for their own selfish ends all the way through the piece. The action of the strikers themselves, of the various classes of riverside workmen who supported them, and of the Trades Unionists who subsidised them, was a piece of unmitigated selfishness from beginning to end. And yet the action of all these men was represented by their partisans as a manifestation of generosity such as had scarcely ever been paralleled in human history. The religious, the almost ultra-Christian, tone adopted by the strike leaders and their coadjutors was a manifestation either of downright hypocrisy or of purblind fanaticism; perhaps there was an admixture of both. However this may be, the canting terms in which the strike was spoken of by its originators and defenders was one of its most ridiculous aspects. Mr. W. A. McArthur, M.P., informed a meeting of Nonconformist ministers that-" Thanks to the efforts of Cardinal Manning and Mr. John Burns, they had made, of what the swell clubs at the West-end were apt to describe as the dregs of the East-end of London, a nation of loving, hoping, confident men." The Pall Mall Gazette drew an elaborate parallel between the strike and the revival of religion, the central figure of the revival being John Burns.

Mr. Gladstone, in the course of a speech at Hawarden, made much of the fact that the various trades of the country, by supporting the Dock labourers, had shown that working men everywhere intended to make common cause, and he intimated that this fact had invested the Dock Strike with "a social character that may be full of consequence in the future," and he characterised this social fact as being of the very highest importance. He then added these significant words: "I believe that the lesson has been learned from Ireland, and that it is due to the present Government and to its coercive laws in Ireland, and to the necessity which they have laid upon the people of Ireland in different parts of the country which have no connection with one another to associate together for an object which they believe to be

vital to all. I am much inclined to think that the working men of London have learned this lesson from Ireland." This is true in another sense than that intended by Mr. Gladstone, as has already been clearly shown. The Dock Strike was nothing more nor less than another manifestation of the evil genius of Parnellism.

One of the most remarkable features of the strike was the intervention of a section of the clergy, at the head of whom were the Bishop of London and Cardinal Manning. What in the name of common-sense had these reverend gentlemen to do with the Dock Strike? What qualifications had they to intermeddle in the matter at all? Had they the qualification of knowledge? Did they understand the matter? Decidedly not. Yet they undertook to manage the business of the Dock Directors for them. What would Cardinal Manning have said if the Chairman of the Docks had gone to the Archbishop's house in Westminster and undertaken to stir up discontent among the priests, and set them against their Bishops, and point out how the Archbishop's management of ecclesiastical affairs might be improved? How would Cardinal Manning have liked that? But such a course would be quite as reasonable and as justifiable as the part he took in connection with this strike. His motives may have been of the loftiest character; but his zeal was not according to knowledge. The same may be said with regard to the Bishop of London. This prelate would have been far better employed in looking after some of his own erratic clergy than in trying to manage the business of the Dock Directors. One of his own Canons at St. Paul's, Canon Scott-Holland, stood sorely in need of a little wholesome episcopal counsel and discipline. This gentleman wrote to the Times denouncing the men who chose to work rather than loaf about the docks during the strike. He said: "Such men (i.e., industrious and independent men) are the despair of British industry. They are the Esaus who sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. They save themselves from starvation to-day at the cost of keeping themselves and their

fellows on the very edge of starvation for ever. The men who would go in for 3d. an hour must be those with least foresight, least intelligence, least self-respect, least sense of corporate responsibility. Their very existence is a proof of the necessity of a vigorous external pressure which will sustain them at the level of their true manhood."

When an Anglican parson does get infected with Radical-Socialism he takes it badly. All the facts go to show that the men who were at work during the strike were far more richly endowed with the attributes of real manhood than are the ruck and run of dock labourers. The Canon says again: "Let us make it clear that our moral judgment goes wholly against them (i.e., against those who were at work), and goes with those who look around and ahead, and understand their social responsibilities, and are loyal to the brotherhood of Labour and to the law of sacrifice for others' good, and are learning to trust one another; who refuse to cut the ground from under the feet of their fellows, and will not act alone, without reference to the trade society with whose fortunes they are willing to stand or fall."

This, one may remark in passing, is just how Romish priests talk in Ireland against "land grabbers," and as the result of their so talking the "landgrabber" is boycotted, or maimed, or murdered. Possibly one result of Canon Scott-Holland's foolish utterances may be found in the fact that the Dock labourers, after they got to work, in deliberate violation of a solemn compact, maltreated the non-unionist men, who by this clerical Socialist are said to be "the despair of British industry, the Esaus who sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, and who keep their fellows on the very verge of starvation for ever."

Another City clergyman named Allen, curate of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, wrote thus: "Are not the public expecting too much from the strikers in demanding that they shall manifest no display of ill-feeling towards the blacklegs? . . . The employers fought for their asserted right to treat the men unrighteously; the blacklegs, as they truly say,

came to their assistance, and but for these traitors to the righteous cause of their class, the strike must have terminated much sooner. Think, then, of the day of suffering which these blacklegs, by their action, have inflicted upon the strikers, and say is it not too much to expect that an ignorant and rough class of men, who have undoubtedly been cruelly harmed by these blacklegs, should be willing at once to forget all that and work on equal terms with them? It would be a fine and splendid piece of self-restraint were they actually to do so. But I for one, much as I wish they would rise to it, would, in view of all the facts of the case, not be very much surprised that they did not."

Surely the Bishop of London would have been much better employed in looking after these wild parsons, and confining them to their own legitimate work, than he was in seeking to teach the Dock Directors their business. About the same time the Bishop of Chichester was seriously taking to task a Brighton clergyman, who had listened to some remarks from a lecturer derogatory to the honour of the Virgin Mary without protesting against them. But such letters as those just quoted did far more practical mischief than an obscure lecturer's foolish remarks about the Virgin Mary. Nevertheless, the Bishop of London did not think it worth his while to issue any admonition to those of his clergy who were disseminating dangerous and poisonous Socialistic teachings.

As for the Free Church ministers (so-called), their action was, if it be possible, even more ridiculous and mischievous than that of the clergy. All too obviously it was dictated by a desire to curry favour with the populace rather than by a pure zeal for the truth of the Gospel. Proof of this abounds in every speech they delivered at this juncture. They permitted themselves to be goaded into action by the taunts and threats of two or three newspapers which supported the strike, and by the conceit of certain Nonconformist ministers who have persuaded themselves that no public question can be settled without their aid. In all that these gentlemen said upon the strike they assumed that the

labourers were wholly in the right and the directors wholly in the wrong, a fact which in itself showed that they were quite incapable of treating the subject in a fair and judicial spirit. The Rev. C. H. Kelly, who was then President of the Wesleyan Conference, speaking at a meeting at St. George's Wesleyan Mission, Cable-street, E., "assured the strikers of the sympathy of the tens of thousands of Methodists all over the land," which was a most unauthorized and unwarrantable statement. When reduced to its proper dimensions it amounted to nothing more nor less than Mr. C. H. Kelly's personal opinion. At a meeting of pastors and officers of Nonconformist churches held at the Memorial Hall on September 9, 1889, Dr. Clifford, eloquent as he is, seemed to be scarcely able to find language which could adequately express the admiration which swelled in his bosom for the strikers. He said: "The men deserved more real and extended sympathy even than they had obtained. The heroic conduct of the strikers deserved cordial recognition, and philanthropists who had watched them had been constrained to entertain hopes for their advancement which had never been held out before. The spirit which had animated the dockers throughout the strike was admirable, and was due in great measure to the conduct of the leaders-Burns and Tillett." The Rev. J. M'Neill dogmatically asserted that "the concession should be made at once. It appeared at first sight to be a pity that the cause of the dockers was headed by something that was without godliness, but John Burns did not seem to be far from the Kingdom of Heaven, and he was not sure that the Dock Directors would get in." This meeting adopted the following resolution: "That this meeting of the pastors and officers of the Free Churches of London requests representatives of all denominations present to wait upon the Dock Directors and the Lord Mayor at once, and represent to them that WE are convinced that it is of the utmost urgency that the claims of the men as expressed in their latest proposition of 6d. an hour at once, or on the first of October, be instantly conceded, and so end this painful struggle."

This is deliciously impudent.

At a subsequent meeting in the City Temple on Sept. 13, where the same speakers appeared (with the same speeches), this resolution was adopted: "That this meeting expresses its hearty sympathy with the cause of the Dock labourers, rejoices in the moderation, self-control, and patience which have characterized their efforts to obtain a just wage, and records its satisfaction that the long continued strike appears to be reaching its termination on a fair and just basis." A sensible amendment could find only two supporters. Its terms were as follows: "That by their refusal to act in a conciliatory spirit towards the London and India Docks Joint Committee in the face of the concessions granted by the latter; by their Manifesto of the 30th of August calling upon all trades to strike, though afterwards revoked; and by the intimidation largely carried on, thereby preventing men who wished to work from earning their living, the strikers have forfeited their right to public sympathy."

The Rev. H. Price Hughes, one of the orators at this meeting, proposed the above resolution, and among the gems of his speech were these: "The Dock Directors had not a leg to stand upon, except the blackleg. . . . The only real difficulty in the way of a solution was that peculiar quality which American theologians called cussedness. intimidation, had there been none on the other side?" Then Mr. Hughes threw some light upon the real motives of the promoters of the meeting in the following words: "Nonconformists had been caught napping. As a Protestant and Nonconformist inheriting the noblest traditions of freedom and progress, he was ashamed that they had allowed a Cardinal of the Church of Rome to be before them in the service of the poor. It was of urgent importance that they should resolve that night to form a permanent Social Committee who might be ready to intervene in the service of future peace and good-will. The churches must undertake

the social as well as the spiritual salvation of the people." Dr. Parker, in seconding the resolution, said: "He did not support a strike simply because it was a strike, but when a strike was founded upon moral reasons and could be upheld by honest workmen, and when it was sustained so largely by the Christian sentiment of the nation, he could not but feel that there was something more in it than a merely violent attempt to unsettle the usual course of things. He believed he was right in saying that the majority of the Christian sentiment of the nation was on the side of the working men. The meeting was called by Nonconformists, and they would have been untrue to every tradition which had given them uniqueness and invested them with Divine influence if they had not allowed that place to be used for the purpose to which it was being devoted." The Rev. I. M'Neill, another of the speakers at this meeting, almost surpassed even himself in coarseness and vulgarity. Here is one choice extract from his speech: "Some of the newspapers who were so loud in their condemnation of picketing were not so eager a short time ago to speak out against a more polished form of blackguardism—he referred not to picketing but to Piggoting. As regards the whole Socialistic bogey, the wealthy classes had to fear not Socialism, but Christianity." The Nonconformist ministers. seem to be doing their best to estrange employers of labour and capitalists from their churches. Should they succeed in doing this, as seems very likely, they will simply cut the ground from under their own feet, and they will find that the support of the "masses"—whose tastes do not lie exactly in the direction of religion, for only two per cent. of working men in London attend church or chapel—is a very poor substitute for the generosity and the exertions of the well-todo classes who have made their churches what they are.

Would such men as those who figured at the Memorial Hall and the City Temple, if they were engaging a domestic servant, pay her a third above the market rate of wages out of pure charity? Not they. Still less would they display

any such generosity towards a secretary or amanuensis. They would be much more likely to grind the poor fellow down to a full third below the market rate. Certainly they would think the wages of a first class Dock labourer much too high for him. These men would, if they wished to purchase a new book, after moving their resolutions against flinty-hearted Dock Directors, go straightway to the shop of a discount bookseller, much more solicitous about obtaining threepence in the shilling discount than about fairly remunerating the author. If they are so anxious to see labour well paid, why do they not pay the full price for their books, and thus do their duty by the men who write them? All the fine oratory of these gentlemen is simply so much balderdash, unless they are prepared to carry out their principles all round, and tax themselves in order to put an end to the existing cheapness of commodities, which is the real reason why labour is not better paid. But if the under-paid labourer has to wait for an improvement in his position until these gentlemen are willing to act in this way he will have to wait till Doomsday.\*

The personal aspects of the strike, while they are of course much more interesting than its impersonal aspects, are also in some respects even more important. John Burns was, in American parlance, "Boss of the show," and he knew it. Members of Parliament, leading newspapers, and

<sup>\*</sup>The writer may here state that he acted for twelve months as the managing editor of a weekly paper which was largely owned by one of the Rev. denouncers of the Dock Directors. He is bound to say that the Doctor never manifested any undue eagerness to pay him above the market rate of wages. He was expected to manage the business of, and do most of the literary work for, the journal; to spend ten hours a day in the City, as well as his spare hours after he got home, on the work of the paper; and to do all this for less than 50s. per week. On the night that the paper went to press he had to wait to see the first copies printed, even though it might be mixinght, or two o'clock in the morning, and then had to take a copy to the Doctor's house in order that he might see it an hour earlier the next morning than he would have seen it had it gone by post. When he endeavoured to increase his income by writing for other journals he was given to understand that his action in so doing was not approved of, the result being that he resigned his position. These remarks are made out of no want of respect for the Rev. Doctor, but merely to show that men must not be judged by their orations at public meetings but rather by their conduct in the concerns of everyday life.

Christian ministers all combined to write up and talk up Boss Burns. Undoubtedly Burns is (or was) a bona fide workman; but his ideas on economical and social questions are so crude and erroneous as to make him a veritable danger to society. It is not very long since he was reported to be preaching the doctrine of "Bread or Lead," and distinguished himself in a very inglorious fashion in connection with the "unemployed" agitations and demonstrations in Trafalgar Square, for which he was sent to prison; and although he has since become a County Councillor, and is therefore, a little more diplomatic, he has retracted none of his dangerous anti-social notions. Even during this strike he showed his hand quite clearly enough to open the eyes of all people who are not selfishly blind. In the first place he issued the "No Work" manifesto; in the second place he threatened to stir up strikes in Glasgow, Southampton and numerous other ports; and in the third place he shuffled, to say the least of it, in a very discreditable manner with regard to the agreement which was arrived at through the mediation of the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Manning. According to these eminent personages, Burns promised to recommend the compromise to the Strike Committee, but when he got before the labourers he virtually repudiated the agreement and spoke in quite another strain. No doubt there was a great deal of bounce and brag in what Burns said, as he could not do one thousandth part of what he declared he would do; nevertheless, he had quite sufficient influence with the Dock labourers to do a great deal of mischief. He spoke of certain labour representatives in Parliament as "Miserable cowardly frauds, miserable dirty humbugs, who, lifted into position by the votes of you men, loaf about the smoking room and the Lobby of the House of Commons instead of showing their constituents the way to decency and comfort by hard work at the Dock gates in the morning. They are too contemptible for comment; too ridiculous and insignificant for losing your temper." But Burns himself would not object to have the chance of loafing about the smoking room

and lobby of the House; indeed, there is good reason tobelieve that a seat in the House of Commons is what he has been aiming at all along. The remarks quoted with reference to certain labour M.P.'s., afford a good specimen of Burns" elegant and refined style of speech; but the way in which he spoke of Mr. Norwood, chairman of the Dock Committee, and his fellow Directors was even more vulgar and brutal. Indeed, his tone in reference to anybody who opposed the strike was insolent and hectoring to the last degree. He cadged for support with the most unblushing impudence, saying: "We don't care for sympathy, give us the dollars." His whole conduct of the strike was of such a character as to show clearly enough that he was nothing more than a blatant agitator, who was exploiting the grievances of his fellow workmen, and even those workmen themselves, for ulterior purposes. Yet the Press, or at any rate a very important section of it, wrote of Mr. Burns as if he were the Heaven-born leader and saviour of the down-trodden masses. The Star said on Sep. 14, 1889: "In John Burns, the typical figure of the strike, the prophet and law-giver of the democratic Israel in its march through the wilderness, we rejoice to think that labour has found a worthy leader. . . . It is a solemn business for John to be thus anointed leader of the democratic hosts in the marchings and battles and tribulations that are to come."

From being an honest and industrious workman Burns has degenerated into an Agitator-General. By profession an engineer, he doubtless knows something about the engineering trade and those who follow it, and if he had confined himself to that trade he might have been listened to with respect. But he has undertaken during the last two or three years to represent Dock labourers, bakers, cabmen, omnibus and tramway men, gas-stokers, washer-women, railway-men, miners, and sundry other trades and occupations, and to instruct the public with regard to them all. If Burns were ten times as clever as he is he would be unequal to such a task as this. His object, however, is patent enough; the be-

all and the end-all of his existence is to set workmen against their masters, the poor against the rich, the quiet and lawabiding against properly constituted authority. In short, he is, to again quote his own description of himself, "an apostle of discontent." It is not a very exalted calling, and the only qualifications which are essential to it are a stentorian voice, an iron constitution, proficiency in the noble art of selfdefence, a mental incapacity to see anything good or reasonable on the side of capitalists or employers, and an inverted moral sense which calls good evil and evil good. Burns is, however, a teetotaler, and this, in the eyes of thousands who applauded and supported him during the strike, covers a multitude of sins. Because he was a teetotaller hundreds of people rushed to assist him in his work of industrial anarchy. Such is the logic by which some men who are on the whole reputable and fairly intelligent allow themselves to be governed. Burns could do, and probably actually did, more mischief to society during the one month of the Dock Strike than a quietly disposed man would do if he got drunk every day of his life.

Although Burns was bespattered with flattery of the most fulsome character during the Dock Strike, it was announced shortly afterwards that he was going back to the bench as a working engineer, because £2 per week could not be guaranteed him as a bare subsistence wage. The Star said on this subject: "Really we don't understand the democracy. John Burns has helped to get the workers here and in the country some hundreds of thousands of pounds in extra wage, and they grudge him a pittance of 40s. a week to help him advocate their claims in the London Parliament." This journal calculated that the working classes had gained through the New Unionism something like £450,000 in increased wages, as well as considerable reductions in hours in many trades, and declared that Burns had borne a large share in obtaining for them those boons. Mr. Sydney Webb made an appeal through the Press for £,200, which would carry Burns through the remainder of his County Council term. He stated that "when Mr. Burns left his trade to enter the London County Council he made it clear that he could only continue this work if his sustenance was secured to him by public subscription. Since that time he has drawn from those funds the sum of £2 per week, and £1 per week for casual expenses." Yet, although so much difficulty was experienced in raising sufficient contributions to pay Burns' salary, it was stated that he had received a large number of offers to defray the expenses of a holiday at the close of the Dock Strike, and that certain of his admirers, among them being Mr. Frederick Harrison, had placed their houses at his disposal. There was some talk of raising a sum of £3,500 for the purpose of purchasing an annuity of £200 a year for Mr. Burns, but apparently nothing came of it.\*

Mr. H. H. Champion is undoubtedly the most able, as he is also the most gentlemanly, of the strike leaders. During the Dock Strike, however, he decidedly had to play second fiddle to Burns. As a matter of fact, he was too cultured to acquire much influence over the Dock labourers. A Socialist of an advanced type, and a sincere and capable man, he is, nevertheless, distrusted by such brother Socialists as Mr. Hyndman, Dr. Aveling, and John Burns, with whom he worked in former days. He left the Social Democratic Federation some years ago, and it would almost seem that he has now given up the rôle of labour agitator altogether. Certainly but little has been heard of him or from him of late, and that little has been mainly on the Australian Strike, in regard to which he placed himself in opposition to the more extreme demands of the men, and on some matters constituted himself virtually the champion of the employers. Mr. Champion is not, in the ordinary sense of the term, a

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. W. Sanders, secretary of the "John Burns' Wages Fund Committee." writing in the Star of March 31st, 1892, said that the only Trade Union which had given them regular support was that of the Dockers, which had contributed £1 per week. The letter said that permanent subscriptions had "for the most part been conspicuous by their absence, and, as a necessary result, the funds at the disposal of the committee have shown a constant shrinkage, the outgoings from month to month having always exceeded the incomings, we are, therefore, again obliged to make an urgent appeal for support."

working man. He and Mr. Cunninghame Graham, with perhaps Mr. Keir Hardie thrown in, seem to constitute the Labour Party, of which so much was heard a few years ago. The Labour Party, therefore, did not as may have been supposed consist of labourers, but rather of men who meant to exploit Labour in order to serve their own purposes. Perhaps the most singular feature of the party was that the two men who virtually created it and ran it for a time are themselves capitalists. When these men are ready to give up keeping an account at their bankers, to distribute their money among the labourers, and work with their own hands, then perhaps people will believe in their sincerity and earnestness. Perhaps it is safe to say that we have heard almost the last of Mr. Champion as a Socialist and a Labour agitator.

Next to John Burns, Ben Tillett was the most prominent and most popular of the Strike leaders. Tillett is in many ways a remarkable man. After a very hard and chequered career as a youth, he settled down to riverside work in London, and he has been one of the most active agents in promoting the new labourers' unions, such as the Gas-Workers' Union, and the Dockers' Union. of which we have heard so much of late. It was Tillett who sent the Ultimatum to the Dock companies, and informed them that if they did not concede the demands of the men within a few hours there would be a strike. He is a man of the Cassius type, restless and ambitious, and possessed of the temperament of the enthusiast. He is not unintelligent, and he is a speaker of that common-place and emotional type which is both popular with and dangerous among unskilled labourers. Tillett had more to do with originating the Dock Strike than perhaps any other man. He was one of the witnesses before the Sweating Commission, and the evidence which he then gave with reference to the condition and the requirements of the Dock labourers was the germ from which the Dock Strike sprang. This is only another illustration of the evil which is done by allowing agitators to air their grievances before Commissions instead of confining them strictly to matters of fact.

Tillett plays with considerable success the rôle of a popular preacher, and he frequently appears in certain Nonconformist pulpits. He is said to have induced an audience of workingmen on one occasion to call for "Three cheers for Jesus Christ." From so saintly a man one might naturally expect obedience to the laws of Jesus Christ, which are that we should love God with all our hearts and our neighbours as ourselves, and should do unto others as we would they should do unto us. Tillett's methods of carrying out these precepts, however, are to spread discontent among workingmen, to incite them against their employers, and to teach them the sacred duty of boycotting any employer and intimidating any workman who dares to defy the dictates of a Trade Union. A record of Tillett's sayings and doings during the Dock Strike forms a curious commentary upon his high-flown sentiments from the pulpit. In an address delivered at the Congregational Church, Approach Road, Victoria Park, on a Sunday evening in August, 1891, Tillett said that "according to his lights he had lived his life and done his work in the spirit of Christ-like love. He might have been wrong in what he had done or said, but the impulse for it all had come from the Bible and from the personality of Christ." Tillett is not the first man who has been able to reconcile very crooked practices with very lofty spiritual teachings. Tillett's preaching, like Burns's teetotalism, was a fine advertisement for the strike, and undoubtedly it seduced many unthinking people into supporting a movement which their judgment would have wholly condemned had they taken one hour's cool reflection upon it.

If a man can only talk loudly enough and often enough and violently enough upon a platform in these times he will soon come to be regarded as an authority upon the matters he talks about. Popularity is nowadays the real road to place and power. Because Tillett had addressed a number of crude, undigested, and impracticable economical theories to crowds of unskilled working-men, and because he had become the vogue among workmen of this class, he was soon

accepted by some even among the more intelligent classes as a kind of heaven-sent teacher of social and economical truth, and he was asked to read papers upon the relations of Capital and Labour and similar subjects before religious conferences. It is difficult to adequately express one's contempt for the Christian ministers and laymen, who, by sitting at the feet of Ben Tillett, confessed themselves to be in such a state of abysmal ignorance upon the most vital and pressing problems of the day. If they were more ignorant than Tillett, which they presumably were, as they asked him to go and instruct them, their state was pitiable indeed. Yet not only Nonconformist assemblies, but even the Church Congress also, asked this audacious young agitator to go and enlighten their darkness. Before the International Congregational Council, Tillett read a feeble, confused, and incoherent paper upon the relations of Capital and Labour. Here are some gems from this precious production:

"Nearly all social movements have originated from secular

influences."

"Commercial morality lacks all the attributes of morality which Christ imposes—lacks even the ideal of those who boast only a religion of goodness and mercy derived from a human and not a Divine standpoint."

"Were our economic morality in keeping with our industrial and political advancement, there could not possibly be

a sufferer through starvation in the land."

"Every new piece of labour-saving machinery and invention, by which results were easily multiplied, has constituted a deterrent to the labourer's advance, and means his consequent ineffectiveness on account of the depreciated value of human skill . . . Machinery and science have practically been used for the personal benefit of a few, while the results have de-humanized where they might have blessed the many.'

"The insecurity and uncertainty among the poorer classes

increase with every million accumulated."

"The lame excuses of the rich testify that they realise their wickedness."

"Let also the great ground landlords be called to account and ground-rent\* made to bear the chief responsibility in the support of the State."

"Dives is a greater than kings. He absolutely commands the body and lives of the people, and to his whim, his taste, his greed, are sacrificed hundreds of thousands where only hundreds were sacrificed to the barbarian kings."

"Human labour becomes daily of less value."

In the same paper there were references to "money devils," to "the vile mockery and farce of municipal and Parliamentary elections," to the "industrial rack," and to "the Niagara of industrial murder"; while the churches were told that their members ought "in every election, in every labour trouble, in any conflict between Capital and Labour," to "identify themselves with the cause of the people." All this in the same paper which urged Christian men to "develop a conscious, a Christly sanity in judgment!" †

None of the parties who came to the front during the strike played a very creditable part. The position of the

†Since these words were written, Tillett has been elected an Alderman of the London County Council. If this honour was not conferred upon him as a reward for his exertions during the Dock Strike, the action of those who conferred it had no apparent or adequate motive. Whether those exertions were of such a nature as to deserve a reward of this kind, or any reward at all, the intelligent reader will

be able to judge from the facts set forth in this work.

If the majority of the London County Council had merely desired to give recognition to the claims of "Labour," or to emphasize the fact that a man is to be valued for what he is and not for what he has, there might not have been much ground for complaint; but in that case they would not have been careful to bestow the highest honours in their gift upon Socialistic agitators and leaders of the "New Unionism." Nobody would have quarrelled with their action, or suspected their motives, if they had selected for Aldermanic honours two or three bona fine working-men of ability, discretion, and moderation. The fact that they have chosen to confer such distinction upon blatant demagogues, of uninformed n ind and unbalanced judgment, who are chiefly notorious for their malignant attacks upon Capitalists, is of itself a sufficient indication of the quality of their motives. Reasonable men can have no confidence in a Council which can so flagrantly misuse its powers.

We are Americanizing our institutions with a vengeance. Soon no Englishman with a reputation to lose will care to sit in our representative assemblies; the country will be governed by professional politicians and caucus-mongers; and municipal and political life will become as corrupt and loathsome here as they are

in the United States.

<sup>\*</sup> Not "rent," mark, but only "ground-rent."

men, the conduct of their leaders, and the attitude of the general public have all been sufficiently described. It remains now only to say a few words with reference to the action of the mediators, the Press, and the police.

Of the mediators, Sir James Whitehead, the then Lord Mayor, was the most conspicuous. It must be confessed that he did not come well out of the business. Some people even maintained that he was largely responsible for having created the strike, inasmuch as he was said to have declared at the annual meeting of the East London Church Fund, held at the Mansion House on April 8, 1889, that "The only remedy for the economic difficulties of East London is to be found in a general strike, and if you, my lord" (turning to the Bishop of Bedford), "will organize it, you will have the moral and monetary support of the Lord Mayor." Sir James Whitehead denied the accuracy of this report; but while denying it he substantially admitted that he had used words to a somewhat similar effect. A correspondent of the Morning Post, writing under date Sep. 9, 1889, declared that the words above quoted were used by Sir James Whitehead in the presence of the Bishop of Bedford, Canon Body, Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., and others, and if this correspondent was in error, his statement was capable of being easily disproved. At all events, Sir James Whitehead admitted that his sympathies were all along with the men, and he brought all his influence to bear upon the Dock Directors in order to induce them to yield to the demands of the strikers. By what authority did he do this? His position as Lord Mayor certainly gave him no right to do it. If the trade of London was being injured, it was being injured more by the obstinacy of the men than by the persistency of the Directors; for before the Lord Mayor had intervened at all the Directors had made most substantial concessions to the labourers. Besides, what did the Lord Mayor know about the business of the Dock Companies? It was a matter in which he had no more concern than any other citizen, especially as he wished it to be understood that he acted

only in his capacity as a private citizen, and his use of a position which had been given to him by the whole body of citizens merely in the interests of one class of the community was an illegitimate use of his influence. Sir James Whitehead is, it is understood, a director of Pawson & Co., Limited, and he is also believed to be interested in Harrod's Stores in Kensington. In relation to the latter establishment there have been loud complaints (chiefly in the Star) as to the embloyés being overworked and under paid; whilst at the present time an attempt is being made to stir up agitation in such City warehouses as Pawson & Co.'s. Now, supposing the workmen in both these establishments were to strike for more wages while they were being paid as well as the employés of other similar establishments, and that Sir James Whitehead and his fellow directors because they declined to grant these demands were abused and vilified in the most scurrilous terms; and suppose, further, that the public sympathy were to be given to the workmen, and that all attempts to fill their places were prevented by boycotting and intimidation; and suppose, once more, that the Lord Mayor were to intervene on behalf of the workmen and against the directors, how would Sir James Whitehead like the position? The bungling and ludicrous efforts of Sir James Whitehead and his fellow mediators, however, had at least one satisfactory effect—they made it impossible for the game of the philanthropic arbitrator to be repeated. In his parting address to the Common Council, Sir James Whitehead said that "he had the honour to successfully engage as negotiator" during the Dock Strike, and that he believed the action he took on that occasion "was perfectly satisfactory both to the masters and men," and that it demonstrated perhaps more than anything else during his year of office "the great influence for good which the Mansion House has exercised on all occasions in all that tends to the welfare, not only of the citizens and of those connected with the Metropolis, but of the country at large." Anything more ridiculous than these statements could scarcely be conceived; for it is perfectly notorious that

the action of the negotiators was not successful, as the Dock labourers refused to accept the settlement agreed upon at the Mansion House, while the Dock Directors accepted the final settlement only under protest. Neither masters nor men were satisfied with the action of the mediators, while the general public slowly reached the conclusion that the philanthropic arbitrator was usually a partisan, whose prejudice utterly disqualified him for a position in which impartiality was the essential requirement.\*

Cardinal Manning was another prominent philanthropic arbitrator, and although he displayed a commendable desire to understand the difficulties of the Dock Directors and to deal as tenderly with them as circumstances would permit. yet he was to all intents and purposes a partisan of the men. Had he been otherwise it is scarcely probable that a deputation representing 100,000 men engaged in the waterside industries of London, would have waited upon the Cardinal on the occasion of his attaining his silver jubilee and presented him with an address and a cheque for £160. The address, it is said, "bore grateful testimony to the Cardinal's services to the dockers and others concerned in the great

In City circles an abnormal sensitiveness is being manifested just now with regard to the propriety of the high officials of the Corporation mixing themselves up with the affairs of public companies. This may be all very well within reasonable limits. But might not those who are so jealous of the honour of the Corporation take precautions against the Lord Mayoralty being used as an electioneering

agency and as an instrument for stabbing Capital in its very vitals?

<sup>\*</sup>Sir Henry Isaacs incurred a good deal of unpopularity (to use no stronger term) because he allowed his name, during his Lord Mayoralty, to be associated with the Hansard Union and thus, as it is alleged, by the influence of his office as well as his personal influence, induced people to put their money into that concern in the faith that it was a sound and profitable undertaking. It may be the fact that Sir H. Isaacs deserves all the censures which have been passed upon him for his conduct in this matter; upon that point no opinion can with propriety be expressed here. But it is a debateable point whether Sir James Whitehead, by using the influence of the Lord Mayoralty on the side of the Dock strikers, did not inflict more serious injury upon British commerce than Sir H. Isaacs did by his action in connection with the Hansard Union. The writer, for one, believes that he did. Yet the very men who condemned Sir H. Isaacs for what they declared to be an illegitimate use of his high position commended Sir J. Whitehead for using the same position in a way which is by many pronounced to be equally illegitimate. The action of the latter gentleman certainly resulted in greater damage to national prosperity than that of the former, and therefore in a greater destruction of national wealth.

strike of 1889." In replying to this deputation Cardinal Manning said that "he held it to be one of the first laws of liberty that all men who worked should combine together in a union, and the Dockers' Union was a lawful association of men using their liberty rightly and justly. There were two kinds of Capital. Gold and silver were dead Capital; Labour and skill were live Capital. Skill and Labour came first; money came next." What reasonable or just action could be expected from a man who, in view of the gross outrages which had occurred in connection with the Dock Strike, could affirm that the members of the Dockers' Union were using their liberty rightly and justly?

The conduct of the Police authorities during the Dock Strike was astounding. Mr. Monro, who was then Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, seemed to have two fixed ideas: one was that he ought to take no action in cases of intimidation until the facts were brought to his notice, or in other words, until violence and outrage had actually occurred; and the other idea was that he ought to regulate his action by the movements of public opinion. The correspondence which took place between Mr. Norwood and Mr. Monro is exceedingly instructive, and the reader would do well to carefully consider it.\* Mr. Monro asked for information with regard to intimidation, and Mr. Norwood promptly produced it. Then Mr. Monro delicately hinted that this information was "coloured." He said: "I am quite prepared to make every allowance for information given in trying times being coloured by anxiety or excitement;" whereas the information given was fully substantiated by incontrovertible facts. Mr. Monro further said: "The public very rightly are not ready to extend such allowance to police action under difficult circumstances. The public held the police responsible for acting with promptitude tempered by judgment and discretion, and the action taken in the present instance I am fully prepared to defend." Clearly Mr. Monro

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix A.

regarded it as his duty to govern his conduct according to the indication of the popular will. This was a new doctrine, even for our ultra-Democratic times, and a doctrine of the most dangerous character. The distinction of having found out that it is the first duty of an executive officer in this country to please a section of the public (for his reference could only be to a section, inasmuch as a large part of the public were opposed to his views and his conduct) belongs to Mr. James Monro. Mr. Norwood, in replying to these incautious observations of the Commissioner, said severely: "My Committee are led to infer, with extreme reluctance, that you regard popular approval as the standard by which to test the efficiency of the discharge of your public duties." Such journals as the Star encouragingly patted Mr. Monro on the back. "We cheerfully acknowledge," said this journal-"that in the management of the Metropolitan Police through, out this strike there has been a marked and most welcome change from the spirit which was rampant a few months ago. It is due to Mr. Monro to say that his refusal to listen to alarmist ravings like the above, and his resistance to strong pressure from influential quarters, has contributed a great deal to the peaceful character of the strike. A very small failure of tact would have imported a very different spirit into the struggle. As it is, the good feeling between the police and the dockers has been one of the most astonishing features of the movement. The Star has had to raise its voice loudly against 'Warrenism,' but it will be ready to raise it just as loudly to welcome any sign that the days of Warrenism are over. May this be such a sign!" If a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to the Government could act in this manner, what would be the state of things if the control of the London police were permitted to go into the hands of the County Council, and the Commissioner was elected by that body?

With such an example at headquarters, it is not surprising that the rank and file of the police should have manifested a lenient disposition towards ruffianly intimidators. It appeared to be the one anxiety of the police to be on good terms with the strikers at any cost. Within certain limits this was a very commendable spirit, but when it went to the length of shutting the eyes of authority to breaches of the peace and to assaults upon industrious citizens, and to leaving the Docks at the mercy of infuriated mobs, the price paid for it was a little too costly. "Early in the strike the friendly relations were set up between the crowd and the representatives of law and order, which were maintained without a break throughout the trying weeks that were to follow." \*

"A word must be said as to the attitude of the leaders of the rank and file towards the force, for the great strike wil! always be memorable for the extraordinary improvement of relations which it was the means of bringing about between populace and police. No doubt the policy of masterly inactivity indicated by the Home Secretary served to reduce to a minimum the friction inevitable to a labour contest, which meant the turning loose into the streets of so vast and unwieldy a mass of men as the waterside labourers of London. The police kept themselves in the background as far as possible, and their conduct when action was necessary was friendly and forbearing in the extreme. Considering the extra work and worry which the strike imposed on a body of men whose duties at the best of times are no sinecure, it is hard to over-estimate the self-restraint, good temper, and judgment which they showed. After the anxious days had been tided over, while the strike was fermenting, the duties of the police became mainly ornamental. The city force escorted the procession just as they would escort a Lord Mayor or a prince, the metropolitan police chatted with the men and deemed it an honour to get a nod or a word from the leaders. As soon as reinforcements arrived at the East End, Burns would give out that 2,000 police had come down there, and that they meant to let them enjoy their holiday and go back refreshed

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;The Story of the Dockers' Strike." Page 35.

to look after their clients at the West-End. . . . The police seemed to have felt instinctively that Burns was for the time chief constable of London. Superintendent Foster, on relinquishing his charge as the city boundaries were passed by the procession, would have Burns' cab stopped so that he might shake him by the hand, and the posse of police forming upon either side relaxed their stern bearing and broke into nods and smiles as the cab drove on again. . . . The Dock labourers will not soon forget their treatment by the police through the long crisis of the strike. Burns' acknowledgments on the victorious Sunday expressed the feelings of all his followers, and the words he used of Superintendent Foster, that he was a man first and afterwards an officer, applied with equal force to the rank and file." \*

The action of the Press was almost as amazing and as unaccountable as that of the authorities. Almost with one accord the newspapers co-operated with the agitators and demagogues to puff the strike into importance. The sensational reporter and the time-serving editor have much to answer for with reference to this matter. The strike chanced to fall (perhaps rather was calculated to fall) during the silly season, when newspapers are desperately anxious to clutch at sensational copy of any description. As the Saturday Review very aptly put it: "Deep has answered to deep, tub-orator to newspaper reporter, and there has been a loud re-verberation of noise about the greatness, the novelty, the serious significance of the strike. Naturally the strikers on principle have heard

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Story of the Dockers' Strike." Pages 115 and 116. In a report of an interview published in the Star, September 16, 1889, Burns said: "Singularly enough, another result of the strike has been to rehabilitate the police. They are now as popular as they were before the old Trafalgar-square days. In particular the city police, under Superintendent Foster, behaved splendidly, and the superintendent himself gave us a first-rate testimonial when he told me that he had not seen a single drunken man in one of our processions through the city." "And Mr. Monro—how did he behave?" "Well, the metropolitan force were inclined to be a little fractious at first, but when they got to know the men, they vied with the city police in their attentions, and everything went merry as a marriage bell."

all this roared by the tub-orator and duly echoed by the Press, with the sense that they are doing something very novel and deserving of the attention of Europe. It is a pleasing excitement to hear of London threatened by famine or darkness—better than naval manœuvres by far; for after all, the striker on principle is taking part in the show. There is, perhaps, less excuse for the newspapers which repeat this nonsense, and the so-called friends of the people who listen to it, without pointing out that the first to suffer by famine will be the poorest, and that the loss of gas will be most grievous to those who can least afford to pay for candles."

The way in which Mr. Norwood was spoken of throughout the strike, although it showed that the British Press enjoys not only freedom but licence, was, nevertheless, a scandalous and a disgusting exhibition. Nothing was too vile to say of Mr. Norwood, whose only crime was that he declined to yield to clamour what he could not conscientiously yield to justice; and that as a trustee for 5,000 shareholders he had striven to protect their interests. Considering that the Dock labourers were being paid the market rate of wages, and were receiving double the wages of an agricultural labourer (who is a skilled workman), Mr. Norwood may well be excused if he declined to yield to exorbitant demands and plundering threats immediately. Yet for this he was held up to execration from day to day by certain journals of the baser sort. One of them published a line-drawing of Mr. Watts' "Mammon," by Mr. Henry Holliday. This disgraceful picture was headed in large black capitals "Earthly, Sensual, Devilish!" and it was intended to be a representation of Mr. Norwood, who was trampling upon a young man while he tightly clutched a fragile maiden by the neck. Mr. Holliday appended this hysterical description to the picture:

"Mr. Watts has kindly allowed me to translate into a line-drawing his impressive picture of 'Mammon,' which cannot fail to have a powerful influence on those

who are watching this gigantic struggle of Labour against

Capital.

"The companies, who, having squandered their capital in reckless competition, try to suck dividends out of starving labourers, are truly typified in the vulgar loutish monster whose heavy hand and foot crush and blight the youth and maiden that have fallen into his clutches.

"Look at his dress of gold brocade, worn not for beauty or dignity, of which his sordid mind knows nothing, but for display, serving only to make his brutish nature more offensively conspicuous.

"Look at the lack-lustre eyes, blind to whatever things are lovely and of good report, conscious only that he has some poor creatures in his grip and means to keep them there.

"What are the wasted, weary, joyless lives of a hundred thousand families to him? Has he blundered with his capital? Let the labourers suffer, not the blunderer. So it has been in the past, and so he means it to be in the future, but a stronger than he is at hand. The Angel of Brotherhood has risen, and Mammon for the first time is trembling before a world-embracing power that ere long will pronounce his doom."

This same journal, commenting on September 3, 1889, upon Mr. Norwood's reply to the shipowners, said: "When we think of the atrocity of this business we are reminded of the great picture of Mr. Watts. It is called "Mammon." The Mammon of Mr. Watts is something worse than Milton's Mammon, whom the poet drew as the least erect spirit in all Hell. It is a loathsome, mis-shapen, fire-breathing monster of death and claw, with one iron talon fixed deep in the back of a stricken child, and by the finest touch of all this hideous vampire's face is crowned by a pair of ass's ears. How does Mr. Norwood like the picture?" \*

<sup>\*</sup>On September 10 the strikers carried an effigy of Mr. Norwood, which represented him as a dog, muzzled and dressed up in convict's clothes, with a label stating that he ought to have penal servitude for life. Multitudes of people saw

It is now time to ask what the real results of the strike have been, and what good it has really accomplished. For some little time after the strike was settled the Dock labourers were, of course, jubilant, but as the months went on their tone changed to one of the deepest depression, and this depression has continued ever since. The settlement come to at the strike proved to be no settlement at all, but an unsettling of everything. From that time until now "trouble at the docks" has been intermittent, and disputes and strikes of constant occurrence, and most of these strikes have been of a perfectly wanton and unjustifiable description.\* At one time they struck because they wished to be paid for meal times in flagrant violation of the terms of their agreement with the masters; at another time they struck in order to force clerks and foremen into the Dockers' Union. In short these disturbances became so constant as to be virtually chronic, the result being that employers could never rely with certainty upon getting their work done, and the natural consequence of this was that they took their work elsewhere. Australian liners, on their way from Port Philip and Sydney, were ordered to deliver their cargoes of wool at Grimsby, not on the Thames. Foreign shippers sent their goods to Hull and Harwich instead of to London, and it was announced that some of the great lines to the East were making arrangements to desert the port of London. Ship-owners stated that the foreign trade with London had been reduced to the extent of many thousands of tons. The London Direct Sea Trades Association passed a resolution in November of 1889 to the

this; but far greater multitudes were informed of it through the inewspapers.

In the course of an interview which was reported in the Star of September 16, 1889, Burns said: "Please convey the expression of my thanks, and the thanks of the council and the men for the money the Star has raised and the help it has rendered the strike. We have really been very handsomely treated by you and by the Press all round. Pressmen are rather a cynical lot, but really they seem to have developed a real enthusiasm over the strike. One of them—a good old crusted Tory—hardly ever came to see me at Wade's Arms without putting half a sovereign in my hand."

<sup>\*</sup> For a complete account of these strikes see Appendices.

effect that, owing to the enormous increase in the cost of labour, the great delays in the working of ships, and the diversion of the best of the trade to other ports, it might soon become necessary for shipowners engaged in near trades seriously to consider the advisability of ceasing to run their vessels. A manifesto to the men was also adopted and ordered to be published. The manifesto reminded the men that tens of thousands of tons of goods have been lost to the London trade, and that a large part of the foreign trade was being diverted from the water-carriers to the railways in consequence of the exorbitant demands and reckless action of London workmen, Each day brought further news of trade leaving London. Ship-owners could follow trade to other ports, and, if necessary, work under other flags. The destruction of the trade of London would be absolutely disastrous to working men, who were adjured to take warning in time.

How much trade has been driven from London by the Dock Strike it is difficult to tell; but the amount is probably greater than outsiders have any idea of, and it is safe to assert that it will never come back. Matters would have been even worse in this respect had not the shipowners formed in their own defence the Shipping Federation, the object of which is to resist the tyranny of Trades Unions, and the nature of which will be fully described in a subsequent chapter. Suffice it to say here that ever since the Dock Strike, and as a direct consequence of it, the relations between employers and employed in the shipping and Dock industries have been strained almost to the breaking point.

Looking at the Dock labourers themselves, it is impossible for any candid and well-informed person to say that they have gained anything by the strike. Scarcely, indeed, was the strike over before the process of disillusionment commenced. The Pall Mall Gazette, which frantically supported the strikers and excelled most of its contemporaries in its bombastic eulogies of the dockers and their leaders, found

out on the day that the strike ended that "the lot of the casual labourer at the East End does not promise to be a very happy one in the coming winter." It was perceived that the re-organization of labour by the Dock companies on a permanent basis would lead to the selection only of the fittest and strongest men, while the weaker and more incompetent casuals would be thrown to the wall. "Hence," sorrowfully remarked the Pall Mall, "whatever advantages the strike has secured for the men, it is obvious that it has not solved the whole labour problem of the East End." But men who had their eyes open saw all this before. They never expected the strike to better the condition of the casuals, or to solve the labour problem; on the contrary they knew all along that the casual would be left in the lurch, and the labour problem rendered more difficult of solution.

Even the permanent labourers have not been benefited, for there are fewer of them required in the Docks than ever before, simply because London has lost much of its trade; and in addition to this the Dockers' Union issued its edict that no man should be permitted to work in the Docks unless his name was on the Union books. Not only this, but when the Dockers Union had secured a certain number of members. it closed its books against all new comers. The Union therefore said to a man who wished to work in the Docks: "You will not be allowed to work in the Docks unless your name is on our books, and we shall not place your name on our books because our members are already sufficient to do all the work that there is to be done." This is Protection in its most vicious form, and yet the men who combine to protect themselves in this way are in other respects the most ardent of Free Traders. During the winter of 1891, 8,000 members of the Dockers' Union, after they had resorted to all these dodges to keep the work in their own hands, were out of employment, while 3,000 more were employed only on half time. It is very clear, therefore, that neither the casual labourers nor the permanent labourers have gained any real benefit from striking, but rather the opposite, although the

strike is believed to have cost one way and another no less than two millions sterling.

The only persons who have benefited from the Dock Strike are "Messrs. Burns, Tillett, Mann, Champion & Co., Limited, Agitators," who exploited labour in a new fashion for their own ends. As for the ignorant and credulous fellows who allowed themselves to be duped by these astute gentlemen, they are, we repeat, worse off than ever. The strike took place in August, 1889. Before the winter of that year had fairly begun thousands of these deluded men, who had built such great hopes upon "the higher industrialism," were cruelly disillusioned, and realised that their misery had been rendered more abysmal and hopeless than before. The lot of the casual labourer, hard enough previously, is now desperate and intolerable, simply because his "brethren" of the Dockers' Union have made it impossible for him to earn a shilling, or to get a crust of bread. During the winter of 1891 the state of things among the dockers was worse than it was during the winter of 1890. Their Union, which started with such a fanfaronade of trumpets, and which was to do such wonderful and glorious things, found itself with 9,000 unemployed members on its hands, the said members being ready to devour their "leaders," while Mr. Tom Mann, the chairman of the Union, endeavoured to conciliate the infuriated victims by talking about "municipal workshops." Processions and agitations of the "unemployed" were again resorted to, an extension of out-door relief was clamorously demanded from the Government, and private charity once more busied itself in offering premiums to loafers who will never work while they can drink, and who will drink as long as "philanthropy" continues to supply them with better wages for doing nothing than they could earn by honest industry.

Notwithstanding the fact that 9,000 members of the Dockers' Union were out of work, and that in the midst of one of the most bitter winters of the century, the unemployed showed no disposition (as usual) to accept work even when

it was offered to them. Why? Because they relied upon charity coming to their help. The men at the Victoria Docks threw up their work at the beginning of the year (1891) because the employers refused to pay them for the dinner hour, in other words because they were not allowed to take out of their employers' pockets money for which they rendered no equivalent. What is this but an attempt at robbery by coercion? This was too much even for Tom Mann and Ben Tillett, who ostentatiously condemned the "irresponsible individuals" and "mischief makers" who caused the strike. But the fact that a body of men, who were paid the wages which they had bargained for, could strike in such a way at such a time shows how far the work of deterioration has gone.

Mr. W. Beckett Hill, who was a sympathiser with the men during the Dock Strike, wrote to the Times on January 3, 1801, in the following terms: "Speaking from my own knowledge, the Victoria and Royal Albert Docks were seldom fuller of ships; and there never has been a time during the last fortnight that we have been able to get sufficient labour either for loading or discharging, to say nothing of getting a fair day's work from the labourer when he does choose to work. The Richmond Hill arrived on December 21, and is not yet discharged. Thirteen days have not yet completed an operation which in Liverpool, Glasgow, New York, or Montreal would take three days." . . . Every day there are strikes and stoppages on some ridiculous pretext or other. On Thursday they struck all day because the Dock Company would not pay them for meal hours, a stipulation which was made by the Dock Company and actually agreed to by the men's representatives after the long successful last year's strike, and now, in this period of so-called distress, it forms an excuse for not working. Yesterday and to-day the cornmen, who can easily make 12s. 6d. per day in the discharge of grain at the ordinary rates, have struck for an advance of 50 per cent., which would bring their earnings up to nearly one pound per day; the evident aim of the labourer being to get enormous wages on one day, that he may dispense with work during the rest of the week, having enough for his own public-house enjoyments, and leaving his family to be supported by charity. In such a state of affairs it is not surprising that discipline and insubordination are completely absent. The foremen have lost all control over the labourers. . . . The sooner a general lock-out and a stoppage of the demoralizing charitable supplies takes place, the sooner London shipping business will be put more on a level with other ports in economy and despatch." About the same time a correspondent of the Standard stated that men were required to stow material from the ship-side into a barge. With great difficulty two or three men were obtained at 10d. per hour. The next day an offer of 1s. per hour failed to induce anybody to work, every man holding out for is. 6d. per hour, while some declined to move under 2s. 6d. Eventually the work had to be done by men from a distant part of London. After this it is not surprising to learn that the Paddington Vestry failed to get men to clear the snow from the streets at fourpence an hour. Three hundred men a day were required, but never more than 140 could be got, and one day only a beggarly four-and-twenty turned up. This was the state of things which prevailed during the bitterest weather ever witnessed by this generation, and when outcries about the "distress" were heard on every hand. Why should these men work when they and their families can be supported in idleness and luxury by the "charity" of people who have got more money than brains? The East End has been turned into a loafer's paradise, and the trade of the port of London is being ruined by the cranky people who have got slums on the brain. It is a pity that society cannot devise some means by which the hysterical old women (of both sexes) who supported and prolonged this Dock Strike could be made to bear the additional expense which it has caused by augmenting and aggravating distress in the East End. But this, alas! is impossible. That patient beast of burden, the taxpayer, the hard-working and honest and

quiet citizen, will have to do what he usually does—pay for the follies of faddists and agitation-mongers.

A good deal was heard at one time about a grand co-operative scheme which the Dockers were going to inaugurate The middleman was to be eliminated entirely, and the portion of profits which he formerly pocketed was to go direct into the pockets of the men. The scheme has been tried, and although the Directors of the Docks and the shipowners gave it all the assistance in their power, it has virtually tailed. Mr. Tillett has admitted this in his evidence before the Labour Commission.

The net result of all this is that the Dock labourer is choroughly convinced that he has been cruelly deceived, and not unnaturally he is disposed to turn fiercely upon the leaders who have deluded him. It is notorious that those leaders have had the utmost difficulty in retaining their hold upon the men. Mr. Tom Mann, the President of the Dockers' Union, has more than once been censured, and his eagerness to be relieved of the responsibilities of his position, as shown by his resignation of the Presidency at the last Dockers' Congress at Hull clearly proves that he is not very comfortable in it.\* In fact, the leaders of the dockers are alarmed at their own handlwork. They see that the crowds of the unemployed are larger than ever, and the only suggestion they have to make with regard to them is that they should all be supported out of the rates.

One of the most serious features of the Dock Strike was that it showed, as Mr. Champion boasted, that half a dozen men of his own type could paralyse the trade of the port of London. John Burns boasted at the Poplar Town Hall that he himself would do this if the Dock Directors did not keep faith with their men. Mr. Burns is, as everybody knows, a blusterer and a braggart (as witness his regret that the law

At the time of writing this a strike is going on at the Carron and Hermitage Wharves which threatens to spread to the Docks and other riverside industries. Full particulars of it will be found in Appendices.

<sup>\*</sup> In 1800. Mann announced that he would stick to his post through thick and thin in spite of twenty votes of censure from "the scalawags, whose only thought twas boose." This is Mann's opinion of the much-bepraised Dock labourer.

would not permit him to challenge Mr. Walter Pollock, editor of the Saturday Review, to a duel, Mr. Pollock being one of the most expert swordsmen in England); yet even Mr. Burns could accomplish this feat if he were supported blindly by the Dock labourers, and those who stood with them through this strike, and if the police authorities and the Government were to wink at picketing and intimidation as they did during the month of August, 1889. What is more, Mr. Burns and his coadjutors will not hesitate to paralyse the trade of London if they see that this step is needful to gratify their ambitions, and to secure their ulterior purposes. Burns said in Hyde Park on August 25, 1889: "The sixpence represented something that had been too little in the past, and must be considerably augmented in the future. The present strike was a peaceably organised revolution of the skilled and unskilled workmen of the port of London, and it was the preliminary skirmish preceding bigger battles which they hoped to have in the future." In the same spirit Reynolds' Newspaper said on September 8, 1889: "The immediate issue of the present strike is now of comparatively no import. What it has suggested, the stimulus that it has given to the sacred cause of Labour everywhere, and the enthusiasm that it has awakened all the world over, are the great fruits that will soon be gathered—the harvest that will in the coming time plentifully satisfy the wants of those who have sown the seeds, and who have hitherto been permitted to take only the gleanings. The dockers have now practically gained all they ask for, but their struggle has gone far to the emancipation of the whole race of toilers." It is certainly a singular anomaly that a few thousand labourers, ignorant and unskilled, should hold at their mercy the commerce and the prosperity of the earth's commercial capital, the largest and wealthiest city in the world, and should stand between the nation's prosperity and its ruin. Really, if this is what the most perfect Government in the world brings us to, we cannot lose much by at once exchanging such Government for anarchy. If the Executive Government would abdicate its functions in a straightforward manner, people who own property and who cherish their liberty would know what they had to do, and would take effective steps for defending what they hold to be precious. At present, however, this function of defending the freedom and the possessions of the citizens is supposed to belong to the Government.

In the United States, from whence we have received a good deal of democratic doctrine, a short shrift is given to strikers who attempt any sort of violence or lawlessness. In that Republic of Freedom the police would batôn, and even shoot, on what we should consider very slight provocation, anybody who should attack the persons or the property of others. The same may be said of Paris. The events attendant upon recent strikes seem to indicate that we should do well to imitate the wholesome rigour of these Democratic Republics.

During the progress of the strike, Mr. Norwood stated its object in these terms: "The strike is a blow aimed at Capital. It has gone far beyond the category of a mere dockers' strike, and has developed into an organised attack upon Capital and an outburst with a view of raising the rate of remuneration for employment over the entire East of London." For a time it seemed as if this object would really be accomplished, and there can be no doubt that but for the vigorous action of the employers in forming the Shipping Federation the mischief done by the strike would have been much more serious than it was. It was pointed out by the Spectator during the strike that while the body of the people have amazingly progressed in "good feeling," they have made no progress at all in the "sense of justice." They "grow in kindliness, but not in fairness; in ability to perceive their adversary's suffering, but not in ability to discern his point of view." That is just it. Injustice is cloaked by sentiment. Such progress as can be made by the sacrifice of justice is not desirable, however much "good feeling" may characterize it. What we want is not merely good feeling, but just and honourable action.

Viewed broadly, the Lock Strike is seen to be unique in its kind. Nothing like it was ever seen before; nothing like it will ever be seen again. It was an experiment which can never be repeated. Never again will circumstances all combine to favour such an uprising of disaffected working-men. Such uprisings there may of course be, and perhaps on almost as large a scale, but when working men do rise in this way they will find the capitalists better prepared to meet them; they will find the Government less complacent; and most important, perhaps, of all, they will find that there will be no foreign subsidies either from Australia or from anywhere else. We may continue to hear the "high falutin" which is in vogue among labour agitators as to the international character of labour movements, the solidarity of Labour throughout the world, and the universal determination of working-men to strangle the hated capitalist; but all this will end largely in smoke, and the working-men of one nation will never subscribe thousands of pounds to assist the working-men of another nation, even to emancipate themselves from the "slavery of wagedom."

A general review of the Dock Strike suggests very forcibly three lessons. The first is, that political power, used by a democratic majority for its own selfish ends, may prove an instrument for the destruction of civilization itself. It is conceivable that a majority under a Democracy might, by confiscatory laws, deprive every landowner or capitalist of his property; but it is not conceivable that a State in which this had been done could continue to exist as a civilized nation. It must inevitably fall back into barbarism and

anarchy.

The second lesson is, that emotional philanthropy, unguided by reason and unrestrained by prudence, may prove a danger to the State second only to the cupidity of a democratic majority. As much mischief was done during the Dock Strike by mistaken kindness as by wanton violation of economic and of civil law.

The third lesson is, that those citizens who possess

property and wish to keep it, who have liberty and desire to exercise it, will have to arm themselves in their own defence. More and more they must trust in their own right hand, and less and less in the protection of the Government. Under a wise and sound Constitution it may be prudent to rely upon the Government fulfilling its primary obligations towards the community in general; but it is clear that under a Democratic Constitution, where the rulers are the mere creatures of the popular vote, it will not do to place too much reliance upon the Government discharging its executive duties and its administrative responsibilities. For it is quite probable that in a crisis where the Multitude, whose voting power is supreme and omnipotent, array themselves against a class, the class may find itself sacrificed in order that the Multitude may be propitiated. In this respect we in England are under a grave disability as compared with the people of the United States. Their written Constitution, their Supreme Court, and the independence of their Executive, both of the popular vote and of Parliament, during their term of office, give them advantages which we do not possess, and afford guarantees as to the security of property, the continuity of national policy, and the stability of national institutions, which it is becoming more and more difficult to secure in Great Britain, where, with the existence of Household Suffrage, and an Executive dependent from day to day upon the popular will, a gust of political passion, even of political madness, may sweep the Government from office without a day's warning.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Three months after the above words were written, the Duke of Argyll, speaking at Edinburgh, on March 11, 1892, said: "We were the only civilized people in Europe—he put aside Russia, for that was only a semi-civilized empire, and he put aside Turkey, which was a semi-barbarous empire—which had not a written constitution. Practically we were the only people in the world in that position. They all had organic statutes. There were none with us. This was our glory; he hoped it would not become our danger. How did it come about? It was because for 1,000 years our Constitution had been a growth, and not an invention. It had risen gradually through storm and sunshine, through peace and war, fitting from time to time new institutions or new modifications of institutions to new desires or interests on the part of the people, and never recording them, or 1 utting in a verbal form some of the fundamental principles on which the liberties

of mankind depend. Their very revolutions had been revolutions in the name and for the sake of law. Theirs was a history absolutely peculiar in the world. The danger was this—that their lives, their liberty, and their property depended on a code of accepted doctrines which were nowhere recorded or expressed; which were, in fact, like the air they breathed—they were hardly conscious of it until it had been disturbed. Let them be all the more watchful of those who put a rough hand upon this mechanism of infinite fineness. He thought that the written constitution of America had had an enormous effect upon the education of the people, and he was not at all sure that we might not be obliged to take some such similar course. In this country they might pass a Bill which would destroy the Monarchy, disorganize Parliament, impair the independence of the judges, and corrupt the very foundations of justice. He doubted if that was a sale condition for a great people to remain in. Any individual member of Parliament at any moment might produce a Bill cutting to the roots their whole system, which Bill, by accident or by temporary excitement, he might get passed. There was no security for a full consideration of it by the real intellect and heart and mind of the nation." Lord Salisbury has more than once called attention to the same national danger, and proposed similar safeguards.

## CHAPTER II.

## MISCELLANEOUS STRIKES.

THE Dock Strike, bringing forth fruit after its kind, soon proved itself a prolific mother of industrial mischiefs. The spirit of which the Dock Strike was but one manifestation soon spread to nearly every branch of labour throughout the land. Time would fail to tell of the numerous and various strikes which occurred during the two years succeeding the Dock Strike, and which may be more or less distinctly traced to the Socialistic-Labour movement which has dignified itself with the title of the New Unionism. It is computed that over 2,000 strikes occurred in the year 1889 alone, and probably as many occurred during the succeeding year. It is obvious, therefore, that the task of enumerating all these trade disputes, and dealing with them according to their merits or demerits, is practically an impossibility. In the London Docks the settlement of the Great Strike by no means proved to be a settlement of the differences between the Directors and their workmen. Their relations between these two classes have been more or less strained ever since, and more than once there has been a fresh outbreak of strife, though on these occasions the Directors have proved more than able to hold their own in spite of the much-belauded Dockers' Union. In fact what has occurred since the strike of 1889 amply proves the truth of the forcecasts which were made at that time by those who were unfriendly to the strike. If any of the labourers have benefited at all as a result of the strike-which is doubtful-they are but very few of the total number employed in the Docks, the great majority being distinctly worse off than they were before; while the increase in the Dock dues necessitated by the advance of the labourers' wages has been transferred from the shoulders of the Dock companies and ship-owners to those of the general public. Discontent has been seething among the Dock labourers ever since the strike was "settled," and more than once they have been ready to turn upon their so-called leaders and tear them to pieces. It is notorious that Mann and Tillett have had the greatest difficulty in holding on to their positions, and in quelling the turbulent spirit which has been rife among the Dock labourers owing to the non-fulfilment of the hopes which were created and the promises which were made during the strike of 1889. All this merely corroborates the statement made in the previous chapter that it will never be possible for Socialistic agitators to create a second Dock Strike.

Within the limits of this chapter it will be possible to glance only at a few of the principal strikes which followed upon the heels of the Dock Strike, and of even these few only the broader aspects can be noticed.\*

Taking these miscellaneous strikes in the order of their importance, undoubtedly the first place must be given to the strike of gas-stokers at the South Metropolitan Gas Company's works. The origin of this strike was singular. The Directors of the Company offered to give their men an interest in the business under a co-operative plan of profitsharing, the aim of which was of course to attach the men to the concern by a stronger bond than that which is provided by a mere weekly wage, and thus to avert strikes in the future. This proposal of the Company was denounced with great indignation by Trade Unionists as an attempt to rob the men of their rights of combination, and on this ground it was bitterly opposed by the Union Bosses, who saw that the policy of the Directors would be fatal, if not to Trade Unions themselves, at all events to the facility with which

<sup>\*</sup>Detailed information with respect to all the principal industrial conflicts which occurred between August, 1889, and June, 1892, will be found in the Appendices to this work, to which the reader is referred.

they have hitherto been used to create industrial conflicts. Hence the strike.

In Mr. George Livesey, the energetic Chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, the strikers met a foeman worthy of their steel. He quickly proved himself to be a man of determined will and of infinite resource. When attacked by the strikers he met blow with blow, never vielding an inch of ground, holding his own with a vigour and tenacity which made Englishmen everywhere feel that the spirit of their forefathers had not quite died out after all. By dint of almost super-human efforts Mr. Livesey kept the gas-works going and supplied the consumers with what had become to them a necessary of life, although for part of the time the gas supplied was to some extent inferior in quality and deficient in quantity. The places of the strikers were promptly filled up, so that when the strike ended in a complete victory for Mr. Livesey the men who had been foolish enough to give up profitable employment under excellent masters at the bidding of Trade Union agitators found themselves left out in the cold without employment. Many of them, according to all accounts, have never had any work since.

What this effort cost Mr. Livesey none but himself can fully know; but it is obvious that no man could endure such a strain as that to which he was subjected for many weeks without suffering an anxiety which sometimes deepened into agony. It was one of those crises which not only indicate what is in a man, but which also take a great deal out of a man. Years of steady and continuous toil would have a less wearing effect than weeks of such tension and exertion as Mr. Livesey had to go through at this time. The financial interests involved were of great magnitude, as may be judged from the fact that the struggle cost the gas company nearly £70,000. At the half-yearly meeting on February 18, 1891, the Report showed that there had been a deficiency of over £50,000, and that the Reserve Fund had been heavily drawn upon to meet the expenses of the strike. There had been

an advance in wages of £15,000 as compared with the corresponding half-year two years previously. But Mr. Livesey was able to state that the workmen were happy and contented, owing to the profit-sharing arrangements, the success of which had satisfied the Board that the principle which they had applied was a sound one. The men had not only given up "the sacred right to strike," but they had also saved since the previous June £2,986, of which they had invested £1,657 in the shares of the Company. One consequence of the strike was that, although the price of gas remained about the same, the shareholders had to be content with a smaller dividend.

So resolute was Mr. Livesey in his attitude, and so clearly did he perceive the magnitude of the issues which were involved in the contest, that he declared that he had decided to shut up the works altogether rather than yield to the demands of the New Unionism. Of course he was supported in this energetic action by his fellow Directors, and by the hearty cooperation of the officers, the foremen, and the loyal workmen, to whom, as well as to Mr. Livesey, the greatest praise is due for the heroic stand which they made against the tyranny of a combination of Trade Unions, and for the way in which they vindicated British energy and pluck. Under the blow thus dealt by Mr. Livesey the New Unionism reeled again. Another such defeat would probably have proved the end of the pretentious organization which had been called into being by Messrs. Burns, Tillett, and Co., and which for a few brief weeks had strutted proudly across the stage to the terror of the capitalists of the country and of the community in general. Had there been a George Livesey at the head of the Dock Directors the industrial history of England during the past two years would probably have been very different from what it has been.

So great was the admiration felt for Mr. Livesey's action in opposing the strikers and their Unions that a testimonial of £2,216 was subscribed, part of which was spent in a portrait of Mr. Livesey, which now hangs in the Board room

the Company, the balance of £1,750 being presented to him in the form of a cheque. This money was devoted by Mr. Livesey to philanthropic purposes in South London. The promoters of the testimonial stated their conviction that Mr. Livesey's firm action was not only of great service to the whole of the community, but was "probably of the greatest benefit to the men themselves as protecting them from an attempt to subject them to coercion in its worst form." The men themselves would appear to be of the same opinion, for on the 20th of September, 1890, they presented the Directors of the South Metropolitan Gas Company with an address which set forth the men's appreciation of the profitsharing system which had been introduced at the works. Mr. Livesey, in response, expressed a hope that the system might prove an encouragement to thrift and induce the men to make provision for old age or disablement. Mr. Livesey's victory seems to have been an admirable thing both for the company and its workmen, for, speaking nearly a year after the strike, he said: "They were masters of their business; their workmen were willing to let them be so, and had no wish to dictate to them. They never now threw down their tools and asked for the orders of their Union as to what they were to do. They now felt that if they had any grievances they could safely go to their superior officer and get them redressed." \*

The second strike in point of importance which occurred during the period under review was that which took place at the Bute Docks, Cardiff, and which was virtually a struggle

<sup>\*</sup> On June 5, 1890, Mr. Livesey was advertised to take the chair at a meeting in South London, which was called to protest against the proposals of the Government with regard to compensating the holders of licences. Mr. Livesey was, however, unable to gain a hearing owing to the frenzied conduct of a considerable number of men in the meeting who demanded that he should be "chucked off" and "run out" of the meeting. Finally Mr. Livesey and Sir Wilfrid Lawson retired from the meeting. It may be stated that Mr. Livesey has for many years been one of the principal supporters of Temperance Reform in the South of London, and that he has devoted money and labour without stint to philanthropic efforts in that district. His treatment at this meeting is a typical illustration of the intolerant, and almost insane, spirit which animates the more ignorant adherents of Socialistic labour movements.

for supremacy between the Shipping Federation and the National Seaman's Union. The Shipowners' Union had instituted a shipping register where any seaman might, on payment of is., enter his name. From this register the Federation's crews were manned. The Seaman's Union, fearing that preference might by these means be given to non-Unionists, entered into an alliance with the Dockers' Union, whereby both Unions agreed to co-operate in boycotting vessels which shipped their crews from the Shipping Federation instead of the Seaman's Union. In accordance with this decision the Glen Gelder, an Aberdeen steamship, was blocked, while other vessels were compelled to ship Unionists. The tactics adopted by the labour leaders during this strike were precisely similar to those which they had adopted elsewhere. Their policy was, by combining all the forces of Labour, to concentrate their attack upon the Bute Dock Company, and thus compel them to yield. But they had reckoned without their host. Cardiff is fortunate enough to possess a man who to an almost unrivalled knowledge of the industries of South Wales adds an amount of ability and fortitude which are seldom excelled, to wit, Sir W. T. Lewis, the Marquis of Bute's agent and manager. This gentleman proved himself to be as formidable and resourceful an antagonist of the New Unionism in Cardiff as Mr. Livesey had been in London. Certain of the tippers employed in the Bute Docks intimated to the foreman that they would not shoot coals into a particular ship, the Glen Gelder, any longer, for the reason that it belonged to the Shipping Federation and was manned by a Federation crew. They requested that the boat should be taken out of the Dock. The Trade Unions also approached Sir W. T. Lewis and asked him to give a guarantee that the men should not be compelled to load ships carrying non-union crews. He emphatically refused to give any such undertaking, and, in consequence, all the men came out on strike. However, there was abundance of free labour in Cardiff, and men who were willing to work were employed, and they were protected

by the Borough and the County police forces, who were assisted by a detachment of soldiers. In these circumstances the Dock Company soon had the whole of their cranes working, and the strike, so far as they were concerned, was at an end. Mr. J. H. Wilson, of the Seaman's Union, tried his best to block all the vessels in the port, but with only indifferent success. Owing to the firmness of Sir W. T. Lewis, and the support which was given to him by the ship-owners, the strike had never very much heart in it, and it soon simmered out. Thus another deadly blow was struck at the New Unionism which had, nevertheless, succeeded in throwing one of the most flourishing towns in the country into temporary idleness and disorder, the natural results of which were only prevented from showing themselves, to the great injury of the district, by the firmness with which the agitators and their dupes were met by Sir W. T. Lewis and his supporters. Sir William deserved a testimonial for his discreet and determined action quite as much as Mr. George Livesey did, and had he been given by the chances of war the first opportunity of showing his prowess as an antagonist of the New Unionism, his efforts would, no doubt, have received some public recognition. Both employers and workmen in South Wales are heavily indebted to Sir W. T. Lewis, not merely for what he did during the strike which has just been referred to, but still more for the action which he has taken to prevent strikes, and at the same time to insure to the workmen fair wages, inasmuch as he is the author of the Sliding Scale which is in force in South Wales and Monmouthshire, and which automatically regulates wages in accordance with prices. may be stated that the Marquis of Bute declared his determination to entirely close the Docks for a period rather than yield to the Trade Unions.

It is significant that the New Unionism put forth all its strength in connection with this strike at Cardiff. All its principal leaders, including Mr. J. H. Wilson, of the Seaman's

Union, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, and John Burns were on the spot doing their utmost to rally their forces. In spite of all their exertions, however, they were ignominiously defeated. Their original demand was, as already indicated, that non-unionists should be dismissed; but when they found that they were not going to carry things their own way they soon began to moderate their tone and ultimately they were glad to present a humble plea that unionists should be placed on the same footing as non-unionists. This was in fact asking for nothing, simply because the Dock Company had all along stated that its wharves were open to unionists and non-unionists alike. There never was a more impudent demand than that which was put forth by the Seaman's and Dockers' Union in connection with this Cardiff strike, namely, that the Dock Company should employ unionists only, and their attempt to enforce this condition upon the Company by a wanton strike, which injured not simply this particular Company but the whole trade of the district, was not only an unsuccessful piece of strategy, but was also a high-handed attempt to coerce employers which was as unrighteous as it was arbitrary. Towards the end of the strike Sir W. T. Lewis consented to see Tom Mann, merely as a matter of courtesy and not as a representative of any Union but merely as an individual, Sir William's position being that he recognised no Union at all, either of men or masters. He informed Mr. Mann that all the places in the Docks had been filled up, and when Mr. Mann, in singular contrast to his bravado on platforms, entreated Sir William to be merciful because he was strong, he was told that justice came before mercy. Mann, notwithstanding all that had occurred, had the hardihood to suggest to Sir W. T. Lewis, that he should discharge the men who had taken the places of the strikers and reinstate the latter. Sir William, to his honour, utterly refused to entertain the suggestion for a moment, and herein his conduct presents a most favourable contrast with that of some other employers, who have been mean enough to discharge the very men by whose assistance they have been able to minimise or neutralise the effects of a strike. In consequence of Sir W. T. Lewis' firm attitude the strike leaders again began to indulge in tall talk, and declared that they would call out the whole of the workmen, invite the co-operation of all the Trade Unions and so on. But it was talk and nothing more. In the end they had to submit to a humiliating defeat with the best grace possible. The strike in Cardiff, like that in South London, ended in the Unions being vanquished and in the victims of the Unions losing their employment, although the leaders of these Unions were not one penny the worse.

The third strike in point of importance which occurred during the period under review was the Dock Strike at Southampton, which was caused solely by the interference and the arrogance of the newly formed Dockers' Union. In Southampton, as in London, the Dock Company and their employes were working amicably together until this Union, for its own purposes, came in between them. When the trouble began the Dock Company consented to increase wages to 6d. per hour by day and 7d. per hour by night, though at the same time, perceiving what manner of men they had to deal with, they quietly arranged to place their labour on a new and sounder basis by engaging permanent workmen at a guinea per week. This, of course, did not suit the agitators who were fomenting the disturbances. Very soon all the labourers in the port, coal, corn, and general porters, seamen and firemen. as well as the dockers were out on strike, with the result that the trade of the town was thoroughly paralysed. Pickets were stationed all round the Docks and railways to prevent labourers from being imported. Matters quickly assumed a threatening aspect, and on the very day of the strike reinforcements of police were obtained from London and from the headquarters of the Hampshire County Police, whilst the soldiers in Winchester barracks were ordered to be kept in readiness should their services be required. An engine, which was about to cross from the station to the Dock, was taken possession of by a crowd of enraged strikers, who

seized the engine driver by the throat, threw him into the roadway, and backed the engine into the station again. A riot was anticipated, and the Mayor hastily convened the Watch Committee. An interview was held between these gentlemen and the representatives of the Dockers' Union, at which it was agreed that the mails should have free access to the Docks, and that passengers by American liners should also pass without molestation, the Mayor stating that no "blacklegs" should enter the Dock that night. Surely this was a singular compact to be entered into by the Mayor and Watch Committee of a leading sea-port, especially when it is added that the agreement further specified that "in case of breach of faith, the Dockers' Union were to take what steps they liked to prevent workmen from going into the Docks." The spectacle of the responsible magistrates of Southampton parleying with a set of ruffians, whose only followers were a band of discontented and disorderly workmen, and entering into something like an armistice with them, tho ugh from one point of view it was nothing better than a ridiculous farce, was nevertheless calculated to cause uneasy reflections as to the course which events were taking. Clearly it was the duty of the Mayor and Watch Committee to repress, promptly and sternly, any outbreak of lawlessness, and at the same time to give proper protection to the respectable workmen of the town who were willing to pursue their callings. The stupidity of these Southampton magnates stands out still more clearly in view of the fact that Southampton, owing to its lack of enterprise and its failure to make the best of its natural advantages, years ago allowed most of its trade to drift to London, and in view of the further fact that owing to the effects of the Dock Strike in London it had at this very juncture a chance of getting back some of the business which it had allowed to go to the Metropolis. During the few months which had elapsed between the Dock Strike in London and the Dock Strike in Southampton the trade of the latter port had looked up very considerably indeed.

To the credit of the Mayor of Southampton, however, it

must be stated that he telegraphed for 250 soldiers on the very day that he allowed himself to palaver with the strikers. The next day the windows of his business establishment were broken, and the crowds in the streets were charged by the soldiers with fixed bayonets, many people being seriously injured. The Mayor's private residence had to be placed under the protection of the military, and additional troops were telegraphed for. Every part of the Docks, and even of the town, was rigorously picketed, nobody being allowed to work, while all kinds of malicious injuries were done to property. And what was it all for? Simply in order that the high-blown pride of a few of the New Unionist agitators might be flattered by the recognition of their Union on the part of the employers. The recognition of the Union was positively the only question in dispute, and the employers, who acted like reasonable and common-sense men and thus presented a singular contrast to the conduct of the local rulers, steadfastly refused to give to the Union the recognition which it demanded.

The Southampton strike did not last many days, and it ended in a more decisive defeat for the New Unionism than any that had preceded it. The masters refused to see any of the leaders of the dockers, or to enter into any agreement with them, and in view of this firm attitude the Executive of the Dockers' Union in London quickly found it expedient to repudiate their agents in Southampton, and to declare that the strike had been begun without their authority and against their advice. The workmen were thoroughly well beaten, and the masters, having had the good sense to conduct their business in their own way and to reject the advice and intervention of fussy busy-bodies, were able to resume business with their freedom and power unimpaired. Several of the rioters were sent to prison, and many of the labourers found that their places had been occupied by others, whilst all of them had lost a considerable sum in wages, only to find in the end that they had been befooled. "Paid agitators have sold us," was their cry when they were advised to resume work without having gained by the strike any one of the objects for which it was started. There has been exceedingly little trouble at the Southampton Docks since this strike ended.

The other principal strikes which occurred during the period which we are considering were those which took place at Silvertown, London (where the New Unionism received another smashing blow), the Tailors' Strike in London, the Bakers' Strike in London, the Cabmen's Strike in London, the Carpenters' Strike in London, the Brickmakers' Strike in Kent, the Gas-stokers' Strike in Leeds, the strike at Manningham Mills, Bradford and the strike at Messrs. Doulton's in Lambeth. Perhaps the most unreasonable of all these strikes was that of the London Carpenters, who demanded that their hours of work should be reduced to 47 per week, whilst at the same time their wages should be increased to 10d. per hour. This is an admirable illustration of the present fanatical temper of working-men. Carpenters are skilled artisans, and not rude labourers like the dockers, and, moreover, their Trade Unionism is of the old and not of the new order. If any class of men in the country might have been expected to exhibit intelligence, reasonableness, and self-control, surely it was the carpenters; yet these men showed such an incapacity to comprehend the issues involved, and so entirely miscalculated their strength and the power of those against whom it was directed, that they actually went on strike, and remained on strike for nearly six months, in order to enforce upon their employers terms more preposterous than any that have ever been demanded by any body of workmen in this country. The master builders of London, because they declined to practically commit suicide by granting these terms, were struck against, and their businesses brought to a standstill, immense loss being inflicted upon thousands of people. Nevertheless, the Trade Union Congress and the Executive Committees of numerous Trade Unions not only passed resolutions of sympathy with the London carpenters, but also

assisted them with funds. No doubt their motives in so acting were selfish, for if carpenters are to work only 47 hours per week, less than eight hours per day, and are to receive 6s. 8d. a day for it, it is certain that all other artisans will soon demand the same terms. It would almost seem that the more extreme and absurd are the terms demanded by any body of strikers the more likely are they to receive support, not merely from the New Unionism, but also from the older Trade Unions as well. The Carpenters' Strike was ultimately settled by a compromise.\*

The strike at Leeds demands notice, if only for the reason that the conduct of the Leeds Corporation was such as to make it doubtful whether the local authorities of Southampton or those of Leeds showed the greater incapacity and imbecility. The strike arose out of a dispute which occurred between the Gas Committee of the Leeds Corporation and their workmen. The Committee issued notices to their men intimating that they would in future be required to work upon certain conditions, which were duly set forth. The men declined to submit to these conditions and struck work, both of which things they had a perfect right to do. Other men were engaged to take their places. These new men, however, were not allowed to enter the gasworks in consequence of the violence and intimidation to which they were subjected by the workmen on strike. It was at this point, as is usually the case in these strikes, that the strikers put themselves in the wrong; it is at this point, too, that employers are put to the test, and show either their strength or their weakness. At Leeds the Corporation succeeded only in demonstrating its utter impotency. Some of the new men who did succeed in entering the gasworks soon threw up their work owing to the terrible threats which were made against them. Serious disturbances occurred in the town, and for more than one night Leeds was left in total darkness. The gas-workers and their sympathisers armed themselves with formidable sticks to which hooks, spikes,

<sup>\*</sup>For fuller information see Appendices.

and nails were attached, and with these they attacked the police, who vigorously defended themselves with their batons, the result being a very large number of broken heads. The military had to be called out, and violent riots occurred, during which several officers, soldiers, and constables were seriously wounded. Anarchy threatened to reign supreme for the time. These events showed how thoroughly the labourers of Leeds, like those of London, had learned the lessons which had been taught by recent events in Ireland. They also indicated some of the dangers which lurk in the ownership of gas and water works by Municipalities. Just now there is a strong demand in certain quarters that works of this class, in London and all our large cities, should be placed under the direct control of the County or Town Councils. Whatever may be said in favour of this course, such events as those which occurred at Leeds show that its dangers are such as to outweigh its advantages. If the Leeds Gas Works had been in the hands of private owners we should not have witnessed such a deplorable spectacle of feebleness and indecision as was presented by the members of the Gas Committee. These gentlemen knew that the strikers were their own constituents, and that they could send them about their business at the next election. No doubt they were honourable men enough, and in any other circumstances would have acted in a manly and dignified spirit, but in the actual circumstances in which they found themselves they acted very much like the American Judge, who is elected by the popular vote, and who therefore, with all his love of justice in the abstract, manages so to manipulate matters in his Court as to secure re-election. The Gas Committee at Leeds, after quarrelling with their men, involving the town in riot, and causing a loss to the gasworks of £20,000, made an abject surrender to the strikers, to whom they yielded practically everything, in addition to which they had the unspeakable meanness to discharge the free labourers who had come to their help at a dangerous crisis, merely giving them a few pounds by way of compensation. The action of Mr. George Livesey in London, and of these anonymous pigmies in Leeds, marks the difference between the action of a man who is strong and independent and the action of men who are merely creatures of the popular vote.

The strike at Manningham Mills, Bradford, originated with the weavers. But in March, 1891, all the spinners and skeiners struck work in sympathy with the weavers, some 5,000 hands thus being idle. On the 4th of April, Mr. Watson, one of the Directors, informed the spoolers and skeiners that unless they decided to return to work arrangements would have to be made for removing the machinery elsewhere, and consequently the spoolers, to the number of 200, expressed their willingness to return to work. No doubt the remainder of the strikers would have done the same in the course of a short time if they had been left to themselves. On April 12th, however, Ben Tillett and other stormy petrels appeared upon the scene and addressed a meeting in connection with the strike. The authorities had prohibited the holding of this meeting in the Town Hall Square, and in view of a threat to hold it in defiance of this prohibition, 150 police were held in readiness for action. Mr. Councillor Sanders, of Rotherham, followed by crowds of people, made two attempts to hold a meeting in this Square, but the people were dispersed by the police. The next day still further attempts were made to hold meetings in the Square, and the military were in consequence called out. The Riot Act was read, and bayonet charges were made. The Town Hall windows were broken, and considerable damage was done to other property. At one of these meetings a leaflet was circulated headed, "Communists Appeal to Criminals." It was of a most violent character, and was signed "Your Brothers and Comrades in the Social Revolution, the Sheffield Group of Communists and Anarchists." During the riots stones and other missiles, including open knives, were thrown at the police—another indication that the lower class of English working men were not at all indisposed to imitate the tactics which had been so freely resorted to in Ireland.

It is a significant fact that this outbreak of violence in Bradford coincided with the arrival upon the scene of Mr. Ben Tillett and his coadjutors. Tillett seemed to have profited, however, by his experiences in Cardiff, and consequently he did not take any prominent part in the meetings which were prohibited by the authorities; but all the same his influence, which was not an influence for good, made itself felt. The authorities at Bradford acted like men who have true northern grit in them, and made it clear that they meant to stand no nonsense. The result was that they soon succeeded in putting down the disorder, as is always the case where men in authority act with vigour and dispatch. The Directors of the Manningham Mills stood to their guns, and refused either to concede the demands of their workpeople or to submit the matter to arbitration. The upshot of the matter has been that much of the business has been removed from Bradford, and that many of the strikers now find themselves without employment. Bradford has long been one of the most prosperous towns in the North of England: but since the agitators of the New Unionism threw their shadow across it, thousands of its inhabitants have suffered distress more bitter and extreme than has been known for generations.\*

The dispute which occurred at Doulton's Potteries was in some respects more instructive than any of those which have

<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps no man has done so much for Bradford as the eminent inventor and manufacturer, Mr. S. Cunliffe-Lister, now Lord Masham, the former proprietor of, and still the principal shareholder in, the Manningham Mills. Yet when Lord Masham appeared in Bradford in April, 1892, to deliver a lecture upon Protection and Free Trade, he was unable to gain a hearing, although the chairman besought the audience to listen to him on account of his great age and his labours for the good of the town. It was all in vain, however, and Lord Masham had finally to deliver his lecture simply to the reporters, who had the greatest difficulty in hearing it on account of the continual disturbance. An assemblage of lunatics would have behaved more rationally than did these exemplars of the New Unionism. Whilst Lord Masham, Bradford's greatest benefactor, is thus treated, Mr. Ben Tillett, a promoter of industrial strife and ruin, is accepted as the Labour candidate for the representation of East Bradford in Parliament. Truly the ways of the Democracy are—to put it mildly—peculiar.

been noticed, inasmuch as it affords a more flagrant example of the arrogance of Trade Unions, and of the tyranny with which they attempt to enforce their views upon employers. Sir Henry Doulton, being anxious to train up really skilful potters in order that his celebrated ware might be kept up to its high level of excellence, encouraged the training of boys in the art of "Throwing" on the potter's wheel, an art which can only be learned proficiently by those who begin it in early life. With this object in view, he secured indentured apprentices as required, and also introduced a modification of the system of apprenticeship by substituting the payment of a bonus for legal compulsion, such bonus being paid to each youth who completed his term in a commendable manner. These voluntary agreements, made between the lad and his parents on the one hand and the firm on the other hand, were found to work very satisfactorily, and as the result of the system the lads trained in this handicraft at Lambeth and Burslem received the highest awards, and also the freedom of the City, at the exhibition which was held by the Turners' Company at the Mansion House some time ago. Sir Henry Doulton states that he has been able to develop this art only by the patient training of youths in "Throwing," and by selecting those youths who have shown exceptional skill and taste in this difficult craft. When several vacancies occurred in December of 1890 three lads, who were sons of journeymen employed by the firm, were put in training. "At this point," says Sir Henry, "I was surprised by receiving a demand from a Trades Union, 'Affiliated to the London Trades Council,' that there should in future be only one apprentice to every seven journeymen. I urged on a deputation of the workmen that under such conditions past progress would have been impossible, and that had such a cast-iron rule existed in the past, few, if any, of those present would have been trained as potters. pointed out that in the past there was no excessive employment of learners, nor was this so at the present time. On the contrary, the proportion at present was less than at any

time during the last fourteen years. As to the future, I felt convinced that the numbers in training were absolutely needed. Within two hours I received the following notice:

- "'London Potters' Trades Society,
- " 'AFFILIATED TO THE LONDON TRADES COUNCIL,
  - "'Society House, 2nd Dec., 1890.
- "' To Sir Henry Doulton.

"'DEAR SIR,—Having heard the report of the deputation you received this morning, and your determination to keep the three boys in dispute on the wheel, it is our duty to inform you that at a mass meeting of your employes, labourers excepted, this afternoon, it was unanimously decided that, unless you agreed to take the three boys in question off immediately, every piece worker will cease work at once, and every day workman on Thursday next at 6 p.m. This comprises the following branches: Throwers, Stone Moulders, Terra Cotta ditto, and Lathers.'"

Of course no employer who respected himself could yield to such an impudent attempt at coercion as this. Were he to do so he would simply acknowledge that he is incapable of understanding or of conducting his business, and that he is willing to hand over its management to those whom he employs and pays. Sir Henry Doulton says: "The action taken in this case is an instructive illustration of some modern developments of Trades Unionism. Such a tyrannous attempt to exercise unlimited control over the employer I have felt bound to resist, because I believed that the principle contended for would only result in ultimate ruin to the trade. That I have been completely successful is due to no want of stubborn obstinacy on the part of the workmen. But I have to point out that such contentions as the present, even if they secure to the Unions their unreasonable demands, must certainly end as disastrously to the English working man as to our own present national supremacy in manufacture, and would but prove fatal to improvement and extension in our national industries."\*

The strike which followed upon Sir Henry's determination not to be dictated to or coerced lasted for three months. All the works of the firm, including those in South Staffordshire and at Burslem, were picketed. Other firms of potters were warned against supplying Doulton's with goods, and their works were also picketed. Men who had been for years working for the firm at excellent wages were forced by intimidation to leave their employment, and thus their families were in mid-winter deprived of the necessaries of life. Nevertheless, the London Trades Council sanctioned and upheld the strike, and appealed to all the affiliated Unions to support the men. In Sir Henry Doulton's words: "Agitators have been continually employed to incite the men against their employers, and all the resources of modern Socialistic warfare have been brought into play, regardless of the ultimate result to the trade and manufacture." In the end the men had to unconditionally surrender to Sir Henry Doulton, as is always the case where an employer shows that he has a backbone, and does not mean to be squeezed. But how abysmal must be the folly of Trade Union leaders and workmen who thus attack an employer who has practically created a new industry, and thereby found profitable employment for something like 5,000 persons, and who, after making a malignant attempt to injure the employer (who has been to them a benefactor), are compelled to unconditionally surrender, only to find that they have succeeded in injuring nobody but themselves and their families. This strike, it may be remarked, was not strictly a product of the New Unionism, but was promoted by the older Trade Unions—

<sup>\*</sup> On August 15, 1890, a coal merchant stated to Mr. Dickenson, the magistrate at the Thames Police Court, that he employed a number of coal porters at his wharves and warehouses at a wage of 28s, per week, and that he had now received a letter from the Coal Porters' Union stating that unless he paid the wages laid down by them they would not allow any of his workmen to commence work on Monday morning. He wished to know whether this was not an act of intimidation. The magistrate stated that he could give no advice on the subject, and advised the applicant to go and consult a solicitor.

which is only one more proof of the fact that the spirit of the new Socialistic Labour movement is permeating and dominating Trade Unionism as a whole.

While these strikes were going on in all parts of the country Tom Mann and Ben Tillett were on the stump trying to incite other workmen against their masters, and to create still more strikes. Mann visited Lincolnshire, where he addressed the agricultural labourers in the same strain as he had spoken to the dockers in London. He urged these men to join the Dockers' Union, though what such a Union has to do with farm labourers is not very apparent, and told them that if they did so the Dockers' Union would assist them to obtain shorter hours and higher wages, and also to get a freer access to the soil by means of allotments and small holdings. Of course Mann's real object was to prevent the labourers going into the towns, and thus competing with the dockers for work. At Derby, Mann addressed a number of bricklayers who were on strike, and told them of the great things he proposed to do through the Labour Commission. of which he had been appointed a member.\*

Ben Tillett also visited Lincolnshire and parts of Oxfordshire, while Tom McCarthy bestowed his attention upon the Isle of Wight. The burden of their speeches was that the labourer's wages and dwellings were disgraceful; that they ought to combine for higher wages; that they ought to be able to get the land that was out of cultivation; that the "Union meant to stop the drain of labourers into the towns where the women sink to a life of shame and the men die in the workhouse"; and that "the Union wanted to give every man and woman a chance to live in their own country." Apparently these gentlemen were too blinded by passion to

<sup>\*</sup>By-the-by, when English gentlemen are appointed members of such a Commission as this they usually think it becoming, as honourable men, to abstain from taking any side upon the matters into which they have been appointed to inquire while that inquiry is in progress. The capitalists and employers on the Commission have scrupulously observed this unwritten rule. Mr. Tom Mann has evidently a different code of honour, as he thinks there is nothing indecent in playing the part of a violent labour agitator at the same time that he is sitting upon a Labour Commission, presumably in a semi-judicial capacity.

perceive that there was any amount of land to be had in the country, and at a merely nominal price, by those who had the money to hire and work it. But of course what they meant to convey to their hearers was that public money should be used in order to provide small farms for labourers who were unable to find money for themselves.

Another noteworthy fact is that whilst men were throwing up their work and their wages in all parts of the country, and thus reducing themselves and their families to want, the greatest distress prevailed in various districts, and piteous appeals for assistance came from all quarters. The winter season of 1890-91 was one of the most severe that we have experienced in this country for a very long time, and even if the working classes had been as fully employed as possible there would have been privation enough among those whose occupations were stopped by the weather. But the extreme and bitter character of the winter was not allowed to influence the calculations of the labour agitators, who went on with their mischievous work utterly regardless of its effects upon those who might suffer from cold and want. Possibly they counted upon the weather as an ally, and thought they had a better chance of success with the charitably disposed than they would have in ordinary seasons. It is a singular fact that men who went on strike on the most ridiculous pretexts were not at all ashamed to appeal to charity the very week after they ceased work, although they had been receiving good wages, and still less were they ashamed of asking the very people who suffered through their foolish conduct to assist them in living in idleness. A still more astounding fact was that many of the employers who had suffered injury and loss through the strikes of their workmen were willing to give liberal subscriptions towards the support of those workmen and their families.

While these strikes were going on in this country, similar conflicts were taking place in other countries. At Rotter-dam some 5,000 Dock labourers, anxious to emulate their fellows in London, went on strike. The Dutch authorities,

however, acted in a most vigorous manner, which contrasted strongly with the supineness of the Home Office in London during our Dock Strike. When the strikers began to riot, the police at once charged them with bayonets, and troops were called out, several volleys being fired into the crowd. As a natural consequence the strike was practically over as soon as it had commenced. The Australians, who had done so much to keep the London Dock Strike alive, now found that they had quite enough to do to cope with their own labour troubles. Retribution followed sharply upon their folly in supporting the London strikers. At Melbourne the gasstokers went on strike; the sea-board traffic was practically stopped by a strike of the seamen; at Newcastle the mine owners decided to close the pits; foundries were stopped for want of fuel; and it was found necessary in the principal cities to strengthen the police force and to swear in special constables. Australian workmen appealed to England for aid, and the Dockers' and other Unions responded by sending large donations. The United Trades Committee sent £3,500, the United Labour Council £3,250, Amalgamated Engineers £1,600, the Gas Stokers £300, the Bricklayers £250, Parliamentary Committee £1,978, London Trades Council f1,000, Sailors and Fireman's Union f1,000, the Boiler Makers' £500, Docker's Union £1,000.\* In Sydney serious rioting occurred, and the streets were cleared by the police and the troops. The Government of New South Wales resolved to buy up all the rifle ammunition in Sydney, to prevent its getting into the hands of the strikers. In fact the strike threatened to resolve itself into a fierce struggle between the forces of Authority and of Anarchy, and the resources of the Australian Governments were severely taxed to prevent the forces of Anarchy from becoming supreme. Happily they realised the gravity of the crisis and showed no weakness, and so in the end they triumphed. This general strike in Australia was a logical development of

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Clem Edwardes, representing the Docker's Union, actually appealed to the English churches for support towards the Australian Dock Strike.

the Trades Unionism which has been petted and flattered in those colonies for many years. It was in the main a struggle not only for the recognition of the Unions, but for the right of those Unions to dictate to the employers that they should employ only Unionist workmen; in other words it was a mortal combat between Free Labour and Trade Unionism. Free Labour triumphed. A remarkable feature about this strike was that Mr. H. H. Champion, who was a leader of the Dock Strike in this country, took a strong stand against the extreme pretensions of the Trade Unions in Australia.

As illustrating the manner in which the strike mania spread, and the ridiculous lengths to which it sometimes went, the following incidents may be noticed. At Millville Glass Works, New Jersey. United States, the tending boys left the factories as a protest against the employment of fourteen Jews, the result being that 3,000 adult workmen were locked out. At Barcelona, Spain, a meeting of funeral mutes was held, and a strike for higher wages was decided upon. At the Heko Palace, China, 10,000 workmen were engaged in restoring and decorating the palace. Three thousand carvers and a number of carpenters struck for higher wages. They were receiving three meals a day and 2,000 "cash"; but they demanded 7,500 "cash" a day. When the employers refused to give the advance a signal gun was fired, and thousands of carvers, carpenters, and masons began to make threatening demonstrations. The police were unable to cope with the strikers, and Guards, Cavalry, and the Rifle Brigade were soon on the spot and surrounded the malcontents. The affair ended in a compromise, the men being allowed 4,000 "cash" per day. Three hundred girls employed at Willington Quay, on the Tyne, went on strike because their employers had declined to recognise the National Labour Federation, which the girls had recently joined. At Kilburn 300 laundry women went on strike and marched to the principal laundries where the women continued at work. At several places they smashed the windows, and succeeded in getting the laundry women to turn out, and a strong force of police had to be requisitioned to prevent further rioting. The women demanded 3s. 6d. for a day of eight hours, and beer money in addition. At Newington, near Sittingbourne, the hop pickers struck for an advance of wages. Excited by drink, they gathered round the farmer's house and demanded more money, and when he refused to give it they threatened to kill him. In Oct., 1889, a number of schoolboys struck in Bermondsey, and paraded the streets in procession, some of them armed with sticks, and visited a number of the neighbouring schools. They hurrahed and shouted, and sang "We are all on strike, And we are as happy as can be; We mean to keep it up, For we've got the f. s. d." In Woolwich, Plumstead, and Charlton several hundred boys struck for shorter hours, and went about armed with sticks to induce the boys of other schools to come out, and where they refused the malcontents broke the school windows. At Poole's Park schools, Lennox Road, Finsbury Park, 70 boys determined to go on strike, got out of the playground in the middle of the afternoon, armed themselves with sticks and stones, and marched in procession through the streets shouting out their demands for "Shorter hours, no cane, and no home work." At Liverpool 200 boys went on strike for fewer home lessons and shorter hours. They held a meeting on a piece of waste ground during the dinner hour and resolved not to go back, and when the masters appealed to them they were refused a hearing. At Swansea 150 seventh standard scholars paraded the streets, and smashed the windows of several of the schools. Among the documents received at the London School Board on Oct. 10, 1889, was one which read thus:

## "To the London School Board.

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—A meeting of the schoolboys of Kennington and Lambeth met on the Albert Embankment to-day. Unless the demands are granted they will keep away from school: free education; one free meal a day; no home lessons; no punishment (by caning). The

boys and girls will meet at same place later on, and parade the streets, and extend it to the whole of London. A speedy answer will oblige."

These facts are of interest as illustrating how the strike fever was "in the air," and how multitudes of people were affected by it. Even the quarrymen of Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell struck work, and attacked the house of the foreman, and threw his wife into a dangerous illness from fright. Mr. Parnell threatened to close the quarries if the rioting continued. Curses, like chickens, come home to roost, and the man who had directed boycotting and violence to be used against others in the most cruel and systematic manner was now served with his own sauce. When a dinner was given at the Naval Exhibition to representatives of the Press on Sep. 9, 1891, the German waiters who had been appointed to attend upon the guests struck on the ground that they had not received fair treatment at the hands of the Press. Mr. Mackenzie Ross, the manager, paid the insolent fellows their wages then and there, and turned them out of the building, fresh waiters being summoned by telephone from other parts of the grounds.

The principal strikes which have been referred to in this chapter have several features in common; they all clearly reveal the animus and the tactics of the New Unionism, and accentuate its dangerous characteristics; and they all show that a new and mischievous force is at work in the industrial world, or at all events that new weapons are being wielded by an old force. The facts tell their own story, and they would not be made any more impressive by rhetorical embellishments: they may well be left, therefore, to speak for themselves, as they will certainly do in the case of intelligent and interested readers, to whom they will suggest not a few graye reflections and forebodings.

## CHAPTER III.

## RAILWAY AND OMNIBUS STRIKES.

C LOSELY connected with the Dock Strike in Cardiff, which was dealt with in the which was dealt with in the last chapter, were the railway strikes which took place in South Wales, of which Cardiff is the centre. For two years this important industrial region was torn by sharp dissensions; rumours and threats of strikes were of constant occurrence; and several strikes of a disastrous nature actually occurred. In August, 1890, just a year after the Dock Strike in London, rumours of serious trouble began to circulate in and around Cardiff. The men had given in their notices, which were to expire on August 6th, when it was declared, from 150,000 to 200,000 men would be on strike. The Railway Companies issued announcements warning the public that there might be considerable delay in the running of the trains owing to the action of the men; they also gave instructions to their officers to take on all the men who required work without any regard to Trade Unionism, and thousands of applications for employment were received as soon as the requirements of the companies were made known. Mr. E. Harford, of the Railway Men's Amalgamated Society, boasted that the men had £100,000 at their back, and that they could, if necessary, procure another £100,000, and prolong the strife for six months. Ben Tillett, as a matter of course, also appeared upon the scene, though it is not quite clear what he had to do with railway men—except, indeed, that like all agitators. his interest lies in fomenting strife between employers and their workmen, and in making bitter and foolish attacks upon capitalists. Tillett said in Cardiff, at the end of July, 1890,

that "if the railway authorities thought they could take advantage of the men they miscalculated, and there would be war to the bitter end." By-the-by, men of this type always talk of "war to the bitter end," but if the employers talk in the same strain they are denounced as callous and cold-blooded brutes.

On August 5, the Directors of the South Wales Railway Companies met and passed a resolution strongly condemning the demand of the men that none but members of their Union should be employed at the Docks. A deputation of railway men, accompanied by Mr. Harford, waited upon the Directors, who declined to meet anybody but their own workmen, and consequently Mr. Harford and his deputation had to retire. On the same day the Executive of the Cardiff Chamber of Commerce also condemned the demand of the men with reference to the employment of non-union labour at the Docks, and the general feeling of the Chamber was that to yield to such a demand would be most impolitic, and that a lock-out would be the less of two evils. A letter was also sent from the Chamber to the three Railway Companies declaring that the right of Free Labour in the port of Cardiff ought to be maintained at all costs. A correspondence on this point took place between hir W. T. Lewis, the manager of the Bute Docks, and Mr. W. Riley, the Chairman of the Cardiff Chamber of Commerce. Sir William said he had had an interview with some of the men, who made it a condition precedent to discussion that the Dock Company should undertake to employ none but Trade Unionists, to which condition he had flatly refused to agree. Mr. Riley, in reply, said that the merchants of the port would strengthen the hands of the Dock Directors by every means in their power, even to the extent of ordering a lock-out, rather than that Free Labour should be excluded from the Bute Docks. the largest meeting of shipowners ever held in Cardiff, which took place on the same day, the following resolution was passed: "That this association protests most strongly against the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of the Seaman's,

Engineer's, Docker's, and Labourer's Unions at Cardiff, as evinced in the present dispute, and considers that the time has arrived when, in the interest of government, and of commerce generally, a firm and continued stand should be made against such conduct: that this Association binds itself to use all legitimate means to preserve for employers the right to engage Free Labour, and decides that the shipowners of the United Kingdom be requested to support this Association by keeping their vessels away from the port pending the dispute; and that the thanks of the Association be tendered to the Directors of the local Docks and Railways for the firm stand they are making."

Strenuous efforts were made to avert the strike by Lord Aberdare, Lord Dunraven, and other men of influence who were immediately interested in the district, and also by such men as Cardinal Manning and Lord Brassey, who were not so interested. To these men the representatives of the working men appealed, but without any practical effect. On August 6th the Railway Strike began. The drivers and firemen and guards of the trains on the Taff Vale, Rhymney, and Barry Railways left their engines during the night, and in the morning the signalmen, "according to instructions from their leaders," left their duties, after placing all signals at danger. Scores of thousands of men were thrown into idleness, and the whole trade of South Wales was paralysed. Hundreds of railway men from the Midlands and other districts were imported for the purpose of carrying on the railway traffic, and these were housed in barricaded huts which had previously been erected for their reception. One little incident will give an idea of the state of things which was produced by this wanton Railway Strike. The morning mail leaves Cardiff for the Rhondda Valley at half-past three a.m. The railway men held a meeting a few hours previously, and graciously condescended to allow the mail to be run as usual, in order that the public might not be "unnecessarily discommoded" (that blessed public to which the strikers look for the f s. d.) The necessary men were accordingly in attendance

at the Taff Vale station, together with a posse of policemen in charge of the Chief Constable. Just before 3 o'clock, however, telegrams arrived from the stations along the line "intimating that it would be dangerous to run the mail, the railroad for miles in the whole of the district being dotted with men." Clearly these fellows meant mischief; consequently the train did not run, and the mails were conveyed by road "under a special guard provided by the men."

The objects of this South Wales strike were ostensibly to secure the following conditions of labour for the men; I, a ten hours working day, or a week of sixty hours; 2, Overtime, up to eight hours, to be paid at time and a quarter; 3, Sunday work to be paid at time and a half. The real purpose of the fight, however, was different from and greater than any of these things, although it was carefully kept in the background. That purpose was to secure the recognition of the Railway Men's Union; that is to say, the Directors were required to recognise this Union in such a sense as to be ready to confer with its representatives, who had nothing whatever to do with the management of their lines of railway, and to be ready also to exclude non-union men from the ranks of their workmen. In other words they were asked to practically yield the management of their business into the hands of their workmen, and to support the Unions in their odious tyranny, by declaring that no man was fit for employment on their lines unless he wore the Union badge. In fact they were to become the cats-paws of the Trade Unions One of the organs of the strikers, referring to the demands just enumerated, said: "Be they right, or be they wrong, they did not at this moment concern the vital points of the dispute. That concerns a much more elementary demand of labourthe right of presenting its case collectively and not individually"; a round-about way of saying that the Trade Unions were to be conceded the right of managing the business of the employers. In resisting this impudent demand the Cardiff employers were opposing the most iniquitous coercion of

modern times, the tyranny of Trade Union combinations, and they opposed it not less in the interests of Labour than in their own interests. For incontestably it is the first interest, the most elementary right, of the working man, that he shall be free to sell his labour in the best market that he can find, and that when he has found that market, and is willing to supply his labour on the terms offered to him, no third party shall be permitted to step in between him and his new employer, and enforce conditions upon both himself and that employer which neither of them desires. It is one of the anomalies of the order of things which the New Unionism proposes to establish that the very men who are most enthusiastic in praise of Free Trade are at the same time most indignant in their denunciations of Free Labour. The New Unionists wish to maintain Free Trade in order that they may have cheap food; they also wish to protect labour in order that they may obtain high wages. They have not the sense to perceive that the Free Trade system is based upon Free Labour, or in other words upon the competitive system, or in still other words upon the right of labour to circulate through all places and all industries without artificial impediments being placed in its way. Nor are they capable of discerning that if they were to succeed in putting Labour into shackles they would at the same time bring back Protection in its most harsh and unmitigated form. If Capital is to be at the mercy of supply and demand under a system of Free Trade, so must Labour also be at the mercy of supply and demand under a system of Free Labour. Political Economy may be scoffed at as old and outworn, but it will quickly prove that it has sufficient vitality and strength to teach its ignorant detractors that if the nation is to continue to be subjected in its industrial life to the fierce competition of the whole world arising from Free Trade, then the individual workman must also submit to the unrestricted action of the same competitive forces which are at work in the sphere of labour. It is perhaps conceivable that we might have Free

Labour without Free Trade; it is not conceivable that Free Trade can be maintained without Free Labour.

The capitalists of South Wales were, on the whole, fairly united in resisting the attacks of the Trades Unions. They displayed some weakness, however, in ultimately consenting to confer with Mr. Harford, after having at first refused to recognise him or have any dealings with him. Ultimately terms of settlement were arranged between Mr. Inskip and Mr. Harford, the former representing the Companies and the latter the men, the terms agreed upon being as follows:-I. That the Companies were to pay for at least a week's work of 60 hours, "subject to the condition that the men will not be paid for time lost during the monthly holiday at the collieries, or through strikes, or other unusual interruptions of labour at undertakings connected with the railways." 2. The piloting and shunting day to be II hours, but six hours per week to be allowed for each man, and the allowance for meals to be cancelled. 3. The time for signalmen to be 10 hours per day, but 12 hours in the week of seven days to be allowed off; the men of each Company to resume their work in order of seniority as the traffic could be restored; and that men who went on strike were not to interfere with those who refused to do so." On the whole there never was a strike more inexcusable than this in South Wales, which, although it did not last long, cost a quarter of a million of money. The most unsatisfactory feature of it was that the Unionists were able to claim a victory, owing to the fact that the Railway Directors, after repudiating Mr. Harford, afterwards accepted him in the capacity of plenipotentiary on the part of the men.

If the Railway Strike in South Wales was wanton, that which occurred in Scotland at the end of 1890 was wicked. This strike was marked by every feature by which the hostility and the malignity of the men towards the Railway Companies could possibly be manifested. The time when it occurred, namely, just before Christmas, was precisely the one time of the year when the interests of the railway

shareholders could be hit the hardest. In Scotland the Christmas railway traffic is much heavier than it is even in England, and the consequence was that by striking at this particular time the Companies could be subjected to a loss of many thousands of pounds a day. Moreover, the attack was so organised as to include the three principal railways of Scotland, and thus paralyse the traffic, not in one district alone but throughout the whole country; indeed, everything indicated that the plans of the strikers had been cunningly devised and carefully matured beforehand. The workmen manifested the most utter disregard both as to the property of the Railway Companies and the safety of the public. Signalmen came out wholesale. Many of the signal-boxes were left empty without any warning, the fact only being discovered by drivers and guards when they reached the boxes, and the trains had to crawl along cautiously without the line being signalled clear. This difficulty was partly overcome by drafting station masters and other officials, who had been promoted from the post of signalmen, into the chief signal-boxes, and by switching the less important stations; but, of course, to carry on railway traffic under such conditions was so difficult as to be almost impossible, and was as dangerous as it was difficult. Pickets were placed at all stations, and some of these were instructed to stop the trains, which they actually endeavoured to do. Lawlessness, violence, and outrages were freely resorted to; indeed, not even the Dock Strike in London was disgraced by more infamous attacks upon life and limb, liberty and property, than was this Railway Strike in Scotland. Signalboxes were wrecked, stations were damaged to the extent of hundreds of pounds, stones were dropped from bridges upon locomotives with the object of injuring drivers and stokers, attempts were actually made to wreck trains. Even the dynamiter is not a more malignant foe to society than the train-wrecker. Serious rioting occurred in the streets of many towns, and peaceable men who wished to work were ferociously assaulted and grossly intimidated, some of them

being seriously injured and most of them thoroughly terrorised. More than once we have had occasion to note that workmen on strike in England have displayed a ready aptitude to imitate the odious and the wicked practices of the village ruffians of Ireland. The conduct of the railway strikers in Scotland showed that they could excel even the dockers of London and Cardiff in their emulation of the baser sort of Irishmen. Some of the Scottish strikers, disguised by masks, went about in the dead of night committing wilful damage to railway engines and blocking the lines. Clearly this was our old friend, Captain Moonlight, taking a turn upon Scottish soil. It was not a very long step from practices of this sort to maining and shooting peaceable men and women in their beds. Rowdyism was not, however, permitted to be triumphant. The authorities of the Scottish towns were fully alive to the danger, and on the whole they acted with commendable vigour and promptitude, both military and police being freely used. Matters were complicated by the fact that many of the railway employes lived in houses belonging to the Railway Companies, and that some of these were evicted. At Motherwell, while these evictions were proceeding, both the military and the police had to charge a mob, and several people were injured. this was, of course, most lamentable and regretable, but the strikers, and the strikers alone, were responsible for it. These men had the right to refuse to work if they chose to do so, but the fact that they went on strike gave them no right whatever to retain the possession of property which did not belong to them, and to garrison their homes against eviction after the fashion of Irish Leaguers, whose too successful practices they were evidently once more trying to imitate.

The fight was conducted with true northern stubbornness, and lasted some five weeks. During this time the Railway Companies carried on their traffic as they best could, and naturally, even the best was very inferior. The North British Company, which had to bear the brunt of the attack,

and was at the same time considered the weakest, had as its general manager Mr. John Walker, a man of extraordinary strength of will and firmness of character who, like Sir W. T. Lewis, Sir Henry Doulton, and Mr. George Livesey, from the first determined that he would not be beaten. No doubt his example strengthened the managers of the other Companies involved. As usual, there was no lack of men who were willing to work and fill the places of the strikers; indeed, it was only by the employment of these men that the Companies were able to carry on any traffic at all. The Caledonian Company were able to actually fill up every position which had been left vacant by the strikers. The Railway Directors from the first took up the position that the men must return to work as a condition precedent to their grievances being considered, simply because they had violated their contracts by leaving their employment without notice, and this contention on the part of the Directors was eminently reasonable. When the strike had lasted some time, as usual busybodies of various kinds, some of them more or less eminent, began to offer their services as mediators. But both the North British and the Caledonian Directors, wiser than the London Dock Directors, positively rejected mediation, and declined to concede either the 10 hours day or the 60 hours week, while they decidedly refused to recognise the Executive of the Amalgamated Railway Workmen's Society. The point all along insisted upon by Mr. Walker was that the men had broken their contract by not giving legal notice, and that in order to put themselves in a proper position they must resume work. Until they did that the Directors could neither enter into negotiations with them nor accept the intervention of outsiders.

Of course the Directors were violently abused for doing what the workmen claimed to have a perfect right to do, namely, to fight in defence of their own interests. Evidently the lessons of the London Dock Strike, the Southampton Dock Strike, and the strikes at Liverpool and Cardiff had not

been lost upon the Scottish Railway Directors. They perceived what the New Unionism was aiming at, and they also realised that unless they were prepared at once to hand over their property to a set of professional agitators and those who were deluded by them, they must make a resolute stand. That they were perfectly justified in taking up the position they did was made abundantly manifest in March, 1890, when the North British Railway was unable to declare any dividend on its ordinary stock, on which it had paid 31 per cent. for the corresponding period of the previous year, whilst it paid only 14 per cent. on the preference stock. The Caledonian Company, whose receipts up to the time of the strike had shown an increase of £22,310 for the corresponding period of the previous year, had to face a deficit of £,12,549 in consequence of the strike, the result being that instead of paying 514 per cent. as it did in 1889, it was only able to pay  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. During the five weeks of the strike the gross losses of the three principal railways were estimated at £112,793. The total depreciation in the value of the North British ordinary stock during the strike was said to be  $f_{2,322,285}$ . Nevertheless, the amount spent by the Railway Directors, though undoubtedly considerable, was wisely spent in resisting the impudent attempt of Trade Union officials to secure the practical control of these railways for all future time.

A singular feature in connection with this Scottish Railway Strike was that it was commenced by the unauthorised action of a handful of men in Glasgow, and commenced against the wishes of the Union leaders. These leaders, however, instead of making a resolute attempt to stop a strike of which they did not approve, and announcing that they would resign their positions if the strike went on, feebly yielded to the malcontents, and ultimately not only sanctioned the strike but loudly commended it. Verily a significant illustration of the fact that as regards modern labour movements it is not the dog that wags the tail, but the tail that wags the dog. Trade Unions would not commit such

foolish blunders as they often do, and spread strife and ruin over entire districts, if they were managed by shrewd and strong men. These Unions require nothing so urgently as good generalship. Mr. Henry Tait, the secretary of the Scottish Railway Men's Union, was supposed to be the leader of the members of his society. Surely a weaker leader never appeared upon the industrial battlefield. Had he been a strong man he would have put down his foot at once when a few malcontents endeavoured to override the opinion of the Union, and he would have stamped out the rebellion, and thus have prevented a strike. As it was, he feebly allowed himself to be overruled by an extreme section, and eventually had the mortification of enduring a humiliating defeat.\*

The result of the Scottish Railway Strike was another crushing defeat for the New Unionism, as the men had practically to accept the terms of the Companies at the end of a protracted struggle, so that while they practically gained nothing, they lost their wages during the five weeks of the strike. What is more, many of them permanently lost their situations, for the Companies, more noble than the Gas Committee at Leeds, declined to dismiss the men who went to their assistance and whom they had permanently engaged, and took back the strikers only to fill up vacancies. No doubt many a railway workman in Scotland down to the present hour curses the day that he first listened to the advice of labour agitators. Thus ended the first attempt of the New Unionism to invade Scotland.

John Burns, who appeared at this time to think that no strike could be conducted without his wise counsels, as a matter of course went to Scotland to do what he could to embitter the struggle, and his action must be briefly noticed before we pass from the subject. He signalised his advent

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Tait, although he countenanced this most wanton strike, and actively co-operated with men who committed the crimes and outrages enumerated above, has since been appointed a member of the Labour Commission. It would really seem that the House of Commons is eager to encourage the "Apostles of Discontent" by singling them out for exceptional honours.

into Scotland by showering abuse upon the clergy, and he subsequently made a scurrilous attack upon the editors and reporters of Scottish newspapers. He said: "They could trace in the lying misrepresentations some of the handiwork of impecunious reporters. He pitied these gentlemen; they were more the victims of the degraded capitalist than even the signalman. They could not expect honour or truth to come out between the sandwiching of Scottish £5 notes. It was impossible for them to be what they were not. He did not blame them; he pitied them more than the prostitute who sold her honour on the streets." The Glasgowand West of Scotland Branch of the Institute of Journalists passed the following resolution upon the matter, by 27 votes against 8: "That this meeting of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Branch of the Institute of Journalists indignantly protests against the attacks-particularly those of the 26th and 27th of January-made by Mr. John Burns, of London, on Scottish journalists, which he has neither withdrawn nor attempted to substantiate, and which the meeting regards as a gross calumny; and, further, the meeting invites the co-operation of the Council of the Institute in London, and of the Committees of the various districts throughout the kingdom in dealing with the matter, and in protecting the members ot the profession from such attacks." The Scottish reporters declined to report the speeches of a man who had thus vilified them, and they were supported in this course by their editors, the result being that Burns and his friends set up a whine about his being boycotted. are ready to preach boycotting of the most vigorous character against capitalists and employers, but when journalists who had been traduced declined to report the speeches of their traducers, which was not boycotting at all, the traducer and his admirers at once began to howl like whipped curs. The appeal of the Glasgow Committee to the Institute of Journalists did not seem to produce any great effect, and Burns appears to have made no attempt to substantiate his charges, neither does he appear to have formally withdrawn them. It is not surprising that Burns found Scotland too hot for him, and that he has since thought it prudent to leave it severely alone. Happy Scotland!

The Omnibus Strike, which occurred in London at the beginning of June, 1891, was in every respect one of the most important of the strikes which have taken place during the last two years. There is, however, one essential distinction between the Omnibus Strike and most of the others, inasmuch as it was in the main an effort to obtain shorter hours of work, and it must be admitted that in this case the men had some reason on their side. Nevertheless, they were not content to strike merely against excessive hours of labour; for whilst they asked for shorter hours they also asked for increased wages. Moreover there can be no doubt that, so far as the General Omnibus Company was concerned, the discontent of the men was almost entirely owing to the introduction of the ticket system which put an end to the pilferings by means of which the men had for years largely increased their wages. If they could have retained the privilege of pillaging their employers they would never have struck against their hours, even had they been longer than they actually were. For many years they had submitted to these hours without any murmuring, and the Company had reprehensibly winked at the dishonesty of its employés. Only a few weeks previously the omnibus men had refused to join in the movement of the "white slaves of the tram cars." It was only when the Company had resolved upon a sweeping reform in the interest of its revenues that the discontent of the men burst forth. This very circumstance was sufficient in itself to prove that the men had raised a false issue and that they were not sincere in their conduct. The pretensions put forth on their behalf to the effect that they were groaning under the oppression of their employers, and that they desired shorter hours in order that they might spend more time with their families, in intellectual pursuits, and in recreation, were all so much cant, and were designed simply to delude the public. If the men had struck under

such conditions as would have convinced the public that their only object was to reduce their hours of labour, their action would have commanded general sympathy and support; but as it was, the reasons which were alleged in justification of their action were simply laughed out of court. However, the strike, no matter what its real causes or its actual purposes, served the purposes of the omnibus men's leaders admirably. Wherever a strike is there will the agitators be gathered together. They were in full force on this occasion. headed by Mr. Thomas Sutherst, who, being a barrister, presumably does not understand much about the omnibus business. But perhaps his very ignorance of the subject was one of the best qualifications he could have for the part he was to play, as indeed seems to be the case with most of these popularity hunters; if they knew a little more they would not talk such arrant nonsense, or act with such insufferable arrogance, as they now do. The leaders of ignorant and fanactical labourers must not themselves be too well informed or too sober-minded.

The Omnibus Strike was accompanied by all the wellknown features which have characterised every great strike which has occurred since the Dock Strike. There were plenty of men ready to take the places of the strikers; the strikers by violence prevented their places being taken by those men; they also injured the property of their employers, cutting harness, overturning omnibuses, and even for some days refusing permission for the horses to be fed and watered. At the very commencement of the dispute, the two Companies concerned offered to concede the 12 hours' day, but they refused to give any increase of wages. As the men professed to be fighting simply for shorter hours, that they might have more time to spend with their wives and children, this concession ought to have satisfied them; but they refused to accept it and continued the struggle, the end of it being that they had practically to accept the Directors' terms after all. In this case, as in the others we have noticed, the men showed that they had not the least disposi-

tion to consider the circumstances and the difficulties of their employers. Owing to the repeated reductions of fares, the omnibus traffic was being conducted at such cutting rates that only very meagre profits were being earned, while at the same time the men were being paid really good wages, and if anything were getting more than their fair share of the profits earned by the joint exertions of the Labour and Capital which were employed in the omnibus trade. It is true that the London General Omnibus Company had kept up its dividend to 12 per cent., but this had only been done by drawing upon the accumulations of past years, which had been earned under more favourable conditions than those which now exist; whilst the London Road Car Company was a new enterprise which was only just emerging out of the difficulties which it had to encounter in its initial stages. These facts counted for nothing, however, with the fanatical workmen, and still less with their more fanatical leaders, all of whom in fact seemed to have been thoroughly imbued with the idea which is now so common, that workmen are entitled to seize any great industrial enterprise which they deign to serve, and appropriate its profits for themselves, without any regard whatever to the rights and interests of those who have established and supported the enterprise by their brains and their money. The result of the Omnibus Strike was virtually another defeat for the New Unionism. Exceedingly little has been heard of Mr. Thomas Sutherst and his satellites since this fiasco.

Since the Omnibus Strike concluded there has been a good deal of friction between the principal Omnibus Companies and their workmen. Much complaint has been made on the part of the latter that the Company has discharged many of its *employés* without rhyme or reason; but the Company claims that it has only discharged those men who have proved themselves to be lazy, incompetent, or dishonest. The explanation of the matter is very simple; the relations of the two classes have been embittered by the strike, the result being that each looks upon the other

with distrust, and also with some degree of resentment, and that each party is ready to pounce upon the slightest fault on the side of the other. This is what we may expect to become very common among us in future if these industrial conflicts are perpetuated. Hitherto employers in this country have, on the whole, manifested a considerate disposition towards their workmen, but let them once be thoroughly convinced that their workmen do not care two straws either for them or their business, and they will cease to care two straws for the workmen. This is only human nature. And working men will find when matters reach this stage, and the normal attitude of masters and workmen towards each other becomes one of suspicion and hostility, that it is the workman who will be placed at a disadvantage. His slightest failure of duty will be pounced upon, and he will be discharged. Masters will no longer, as they have often done in the past, continue to employ workmen when they have really nothing for them to do, of course to their own loss; nor will they, as they have also frequently done in the past, put up with an imperfect or unprofitable servant from motives of compassion. All the tender emotions of the human breast will be excluded from the management of business, in which ruthless severity and unpitying justice will hold indisputed sway. To workmen it may be emphatically said-"With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."\*

The Omnibus Strike in London was largely occasioned by the success of a similar strike in Paris. In relation to their Omnibus Strike the Parisian public acted precisely like the London public had done with regard to their Dock Strike; while the French Government gave even more encouragement to the strikers than our own Government gave to the dockers. Indeed, M. Constans, Minister of the

<sup>\*</sup> Many other Strikes, some of them of great importance, have occurred during the last two years and a half besides those dealt with in the first Book of this work. The details of the greatest of these Strikes will be found in the Appendix, and the reader is recommended to make himself familiar with the facts there set forth whilst he is reading Book I.

Interior (Home Secretary), went so far as to inform the Paris Omnibus Company that if it did not come to terms with its workmen he would municipalise its property, which practically meant that he would confiscate it. This, for a Minister of a free Republic, was a most arbitrary course, all the more reprehensible because it was dictated by the basest motives of expediency. The curse of Demos-worship is over French politics as well as our own. So strong a measure was unprecedented in the annals of civilised nations, as it was unparalleled in its folly and in its blighting effects. A few more steps of the same kind would have effectually driven all capital out of France, and substituted desolation for the prosperity of that thriving country. One of the lessons which Democratic Governments have got to learn is that they cannot ride rough-shod over moral and economic laws with impunity. Retribution will dog, with the inevitableness of fate, the footsteps of any Government which sacrifices the fundamental rights and liberties of its intelligent and prosperous citizens for the sake of gaining the temporary support of other citizens who are neither prosperous nor intelligent. And sooner or later such a Government will be overwhelmed in disgrace and disaster, and will perish amid the execrations of an indignant people whose interests it has betrayed. To the credit of M. Constans, however, it must be admitted that if he momentarily lost his head over the Omnibus Strike he soon recovered himself. When the Paris railway men, encouraged by the success of the Omnibus Strike, thought they would try their hands as well, the Minister of the Interior greatly surprised them by offering to place at the disposal of the Railway Companies a corps of army men who had been specially trained in railway work. The result of this action on his part was that the Railway Strike collapsed at once. Furthermore, when the Paris bakers imitated the tactics of the omnibus and railway men, and went on strike, M. Constans supplied bakers from the army to the employers, who not only got their bread better baked than

before, but also made larger profits out of its sale. The bakers, seeing that they were thus checkmated, gave in at once. Mr. Matthews, or any other gentleman who may hold the post of Home Secretary in this country, might very profitably take a few lessons from the action of the French Minister of the Interior. In this old monarchical country we should not perhaps submit quite so readily to independent action on the part of Ministers as they do in Republican France; at all events there would be a loud and fierce outcry if our Ministers were to supply army men to take the places of strikers—though if this had been done during the Dock Strike it would have been an immense service to the nation: but at any rate we are entitled at the very least to expect that our Government will take up an impartial attitude between the two combatants in a strike, and give favour to neither, but a fair field and legitimate protection to both.

The fashion in which railway strikes are dealt with in another Republic of Liberty, namely, the United States, is also very significant. They had a strike going on in connection with the New York Central Railway at the same time as the South Wales strike was proceeding in this country. But the way in which the two strikes were treated by the authorities is very significant indeed. There, as here, the Companies had plenty of men willing to work in place of the strikers; but there, not as here, the men willing to work were efficiently protected, and not left at the mercy of crowds of frenzied strikers. The State militia was called out to supplement the efforts of the police in the work of protecting free labourers, and the result was that trains were freely run by non-unionists under the protection of the authorities, with the consequence that the strikers lost their places. The American Railway Companies, however, do not merely depend upon the police and the military; nor indeed do American employers generally. They rely upon that peculiar institution of their own—the Pinkerton Police. During railway strikes the Companies engage Pinkerton detectives, who are fully armed, to accompany and protect

the trains. During this strike on the New York Central a large number of these police rode on the cars in order to terrorise the crowds along the lines, and one of them shot at a boy of fifteen for throwing a stone, while another shot into the crowd and was arrested by the State police, who were immediately attacked by Pinkerton's men. A fight ensued between the two bodies of police, which resulted in the rescue of the man who had been arrested. The Pinkerton Police also fired a dozen shots into the crowd, while on another occasion twenty shots were fired, and persons were wounded by each shot. The Vice-President of the New York Central Railway said he considered the firing of the Pinkerton Police was fully justified.\* These seem strange and almost barbarous practices to English minds, but we are only too likely to become so familiar with them as to take them in the same matter-of-fact way as the Americans do. American employers have been driven to adopt these savage and brutal methods of defending their property by the brutal and savage attacks which are made upon them and their possessions by such organisations as the Knights of Labour, which does not hesitate to wreck trains, and endanger the lives of innocent passengers, in order to defeat the Companies and maintain its own authority and prestige. The New Unionism here is travelling on precisely the same lines as have been followed by the Unions in America, and the ultimate results will be the same here as they have proved to be there. If things go on as they are now going we shall soon have our Pinkerton Police, and all the rest of the accessories of real industrial war. Sir Edward Watkin. presiding at the half-yearly meeting of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway on January 21, 1891, said: "Why should a man derange the whole commercial arrangements of a good part of the kingdom because he could not get more than the market rate of wages?

<sup>\*</sup> The result of the strike on the New York Central was that the men had to unconditionally surrender, although they had lost £18,000, whilst the company lost £40,000.

Railway strikes ought not to be allowed at all, but should be put down by the strong arm of the law. The stoppage of a railway should be rendered an impossibility in the interests of the public." To rely upon the "strong arm of the law" is all very well as long as that arm is active and efficient, but suppose the "strong arm of the law" should prove to be but a broken reed? What then? Men may be deluded and entrapped by it once, as the Dock Directors were, perhaps even two or three times, but afterwards they will prefer to rely upon their own strong arms, and ignore the strong arm of the law altogether.

The consideration of these railway strikes suggests such questions as these:

Ought strikes to be possible on railways at all?

Is it in accordance with sound public policy, to say nothing of public convenience, that engine-drivers, guards, and signalmen should be permitted to leave their posts without a moment's warning?

When such strikes do occur, how ought they to be dealt with?

These are questions of vital importance, and they should receive the careful and unprejudiced consideration of every intelligent citizen. The public as a whole seem to be far too much disposed to look upon Railway Companies as privileged monopolists, and enemies of the common good, instead of regarding them as powerful promoters both of social comfort and of commercial prosperity, which they undoubtedly are. If Parliament has conferred certain privileges upon Railway Companies, it has done so because it believed itself to be acting in the interests of the community as a whole, and not because it wished to enrich railway shareholders; besides which railway enterprise is subjected to legal regulations and restrictions such as are not imposed upon ordinary commercial undertakings, so that the railways have to pay for their privileges. The tendency nowadays is to harass and handicap railway enterprise by heaping upon the Companies one disability after another, and by continually intermeddling with their affairs and thus diminishing their power of self-government. There is grave danger that this tendency will be pushed a great deal too far. Railways, like other commercial enterprises, should be interfered with by the State as little as possible. Wise rulers exhibit their wisdom by never thrusting their hands into the management of private business undertakings except when they are absolutely forced to do so. It is quite certain that as regards the railways of our own country the State has quite as much to do with them as it ought to have, and probably a great deal more than is good for them. Yet every Session a few fussy members of Parliament demonstrate their folly by proposing all sorts of Socialistic schemes for the better regulation of railways by the State, apparently in sublime unconsciousness of the fact that our railways are ten times better managed than are the railways in countries where they are owned and worked by the State. John Burns told the railway workers in Hyde Park on May 11th, 1890, that unless their demand for shorter hours and higher wages were conceded by the Companies he and his friends would "nationalise" the railways. He is only one degree more silly than some of his Parliamentary patrons.

The assumption which generally underlies these attacks upon railways is that they are immensely wealthy corporations, and that their Directors and Shareholders are drawing exorbitant salaries and dividends. This idea is, in the main, entirely fallacious. No doubt there are a few fortunate people who happen to be holders of original stock in our largest Railway Companies, and these derive a handsome revenue from their investments; but the majority of the Shareholders, who have had to purchase their stock at high prices, seldom receive more than four per cent. upon it, while they very often receive less. Even this modest dividend will soon be seriously diminished, even if it does not vanish altogether, under the spiteful intermeddling of vain and ignorant politicians. No class of property has

suffered more since 1889, the year of the Dock Strike, than railway property. In that year there was a large increase of railway dividends, simply because the railways added £4,131,000 to their receipts, whilst their expenditure increased by only £2,332,000. In 1890 the receipts, or gross revenue, again showed a large increase, but the expenditure showed even a larger augmentation, owing chiefly to the higher cost of labour, coal, and iron. Since then receipts have diminished, although the expenditure has continued to increase, which simply means that the money which should have gone into the pockets of Railway Shareholders in the shape of profits has gone into the pockets of workmen in the shape of increased wages. During the half year ending June 30th, 1891, over half a million was added to the receipts of the fifteen leading English railways; but the whole of this half million, and even something beyond it, was swallowed up by extra expenditure. Consequently dividends were cut down by from one-half to one per cent. Some Companies could not even pay these reduced dividends without dipping largely into their reserve funds or carrying forward exceptional expenditure. Everything indicates that the tendency of railway stocks is, and is likely to be for some time to come, downwards. Nevertheless, railway workmen, and the agitators who thrive upon their discontent, and even not a few members of Parliament, are doing their very utmost to cripple the energies and to still further reduce the revenues of the proprietors and the Directors of our railways. This is indicated not only by the wanton character of the strikes which have recently occurred, and the absolute indifference which railway workmen have manifested with respect to the interests of their employers, but also by such incidents as that which occurred in relation to the dismissal of a station-master on the Cambrian Railway. This gentleman had given evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, in the course of which he made statements which reflected seriously upon the management of the Cambrian system. He was after-

wards dismissed by the Cambrian Directors for alleged irregularities and failure of duty. This action of the Directors was misrepresented by some of their detractors, who sought to make it appear that they had dismissed the station-master solely on account of the evidence which he had given before the Parliamentary Committee, and had thereby seriously infringed the privileges of Parliament. Two of the Directors, Mr. Buckley and Mr. Maclure, and Mr. Conacher, who was then the General Manager of the Cambrian Railway, were summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons to answer for their breach of Parliamentary privileges, and after a debate, which served mainly as a vent for the utterance of a number of foolish and malignant criticisms, the three gentlemen in question were seriously admonished by the Speaker that nothing of the sort must occur again. To men of common sense the whole of these proceedings appeared to be singularly illadvised. Nobody succeeded in proving that the stationmaster had been dismissed because he had given the evidence in question; nobody could disprove the statement of the Directors that the real ground of the dismissal was that the station-master was faulty. If a Railway Company is not to be at liberty to dismiss one of its servants for grave defaults of duty, simply because that servant happens to have been a witness before a Parliamentary Committee, then we may bid good-bye to the prosperity of our railways. for it is absolutely certain that they can only be managed successfully by men who have the same freedom of action as other business managers enjoy. Railways do not exist primarily to provide employment for a certain number of workmen, still less for any particular workman of proved incapacity, although a great many shallow-brained people nowadays appear to think that they do.

As regards the relation of the State, and the duty of the State, to such institutions as railways, it may be admitted that the State is not at liberty to treat them in precisely the same manner as it treats an ordinary private enterprise.

When the State grants exceptional privileges and rights, it may legitimately impose certain exceptional obligations. This it already does in relation to railways, as we have pointed out. Whether it ought to do more than it now does in this direction is a debatable point. The exact degree in which the State should interfere as regards any particular matter must be decided according to circumstances. It is quite right that the State should extend its protection to railway servants with the object of making their occupation as safe as possible; but it is not right that the State should determine what hours of labour those servants should work, or what wages they should receive for their labour. Demands are continually being put forth, more or less plainly, that the Government should take such matters as these out of the hands of railway managers and settle them itself; but it is certain that were the State to do this the last condition of railway workers would be worse than the first.

It may be that the State might with safety do something more than it does at present in the way of preventing railway strikes. During the Scottish railway strike the Leith Town Council passed a resolution to the effect that: "Should differences arise between the Railway Companies and their servants in regard to hours of working, wages, or any other matter which cannot be settled amicably, it should be referred for settlement to a Board fairly representing the Companies and their servants, and on no account should the service be interrupted." There is nothing to prevent such a Board as this being voluntarily formed by the capitalists and the labourers who are interested in railways without any action whatever on the part of the State. The fact that such a Board has not been formed seems to show that the time for it is not yet. When it is required it will grow up naturally. If it does grow up in this way it will be likely to do good service; but if it were an artificial creation of the State, forced upon those who did not desire it, it would either be inoperative or operative

only for evil. Railway Companies may be trusted, for the sake of their own interests, to make such arrangements as are most likely to be conducive both to the good of their workmen and to the prosperity of their business. It is a pity that the workmen cannot equally well be trusted to do those things which will at once promote their own welfare and the progress of the Companies whom they serve. The contention that Railway Companies, because they enjoy a position which is somewhat in the nature of a monopoly. must therefore be content to bear exceptional burdens of responsibility, applies with equal force to the servants of Railway Companies, who are also in a sense servants of the public, and therefore cannot be allowed the same measure of irresponsible freedom as is given to an ordinary labourer. But this is a view of the matter which is entirely lost sight of by the workmen and their Unions. They are all for placing exceptional restrictions upon the Companies, whilst they assume that the servants of the Companies are to stand on precisely the same footing as the servants of private employers. But if ever the day comes when the State should decide to still further restrict the liberties of railway Directors, the servants of those Directors will find that their liberties will be curtailed in a proportionate degree. and they will be no longer able to jump off their engines, and march out of their signal cabins, without notice, unless they are content to bear the severe punishment which the State will then undoubtedly impose.

The Railway Companies will find that the most effectual way of preventing wanton strikes on the part of their workmen will be by meeting the combinations of the workmen with a combination of their own. Let them form a Railway Federation, as the shippers have formed a Shipping Federation. If they will do this, and act together as one man, every railway standing by every other railway, they will take the one step which will be more effectual than any other in bringing their workmen to their senses. Were they to do this, they would be able to concentrate their

united strength upon any point that might be attacked, and to supply free labourers who had been properly trained in railway work wherever a strike occurred. In the presence of such a Federation a strike of railway men, however highly organized, however widespread, and however well supplied with funds, would be practically hopeless. The men would perceive it to be so, and consequently they would never enter upon a strike under such circumstances. Here, as elsewhere, the best way to preserve peace is to be fully prepared for war. If along with this the Railway Companies would organise and train a special protective police force of their own, they would be able to contemplate the movements of the Trade Unions without the slightest feeling of alarm, and in the calm confidence of conscious strength. If the Railway Companies as a whole would act upon the suggestions here indicated, they would not only preserve peace and prosperity within their own borders, but they would most effectually stamp out the agitation which is continually going on with the object of compelling Parliament to shackle railway enterprise.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Discharged soldiers, many of whom leave the army every year and go to swell the Army Reserve, afford most excellent material for Railway Companies, Dock Companies, etc. There is difficulty in finding such men ordinary employment; but they are an invaluable class where habits of discipline and loyalty are essential. If the Railway Companies were wise they would engage every such man of good character as soon as he left the army.

## CHAPTER IV.

Insubordination in the Public Services.

T was remarked in the first of these chapters that a citizen of a civilized account. citizen of a civilized community would, if deprived of the protection which it is the duty of a civilised Government to afford him, be in a distinctly worse position than a barbarian in a savage country, inasmuch as the latter is compelled by his circumstances to stand prepared at any moment to defend his life and his property to the death; whereas the civilized citizen is trained to rely on the action of the civil Government for the protection of himself and his property, instead of upon his own right arm. How completely the English or American citizen is at the mercy of the Executive Government of the day will appear on very slight reflection. We have the police force to guard us from assaults and murder, from garrotters and burglars, from mobs and riots, and to secure order and tranquility in our streets and public places. For defence against the foreign invader we rely upon our army and navy. Under the conditions of modern life the multifarious and complex operations of business can only be conducted by correspondence and by telegraph, and for the proper conduct of this correspondence we depend upon a body of men who are the servants of the State. In great cities, where fire is a constant peril, and is apt to sometimes prove a veritable scourge, we have a body of specially trained firemen to cope with this danger.

Now, it is obvious that the community is absolutely at the mercy of these different orders of its own servants. If by any possibility these classes of public officials could be induced to combine against society in general, society would find itself not only defenceless against both internal and external foes, but it would also find itself bereft of the first necessities of existence, and reduced to a state of absolute paralysis, so that none of its proper functions could continue to be discharged. Commerce would be impossible; anarchy would reign supreme. And what we have witnessed during the last two years clearly indicates a design on the part of a numerous body of persons to make war in this way upon the community. The tyranny of the Stuart kings, to emancipate ourselves from which we paid so terrible a price, was liberty itself in comparison with the more rank and odious tyranny of a Socialistic Democracy. A despotic king is powerless as compared with an army of voters who are actuated by cupidity and malignity. It has taken us three centuries, and has cost us an incalculable price, both in brains and blood, to win for this nation the liberties which it now enjoys; but, looking at what has occurred during the past few months, it is quite conceivable that those liberties may be destroyed in one short day of madness on the part of our democratic masters. The nation is menaced by graver perils than any of those which it has encountered during its stormy past, graver because more insidious as well as more destructive, and yet neither our people nor their rulers seem to have their eyes open to the dangers which are impending. That the people generally should be so blinded is perhaps natural, and somewhat excusable; but that such fatuity should be displayed by our rulers is melancholy indeed.

It has been the writer's duty in dealing with recent events to pass some severe strictures upon the conduct of the Government in dealing with these attacks upon society, more especially in connection with the London Dock Strike; and it was intimated that the seeds then sown would bear a bitter harvest, and cause serious trouble in the future. In partial justification of these words we may point to the significant fact that Nemesis began to track the footsteps of the Government from the very moment that it first failed in

its duty towards the peaceful and prosperous citizens from whom it derives its strength. Before many months had elapsed the Government found itself in conflict with various classes of its own servants, who were in a state of insubordination and rebellion, and it was compelled to do in its own defence precisely what it ought to have done in defence of the Dock Directors. Military, police, postmen and firemen, inflamed by the harangues of incendiary Socialists, and encouraged by the uninformed sympathy of the public and the supineness of the Administration, thought that they would mete out to their employer, the State, the same measure that it had meted out to the owners of Dock property. In this there was a touch of ironical justice. Why should not Mr. Matthews and Mr. Monro be made to taste of the bitter fruit which they had compelled the poor Dock Directors to swallow? It seems morally certain that if the Dock Strike had been met by the Executive Government with prudence and vigour we should have heard nothing of strikes on the part of the servants of the State. The pusillanimity of the Government was a direct encouragement to its own servants to rise against it. Not even a powerful British Administration can escape the operation of the law which everywhere and evermore is true: "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind."

The attempted strike on the part of the Metropolitan Police—for it was not more than an attempt—failed, owing partly to the decisive action which was taken by the authorities and partly to the steadiness of the older members of the force. The trouble began with the younger men, who were more susceptible than their seniors to Socialistic teachings, and also inclined to estimate a present increase of pay more highly than a pension which seemed to be far distant. These men were receiving for work, which, on the whole, is neither unpleasant nor laborious, wages above the market rate, with an assured increase if they behaved themselves, and with the certainty of an ultimate pension. They demanded, however, that 27s. should be the wage on entering the force, 30s. on

entering the second-class, and 33s. on entering the first; that six years should be the limit of time before entering the firstclass; that the duties should consist of an eight hours' shift out of every twenty-four; that the pension should be twothirds of the wages; that after twenty-four years' service an unconditional release from duty should be granted; and that there should be reasonable remuneration for extra duty. These men had, of course, the right to make these demands (although they were palpably unreasonable), and they had also the right, if their demands were refused, to leave their employment. If they had sent in their notices, given up their clothes, and betaken themselves to some other work, they would have acted in a manly and straightforward fashion. But straightforward and manly conduct is not to be expected from the modern working man of the advanced type, who, instead of acting upon his own reason and judgment, places his manhood at the disposal of some wily agitator whom he blindly follows. It must, however, be borne in mind that ordinary constables are drawn from the ranks of unskilled labourers, and a considerable proportion of Metropolitan constables, as regards intelligence, and honour, and morality, are not very excellent specimens even of the class to which they belong. Looking at the men themselves. it is not much more surprising that they should follow fiery demagogues than that the Dock labourers should do the same thing; but looking at the circumstances of the two classes there is certainly a marked difference, inasmuch as the policeman was well paid, well clothed, and had bound himself to obey the discipline of the force. The police had fraternized with the Dock labourers a good deal during the great strike, and, in fact, had almost made common cause with them, and it was to this fact that their demoralization was largely due. It must be admitted, however, that the discontent in the police force was not confined to the common constables; a certain number even of the inspectors were influenced by it, and these latter commenced an agitation on their own behalf for higher wages. They asked that

a divisional inspector should be paid £4 a week, a first-class inspector £3 ros., a second-class inspector £3, and other inspectors in proportion. If superior officers could lend themselves in this way to agitation, we cannot be surprised at the action of the men under them.

On July 6th, 1890, the discontent which had been smouldering among the London police burst forth, and culminated in an act of serious insubordination. At Bow Street, when 130 men were paraded for night duty they refused to obey the orders of the inspectors, the reason they assigned being that they disapproved of the transfer of one of their number, who had been particularly active in the agitation, to another division. When the superintendent arrived and took the names of a number of the men, they gave way and marched off to duty. Some hundreds of constables in plain clothes drawn from all parts of London had assembled in front of the Bow Street station, and these men were as ready to engage in a riot as were the roughs whom they were supposed to control, many of whom had also assembled in the vicinity. Thirty-eight of the insubordinate constables were at once suspended, and to fill their places fifty men were drawn from other divisions. When these fifty men emerged from the station they were groaned at and hissed by their own comrades, and for a time it seemed as if there would be some rough work. The Bow Street constables sent the following notice to the Press Association: "The constables at Bow Street have this day decided, in the interests of townspeople and householders generally, that it will be desirable to close their premises early on Monday night, and safeguard by all possible means the entrance, as a strike of London policemen is now inevitable, and will take place at all divisions simultaneously at 9.15 p.m." The leaders of the movement claimed that at least 8,000 men would join them, and asserted that they had been promised a large amount of support both in London and the provinces. John Burns himself could not have surpassed these Bow Street constables in impudence and in arrogance.

The threatened strike was to take place on July 7th. On the morning of that day, however, Sir Edward Bradford, the Chief Commissioner of Police, who had only just assumed office, visited Bow Street Station and dismissed fifty of the men who had refused to go on duty on the two previous evenings. The ceremony of dismissal was marked by brevity and sternness. The name and number of each man was announced to Sir Edward, and then he addressed the culprit in these terms: "You are liable to be prosecuted for this refusal of yours to do duty when called upon. It is a very serious offence. You are not fit to be a policeman if you cannot think for yourself and act for yourself, instead of being led away by others. The only punishment for such an offence is instant dismissal. Right about face! March!" This action of the Commissioner spread dismay among the disaffected constables, who, but for their leaders, would all have settled down quietly to their duties. But the leaders determined to continue the agitation, and to go out on strike shortly after nine o'clock on the evening of the 7th, "and to take steps to prevent other men who have not joined them from going on duty." One man who had been dismissed said he would knock down the first constable who left the station-house on duty. Thousands of persons assembled in the neighbourhood of Bow Street at about nine o'clock in the evening, and scenes of tumult, disorder, and riot took place. Several policemen and inspectors were roughly handled, and for a time their lives were in danger. On two occasions earthenware spitoons were flung from the upper windows of the police-station at Superintendent Fisher, and, of course, these could only have been thrown by constables. The mounted police being unequal to the work of clearing the streets half a troop of the 1st Life Guards were called out, and their efforts were quickly effectual, although rioting and disorder continued more or less until one o'clock in the morning. Much damage was done to property, many persons were injured, and several were taken prisoners. Twenty more constables were suspended on the 7th. Although the centre of the disaffection was at Bow Street, it spread more or less to all the stations in the Metropolis, at many of which great difficulty was experienced in getting the men to go on duty. Nevertheless, the mischievous attempt to induce thousands of policemen to strike, and thus leave London at the mercy of ruffians and burglars, signally failed, owing more to the stern action of Sir Edward Bradford than to anything besides. Altogether some fifty-five constables were dismissed the force, and a number of others were suspended or degraded. By a merciful providence Mr. Monro had ceased to be Chief Commissioner before this insubordination in the police force came to a head, and the office was now occupied by a man who was made of sterner stuff. It is almost appalling to reflect upon what might have taken place if the flabby and incapable Mr. Monro had still been chief of the Metropolitan police. If Sir Charles Warren had remained at the head of the force, or if, when he resigned, Sir Edward Bradford had been appointed his immediate successor, it is highly probable that the honour of the Metropolitan police would never have been tarnished by such disgraceful proceedings as those which occurred in connection with this unprecedented rebellion.

The police in the provinces were not greatly affected by the events which occurred in London, probably because Socialistic demagogues have not the same facilities for conducting their nefarious operations in small towns as they have in the Metropolis. At Bradford, however, the police were for some time agitating for an eight hours day, and the Watch Committee of that town, on the 11th of August, 1891, actually recommended the Town Council to adopt an eight hours day for the police, and to engage a number of additional officers in order to make the scheme practicable; but the Council had the good sense to reject the recommendation by thirty votes against sixteen. It is surprising that a Watch Committee in such a town as Bradford could have so little regard for the ratepayers as to make such a foolish proposal. No town has suffered more severely in con-

sequence of trade depression and labour agitation than Bradford, as we have already seen, and the distress which has prevailed there would have been even more acute than it has been if this absurd recommendation of the Watch Committee had been acted upon; for the cost of the police force would have been largely increased in consequence. Why should men, who are already receiving above the market rate of wages, have their remuneration still further increased, largely at the cost of people who are much worse off than they are? An addition of 1s. a week to every policeman's wages in London would mean an extra cost of £25,000 a year, which of course, the ratepayer would have to find. But who cares for the ratepayer nowadaysespecially if he belongs to the middle classes?

While this wave of insubordination was passing over the Metropolitan police a similar spirit was at work among the London postmen. These men also threatened to strike, and if Trade Unions and strikes were proper at all among servants of the State (which they are not), then it must be admitted that the postmen had more reason to be discontented than the policemen. At the same time their wages were quite up to the market rate, as is proved by the fact that if one man steps out of their ranks there are ten others ready to take his place; their hours are not excessive, and their work is of a healthy and interesting nature; they are clothed by the State, and in addition to all this each man is able to look forward to a pension. If they were dissatisfied with their wages and the conditions of their labour, they were at perfect liberty to try and improve them by legitimate means; but for men in such a position to strike is not only an act of disloyalty to the Government which employs them, it is also an outrage upon the community. If they did not like their work or their wages they were at liberty to leave them; they were not compelled by the State or by anybody else to continue in their position. The London postmen, however, like most of those who have struck at the instigation of the "new Unionism," were fighting mainly for the

privilege of forming a Union among themselves and for the recognition of that Union by the Postmaster-General. The secretary of their Union, a Mr. Mahon, had nothing whatever to do with the Post-Office, and knew nothing of its working except what was told him by the disaffected men. Moreover, Mahon is a well-known Socialist, who has had a hand in almost every Socialistic agitation which has taken place, either in London, Glasgow, or other large cities during the past few years. Nevertheless, this person had the impudence to correspond with the Postmaster-General in the capacity of Postmen's representative, and he actually expected to be recognised and received in that capacity. Of course, Mr. Raikes declined to have anything to do with him.

On May 16th, 1890, a meeting of postmen was held on Clerkenwell Green, in defiance of the regulations of the Department. Forty men who attended this meeting were fined or suspended. Many of these men had served from eight to thirty years, and one of them was in receipt of 35s. per week. He had three stripes, all of which were taken away from him, and the forfeiture of each stripe meant the loss of a shilling per week, besides which another two shillings a-week was deducted from his wages. When this occurred it was defiantly announced that the Postmen's Union would see that "none of the men who had been punished suffered pecuniary loss," and would "quietly but actively organise resistance to Mr. Raikes." It may be admitted that Mr. Raikes acted with some severity, but in such a case as this the most merciful policy is to be rigorously severe at the outset.

On July 8th matters at the Post-office reached a crisis. The men at the General Post-office refused to go out with the 8 o'clock delivery of letters, though they went out with the 9 o'clock delivery. On the same morning a number of Unionist postmen drove some seventy non-union men out of the Parcel Post Depôt at Mount Pleasant, Clerkenwell. There were several free fights and the non-unionists pluckily

stood to their guns, but in the end were overpowered. Most of the non-union men at the Central office were removed to the underground stores and guarded by police, and such of them as were allowed to work were similarly guarded. Feeble attempts were made by the strikers to picket the Post-office, but for the most part they were ridiculously ineffectual. About 100 men employed at the Mount Pleasant Post-office were discharged on July 9th, and the authorities announced that immediate suspension or dismissal would follow in the case of men at every office who refused to obey orders, or who molested men who were at work. The Postmen's Union, or in other words Mr. Mahon, Socialistic agitator, announced that all the men would be called out from the Metropolitan Post-offices, and Mahon valiantly boasted that if they found the public against them "as well as Mr. Raikes and his minions, they would be prepared to fight the public too." All this, however, was so much "bluff." In spite of Mr. Mahon's frantic efforts, and the "orders" which he issued to the men, the strike could not be made to "catch on." The great mass of postmen proved too sensible to throw up their livings and their pensions, and consequently the work of the Post-office, though greatly delayed and disorganised, went on much as usual, and the public were very little inconvenienced. There can be no doubt, however, that the situation was a critical one, and that thousands of the men would have struck with alacrity had there been the slightest sign of weakness on the part of Mr. Raikes. His firm and just treatment of the men who disobeyed his orders, who left their work, and who assaulted their loyal comrades, was the means of saving London from a veritable peril. So the "Great Postmen's Strike," like the "great police strike," fizzled out without doing any great damage, and covered its promoters with ridicule. Several of the poor fellows who were foolish enough to give up a constant situation, with good wages, in the Post-office, have never been employed since, and every month or two there has been a wail on behalf of these men. Originally there were

some 400 of them, most of whom had wives and families, but 50 of them were taken back by Mr. Raikes, in August, 1891, although even these were disrated and deprived of their pensions. No doubt the punishment inflicted upon these men exercised a wholesome deterrent effect upon the majority of their comrades. Still, a large number of Metropolitan postmen seemed to be incapable of learning wisdom even from the misfortunes which had overtaken the wilder spirits among them, and a few of them still persisted in agitation and in attempts to organise a Union. It was announced in October of last year that a new Postman's Federation was to be established, and it was stated that this pretentious organisation would avoid the faults and the follies of the defunct London Postman's Union, and would embrace every postman in the United Kingdom. Probably this announcement meant nothing more than that a few agitators of the Mahon type were striving to spread disaffection among the postmen, and to establish some kind of a Union in which they could secure good berths for themselves. However this may be, nothing seems to have come of the effort, and during the last year marvellously little has been heard about Trades Unionism among postmen. If the postmen are wise they will have nothing more to do with Unions, Federations, or agitations, especially as their pay and the conditions of their labour have lately been improved.

The death of Mr. H. C. Raikes, who was Postmaster-General during these troubles, almost irresistibly compels attention to the significant fact that during the past two years three of the men who were most prominent in the fight with the "new Unionism" have died. Mr. C. M. Norwood, the chairman of the London Docks Committee, who waged so stout a battle with the Dock labourers, and with the public, and with the Government, died about a year and a-half ago. Mr. John Walker, manager of the North British Railway, who had to bear the brunt of the railway strike in Scotland, also died not long after Mr. Norwood. It is extremely probable that the end of these

two men was hastened by the extraordinary excitement and worry and labour which they had to undergo in consequence of the attacks which were made upon the great commercial undertakings of which they were at the head. Perhaps this was even more true of Mr. Raikes, who died at the end of the Session of 1891. For weeks and months he had to pass anxious days and sleepless nights owing to the insubordination and confusion which were created in his department by the pestilent demagogues who have become the plague of modern society. If ever a man was harassed and worried out of existence, H. Cecil Raikes was that man. Yet one of the Radical papers which had most brutally attacked him during his lifetime thought it decent to head a leading article thus--" Poor Raikes"-and to say that Mr. Raikes "killed himself with fighting the British public." No. He killed himself by fighting, and fighting valiantly too, on behalf of the British public against those who are its most dangerous enemies, namely, Socialistic labour agitators and their dupes, and unprincipled and ignoble time-servers who disgrace the noble profession of journalism.

With policemen in London refusing to go out on duty, and actually turning themselves into rioters, and with postmen declining to fulfil their duties and imitating the most blackguardly of the Dock labourers in their assaults upon the more reputable members of their class, it might well have been supposed that the lowest depths of disgrace and of danger had been sounded. But in this lowest deep a lower deep still was opened. Some even of our soldiers so far forgot the honour of their profession and their duty to the State that they allowed themselves to imitate the discreditable conduct of the policemen and postmen who went on strike. Serious as is any breach of discipline among the civil servants of the State, insubordination among its military servants is still more alarming; and even the British army has not proved impervious to the subtle Socialistic contagion which has been abroad of late. Several incidents have occurred of a very ugly and disquieting character, and

although the whole truth is not known with regard to them, quite enough has leaked out to show that a very grave state of things exists. First of all, the 2nd Battalion of the Grenadier Guards refused, in July of 1890, to obey orders, thus imitating the conduct of the police by a mutinous breach of discipline. For this wanton act of rebellion the and Battalion of the Grenadier Guards was punished by being sent to Bermuda, where it was detained for about a a year. Moreover the 3rd Battalion of the same regiment, while stationed at Chelsea Barracks, imitated the conduct of the 2nd Battalion; the 1st Company of the Battalion refused to parade when ordered to do so; the 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 8th Companies also manifesting a decided disinclination to obey orders. The authorities made light of these incidents, in doing which they were not wise, for in these matters it is best that the whole truth should be known. What is more, the chief officers of the army, and the heads of the War Office, did not act in such a manner as to convince the public that they realised the gravity of the position, or that they meant to deal with these rebellious servants of the State with wholesome rigour. What would the Iron Duke have said if during his lifetime a whole Company of one of the crack regiments of the British Army had refused to heed the bugle call, and had only consented to go on parade after being coaxed and cajoled by their officers? Such an incident was enough to make Wellington, Colin Campbell, Havelock, and the rest of our fine old heroes turn in their graves.

At Exeter Barracks, August, 1890, the 52nd Battery of the Royal Horse Artillery cut up about forty saddles and sets of harness in order to call attention to what they considered their grievances. A similar incident occurred at Chatham during the same month among the men of the Army Service Corps, and three of the drivers deserted. At Cork three soldiers of the Welsh Regiment threw down their helmets, and refused to take them up again until compelled to do so at the point of the bayonet. They then put

them on backwards, made grimaces at their officers, and when marched off under arrest exhibited the utmost insolence and defiance. The 1st and 3rd Companies of the 2nd Battalion of the Coldstream Guards also refused to obey marching orders in July, 1891, the men manifesting a most insubordinate spirit, for which some of them were punished, although the officers seem to have acted with contemptible weakness in dealing with these mutineers. At Sheerness a detachment of gunners belonging to number 20 Battery, Royal Artillery, refused to work, and broke out of barracks, twelve of them being sentenced to confinement to barracks for twenty-eight days, and twelve others for fourteen days. The same spirit also manifested itself among our blue jackets. Twenty-four of them belonging to H.M.S. Bellerophon seized some of the ship's boats at Newport, Rhode Island, and endeavoured to escape. The deserters were pursued, and as they offered some resistance one of them was shot, and another cut down with a cutlass. During the visit of the French Squadron to Portsmouth in the summer of 1891 all leave was stopped on board the British war-ships at Spithead, the result being that the crews manifested a spirit almost bordering on mutiny. The situation was so serious that the commanding officers of several vessels held a consultation with regard to it. A deplorable state of things was declared to exist in connection with the British navy, and a very uneasy impression prevailed in Portsmouth in consequence. Very disquieting accounts also reached England as to the state of discipline among the crews of some of our Mediterranean warships.

The fact of these things occurring pretty nearly at the same time, and also that they possessed certain features in common, indicates that they had a common origin. What that origin was cannot be doubted. Socialistic agitators have been able to reach some of the younger men both in the military and naval services, and thus the seeds of disaffection and rebellion have been sown. There is abundant reason to believe that the state of affairs, both in the army

and navy, is much more serious than the authorities represent it to be. A system of agitation has been thoroughly organised in the services of the State, and deputations from both the army and the navy have actually waited upon certain agitators and requested them to organise a general strike against military orders and conditions.

The gravity of all this was sufficiently evident. Unhappily, there were not many signs of the real nature of the situation having been realised by those who are at the head of the great defensive departments of the State. Unless all this insubordination on the part of soldiers, marines, policemen, postmen, and the other servants of the nation is repressed with a stern hand there are troublous times ahead. All these classes of men may have their grievances; but the redress of those grievances should be sought in a legitimate manner. The formation of Trade Unions among servants of the State, with the usual incidents of strikes and outbreaks of violence, is nothing short of downright mutiny, and mutiny is a crime which must be severely punished by any Government which intends to retain the respect or to conserve the prosperity of a civilized nation. Democratic Governments must learn how to make their authority obeyed and feared if they wish to preserve Democratic institutions. If they cannot or will not learn how to do this, then it is certain that they will have to make way for some other form of Government more worthy of the support of reasonable men. Nations have always preferred a military despotism which has ensured to the majority of the people security of life and property, even when it has seriously curtailed their liberties, to a form of government which has not been able adequately to safeguard the possessions and the lives of the people, although it might theoretically and nominally give them greater freedom. Of what use is liberty when no man can rest assured that he will be able to retain his own? Under such conditions liberty is nothing more than a name: it is a mockery of man's highest hopes. As it has been in the past so will it

be in the future. History will repeat itself. Wherever a Government proves to a community that it cannot perform the most elementary functions of a Government, and protect the community from the ravages of the lawless and the unprincipled, the community will rise in its might and sweep such a Government away. Sooner or later, in some form or other, measures will be adopted for preserving the sanctity of human life and the security of personal property. The nation is greater than any Government; the conservation of the nation's fundamental rights is of infinitely greater moment than the perpetuation of any particular form of government. That is a good Government, whatever its name or form, which efficiently fulfils the true functions of government, which are of a much more simple and modest character than scientific politicians often represent them to be. Democratic government is on its trial, and it is by no means certain that it will emerge triumphantly from the test to which it is being subjected. Already it shows signs of breaking under the strain. At all events, this is the case in England; if it is not true of the United States or of France in the same degree, it is because those countries are really less Democratic than our own, notwithstanding their republican form of government. Where a written Constitution exists, and where elaborate checks have been provided in order to counteract the vagaries of the voting multitude, the Executive is able to put on the brake in a way that cannot be imitated by our own Government. Events are at once vindicating the wisdom of the framers of the American Constitution, whose one great aim was to checkmate extreme Democracy, and demonstrating the urgency of similar methods being adopted in this country in order to save the best of our institutions from utter ruin. If our Governments continue to pander to the prejudices and to the selfishness of the more ignorant portions of the electorate, as successive Governments have done during the past few years irrespective of their political complexion, the result must be a

catastrophe in one form or another. Nothing can be more instructive or significant than the contrast observable in the attitude which is assumed by the Executive of this country towards recent disturbances and that which is assumed towards similar movements by the Executive in the United States. What is the explanation? Simply this, that in this country the Government is entirely dependent from day to day upon the popular will, while in that country it is virtually independent of the popular will during the Presidential term. The lesson surely is that we shall, in this respect, have to imitate their example, and so revise our political arrangements as to place our Executive Government in a position where it will no longer be constantly tempted to truckle and pander to the popular vote. It is not too much to affirm that such discreditable proceedings as those which took place in connection with the police and the postmen in London could not possibly have taken place in the United States. There these outbreaks would have been nipped in the bud, and no mercy would have been shown to the ringleaders. As a matter of fact nobody ever heard of such things taking place in the United States of They have had their strikes, some of them extensive and characterised by violence, but they have never spread to the services of the State.

The tolerance which was exhibited by the Government towards the demagogues who stirred up this rebellion among the civil and military servants of the country was a mistaken policy. Leniency towards such enemies of society is an injustice to society itself. Many of the constables, postmen, and soldiers who disobeyed orders and refused to work were severely punished, some of them so severely that they will suffer for many years to come, if not all their lives, and their punishment was just. But is it just that while they endure these heavy penalties those who led them on should escape scot free? Here, also, it is a case of Parnellism over again. Many a weak and ignorant Irishman has been sentenced to penal servitude for crimes which he had

been incited to commit by men who were too intelligent to perpetrate those crimes themselves. The clever member of Parliament, who has persuaded and impelled the half idiotic peasant to murder his landlord or to shoot a landgrabber, is allowed to snap his fingers at the law, while his deluded victims are sent to a convict's doom. Still, a few of these Irish agitators have been prosecuted for inciting to boycoting, intimidation, and murder, and several of them have been sentenced to imprisonment. Why have not some of the labour agitators, who have clearly taken the leaders of the Irish League as their models, also been prosecuted and imprisoned? During the postmen's strike, Mr. Mahon was reported to have stated at a meeting of disaffected postmen, which was attended by some of the "blacklegs," that the latter ought to be "picked up" and run out. When a man incites to violence in language of this sort, it is merely farcical for him to state that he does not advocate violence at all. Similar language has been used in connection with most of the strikes which we have noticed, and especially in connection with the Dock strike, and as a direct consequence of this talk workmen have been maltreated and the property of employers destroyed; yet nobody has been brought to book for it. Perhaps it is not astonishing, considering the corrupting influences of democracy, that the Government should wink at this preaching of lawlessness so long as it is directed merely against ordinary workmen and their masters; but it might have been supposed that even the Government would have been stimulated into action when preachers of rebellion strove to turn their own servants against them, as was the case in connection with the police and with the postmen and the military. But even in these cases they were content to look on and do next to nothing. It is no justification of their conduct to say that they were not able to act with effect under the existing law. If they find that existing laws are not sufficient to enable them properly to carry out their duties as an Executive, their business is to get new laws made which will remedy the defects of the old ones.

They can do this quickly enough when they are thrown into a panic by two or three dynamite explosions, which are not one-thousandth part as dangerous to the life and prosperity of the nation as the virulent Socialistic movements which we have adverted to. As the British Government could ask Parliament to arm them with special powers for dealing with dynamiters, and as the French Government could ask the Chamber to pass special laws against Anarchists, so they could if they chose ask their respective Parliaments to strengthen their hands by making the laws against strike leaders and strikers more stringent. And no doubt they would do this were it not for their fear that votes would be alienated from their parties by such vigorous action. Household suffrage has undermined the sturdiness which formerly characterised British Governments, and has transformed them into mere lackeys of Demos.

There is one other reflection which may well be suggested to a thoughtful mind by the events which have been recounted in this chapter. It is that some special measures should be taken by the State to impress upon its servants the fact that they occupy a position of exceptional responsibility. Radical-Socialists are ever ready to point out that such corporations as Railway Companies, Water Companies, and so on, inasmuch as they are granted special privileges by Parliament, ought to be subjected to proportionate restrictions. How much more forcibly does this principle apply to those who serve the State in the Army and Navy, the Post-office, and the police force? Surely all these men occupy a favoured position, and possess many advantages, such as fixed and regular incomes and pensions for declining years, which are not enjoyed by the working-classes generally. Ought they not, therefore, to be placed under special and rigorous regulations, and made to realize their responsibility to the Government and to the nation? Undoubtedly they ought. It is intolerable that policemen, postmen, and soldiers should go on strike in the same jaunty fashion as a number of street-sweepers might do. But this is an aspect

of the matter which is studiously ignored by Radical politicians and agitators. They are all for imposing disabilities upon capitalists who have placed their money in railways and water works, on the ground that these Companies receive certain privileges from the State; but they are just as decidedly against imposing disabilities upon Labour, even where, as in the case of the great State departments, it also occupies a privileged position. But what is sauce for Capital is sauce for Labour too. To thoughtful men it is obvious that one serious task to which the Government will before long have to address itself in this country is that of protecting the community against the selfish and capricious action of its own servants. The work will be a difficult one, owing to the fact that political power has now been placed almost entirely in the hands of the working classes, the majority of whom seem bent upon using that power mainly for the purpose of gratifying their whims and their resentments; nevertheless, it is a work which will have to be done if England is to remain a great and prosperous nation.

## CHAPTER V.

On Some Socialistic Tendencies observable in Recent Legislation and Municipal Action, and in the Professions of Public Men.

T is not proposed at this point to define the nature of Socialism, to discuss the question of its practicability, or to indicate what would be its results were it possible to secure its adoption. The purpose of this chapter is simply to glance at certain indications which have been given of late as to the direction in which we are travelling, and thereby to call attention to the dangers which threaten the community. We are on an inclined plane, and if we go on as we are now going we shall by-and-bye find ourselves at the bottom of it. It has been quite too much the fashion to mock the earnest men who have been trying to arouse the nation to a sense of the perils which are impending by reason of the stealthy but rapid advance of Socialism. Prominent among these men have been the Earl of Wemyss, and those who are associated with him in the work of the Liberty and Property Defence League.\* The only fault of these men has been that they were able to see further and more clearly than the majority of their countrymen. Like all enthusiasts they may have sometimes indulged in a tone of exaggeration; but making proper allowance for this there nevertheless remains a solid substratum of reality at the base of their declarations. There is no reason, however, to adopt an alarmist tone; all that it is intended to convey here is that there is cause, and

<sup>\*</sup> To avoid misapprehension the author deems it needful to state that he is not a member of this League, though of course he is to a large extent in sympathy with its objects.

serious and sufficient cause, that all citizens who do not wish to see Socialism triumphant among us should at once bestir themselves.

No doubt there is a sense in which, as Sir William Harcourt says, "we are all Socialists now." On this point it may be well to observe that many of our public men are getting into the habit of juggling with the term Social-The words of Sir William Harcourt just quoted supply one illustration of this habit. When it is said that "we are all Socialists now," it is not of course meant that we are all Socialists in the proper and literal sense of that term, but that we are Socialists in some looser and vaguer sense of it. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in an article upon the Labour Question in the Nincteenth Century for Nov., 1892 (to be noticed more at length presently), says: "A man who is in favour of our factory legislation is a State Socialist—so is a supporter of the Poor Law, of Free Education, of the Artisans' Dwellings Act, or of the Vaccination Laws." This is another illustration of the indefinite and injurious use of the term Socialism which has just been condemned. When Mr. Chamberlain affirms that a man who supports certain legislation is a Socialist he is of course correct; but then he might just as well say that a man who lives in the social state at all is a Socialist: for obviously no man can live in neighbourhood with others without being in a certain sense Socialistic, that is in the sense of associating himself with his neighbours for certain common purposes. But this kind of Socialism is not what is meant when we speak of Socialism as that condition of the social organism which is in contrast with the principles of Individualism and free competition. There is a natural Socialism and there is a political Socialism. The natural Socialism is that which is inherent in the position of man in the social state; political Socialism is an artificial theory of political doctrinaires like Lasalle and Marx, which it is sought to impose upon society in place of the social order which has hitherto prevailed. Now Mr. Chamberlain and Sir

W. Harcourt, in the passages just cited, speak of Socialism in its naturalistic and non-objectionable sense, though they do not think it worth while to explain the fact: indeed this is an artifice on their part to mislead unthinking people. By using the term Socialism in two distinct and opposite senses, without stating when they use it in the one sense and when in the other, they confuse the thought of the hearer or reader in order that he may be led to accept as harmless that which is in reality a deadly poison. Neither of the two politicians named has the courage to avow himself to be a Socialist out and out, but each of them desires, for his own purposes, to induce the electors of this country to accept more extreme forms of Socialistic legislation than they have been willing to accept hitherto. The artifices of these political jugglers are utterly unworthy of men who pose as statesmen, and but for their serious consequences they would merely excite the derision of rational and thoughtful people.

The truth is that it is impossible for any man to be an Individualist, in the literal sense of that term, unless, like Robinson Crusoe, he inhabits an island absolutely alone. Such a man, living a solitary life, doing everything for himself, and depending upon no other human being for any office or service whatsoever, would be literally an Individualist. No man can be this who is a member of a community, and who is related to other members of the community as husband, father, son, servant, master, or in any other way; such a man must be content to do and bear some things as a consequence of his association with others which he would not bear or do were he free from that

association.\*

Clearly, therefore, when a member of a civilized community claims to be an Individualist, he does not use

<sup>\*</sup> The late Charles Bradlaugh said, in the last article he wrote: "I am an Individualist as far as one wisely can be in such a country as our own. If I were in the great north-west of the Dominion, far away from Ottawa or Montreal, or if I were in Western Australia, 500 miles or more from Perth, I should be still more Individualist."—The New Review, February, 1891.

the term Individualism in the bare and naked sense in which it would apply to a Crusoe. What he means is that the individual should be asked to give up so much of his freedom in the interests of the community as is necessary for the order and progress of the community, and no more; or in other words, that personal freedom should be limited only by such restrictions as are found to be essential to the peace and prosperity of the whole society. It will be found in practice that such limitations and restrictions as these are compatible with the exercise and enjoyment of complete individual freedom. The authority of the Government and the liberty of the subject are in no wise fundamentally opposed to each other. Where there is no law there is no liberty. Perfect freedom is perfect obedience to a perfect law. It is in a society ordered and governed by law, and not in a society without law, that individual freedom can attain its fullest development and its noblest fruition.

We are all Socialists, therefore, in the sense that we wish to see those works which cannot be carried out by individual enterprise undertaken by the Government; for where an undertaking, which is necessary and beneficial, is clearly beyond the ability and the scope of private exertion there can be no infringement of the rights or the privileges of the individual in such an undertaking being carried on by the State. The Post Office may be taken as an illustration. No doubt individual skill and energy have even been able to organise and to carry on a postal service of more or less efficiency; indeed, the postal service in China at the present time is carried on entirely upon this principle, and it is said to be in many respects superior to even our own service. At all events it is extremely doubtful whether the Government of China could do the business half as well as it is done by individual skill and capital.\* But probably it is the fact that in this country the

<sup>\*</sup> The marvellous efficiency with which Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons conduct their tourist operations all over the world may be regarded as an indication of what individual enterprise could do in these days in the way of conducting a postal service.

utmost ability and exercise of individual enterprise would not give us a postal service equal to that which we now enjoy. Even this, however, is to some extent a supposition, as we have no adequate experience to guide us on the point; for since the age of railways and steamboats set in there has been no attempt to organise a postal service in this country by private capital and energy. Such colossal business establishments as those of W. H. Smith & Son, which distribute millions of newspapers annually, have developed their arrangements to such a degree of efficiency that as regards the carriage and distribution of newspapers they leave the Post Office far behind, and thus show us what may be done in this direction. Waiving the element of doubt in the case, however, we may assume that the Government of this country can conduct the postal service more expeditiously, efficiently, and cheaply than private enterprise could do. But even if we grant this it does not follow from it that the Government (the term is used to denote both national and municipal government) could do the same thing with regard to railways, or water and gas companies, or tramway and omnibus companies, all of which stand on an entirely different footing from the Post Office. Yet the fact that the Government conducts the postal and telegraphic services is constantly being used in support of the proposition that all capital and all the means of production should be handed over to the State.\* The true principle with regard to all these matters appears to be this—that what can be best accomplished by the State should be relegated to the State, and that what can be most efficiently performed by private enterprise should be left in the hands of individuals; or in other words, that we should have just as much Socialism as is necessary

<sup>\*</sup> In the United States the telegraphic service is not only in the hands of private enterprise, as not long ago was the case here, but is mainly in the hands of one man—Mr. Jay Gould. It is not contended that the service there is as cheap and effective as our own; but the fact that the telegraphic system in such a vast and wealthy country as the United States is in the hands of a great monopolist, and that it nevertheless meets the necessities of that country, is certainly a striking example of what can be done by individual effort.

to prevent Individualism from degenerating into anarchy on the one hand, and from being burdened with tasks that it cannot adequately perform on the other hand. Such a Socialism will not repress or cripple Individualism, but will expand and strengthen it, and enable it to work at the highest pitch of freedom and efficiency. Let us accept the fullest degree of Socialism that is consistent with the largest and most thorough Individualism. This is a safe principle to go upon.

Unfortunately our legislators have not been content to legislate upon this basis. During the last few years a number of most important Acts of Parliament have been imposed upon the country which are in their nature unnaturally Socialistic -- Socialistic in the evil political sense, in the sense that they have placed in the hands of the State duties which can be successfully performed only by individual citizens. Of this character are the various Irish Land Acts which have been passed by Mr. Gladstone, and by Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour; for in this matter statesmen of both parties have gone seriously astray. The evil example of Mr. Gladstone, instead of warning off Conservative statesmen from these dangerous shoals and quicksands, has lured them towards them, almost to their destruction. If there is one sphere in the world where freedom of contract should be allowed full play it is in the letting and hiring of land. All experience shows that where men are allowed to act in these matters upon their own judgments, and according to their view of what is best for their own interests, the results are on the whole much more beneficial than they are where the State undertakes to decide for these men what it is best for them to do. Facts abound in Ireland itself which condemn all this recent land legislation as both mischievous and futile. It has done immense harm in one direction without doing the least good in the other. It is Socialistic as regards the tenant but Individualistic as regards the landlord; it is a compromise between the two principles, and therefore partakes

of the vices of both without reaping the full advantages of either. A tenant who has had his rent fixed by law, that is upon Socialistic principles, afterwards proceeds to sell his interest in his farm in the open market where free competition prevails, that is upon Individualistic principles; so that the tenant has the advantage of Socialism as against his landlord and the advantage of Individualism as against his brother farmer. To the poor landlord, however, who is thus treated by his tenant on the principles of Socialism, the system is wholly disadvantageous, as the State does nothing for him but take away a portion of his lawful property-land; while he is utterly deprived of any benefit which he might reap by the free sale of the remaining portion in the market of open competition. All these Land Acts have been conceived in the interests of one class, other classes being despoiled and robbed to gratify the cupidity of that one. The effect of Mr. Gladstone's early Irish land legislation was to cut down rents by wholesale, and to fix these reduced rents for a term of years, all of course in the interests of the tenants. Other Acts followed which wiped out arrears of rent to the extent of millions of pounds; in other words they relieved the tenants of the payment of their lawful debts, and deprived the landlords to whom these debts were due of their property; while still further Acts did for leaseholders what had previously been done for mere yearly tenants, that is reduced their rents and fixed them for a term of years, thus enabling substantial and well-to-do farmers to break the contracts into which they had freely entered with their landlords. Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., has been in the habit of boasting of this breaking of leases as one of the proudest achievements of a Unionist and Conservative Government. In a speech at the Buckingham Street Board School, Caledonian Road, Islington, on April 26th, 1892, Mr. Russell said: "The present Government, simply called 'a coercionist Government,' opened the door of the Land Court to 50,000 leaseholders, and already 35,000 of them had passed

through the Court and obtained reductions averaging 26 per cent. of their rentals. That was coercion, but it was coercion against the landlord." From beginning to end this class of legislation was Socialistic; it used the power and the resources of the State to hand over the property of the minority to a dishonest and clamorous majority, which is just what all Socialistic legislation would do. The Parnell movement was Socialistic as well as revolutionary; but its Socialistic aspect has been overshadowed by its revolutionary character. The Socialistic element in it was, however, really the more dangerous of the two.

Already Parliament is being urged to adopt similar Socialistic experiments with regard to land in Great Britain. "Do we not want any Land Acts for England?" asks Sir William Harcourt, and similar tendencies are observable in the speeches of other politicians. The demand that Ireland and Great Britain should be governed by precisely similar laws is really a demand that the principles of the Irish Land Acts should be applied to the rest of the kingdom, although the fact seems to have been lost sight of by most of the people who indulge in this silly talk about equal laws for Ireland and Great Britain. When the conditions and customs affecting land tenure in two given countries are wholly dissimilar, how can the land laws of those countries be exactly alike? In Ireland houses, farm buildings, and other improvements are often the work of the tenant, although, by the bye, a great deal too much appears to have been made of that fact, as the rentals of the holdings were low in proportion. But the fact itself was the main reason which was urged in support of this peculiar land legislation for Ireland. In Great Britain, however, it is the landlord, and not the tenant, who erects all the buildings and makes all the permanent improvements. This has not prevented an outcry being raised against British landlords similar to that which was raised against Irish landlords; nor a demand being made that they should be subjected to the same sort of treatment. In Wales, where the landlords have not only

effected all the improvements but have given substantial reductions of rents, and where the tenants have not been seriously affected by the fall in prices of agricultural produce, an agitation is being promoted with the object of securing for Wales Land Acts and Land Courts similar to those which have been given to Ireland. Mr. Gladstone himself, who seems to be possessed by a perfect mania for destruction, is not ashamed to give his active support to this agitation. Almost any other man would have been so appalled by the desolation which his handiwork had wrought in Ireland that he would for very shame have avoided such agitation and legislation ever afterwards. But Mr. Gladstone's genius for creating ruin is still unsatisfied; he sighs for new worlds to plunder and to burn; and therefore he is eager to assist in degrading the landlords of Great Britain to the same depths of humiliation and of poverty through which their Irish brethren have been made to pass. Mr. Gladstone is himself a landlord, as was Mr. C. S. Parnell, and to say the least neither of these gentlemen has distinguished himself by being excessively generous to his tenants. There is scarcely one landlord out of all whom they have denounced who could not show a better record in this respect than either of them. To serve political if not personal ends they have induced the electors to pass a series of Land Acts which compel landlords to do what neither of the authors of these Acts has ever done towards his tenants.\*'

More than once already in the course of this work it has been pointed out that the noxious influence of Socialistic land legislation in Ireland is spreading like a blight throughout the whole of the United Kingdom. The following

<sup>\*</sup> The Baner, a Welsh vernacular newspaper, contained an article in one of its issues in August. 1890, written by a Nonconformist minister, which concluded thus: "Undoubtedly landlordism (landlordiaeth) in Wales has been the author of tyrannical and atrocious deeds. But a blessed thing it is to think that the present system of landlordism is drawing to an end, and the day of its funeral is at hand—

<sup>&</sup>quot;Oh, heavenly jubilee, Let me see the morning dawn."

additional instances may be given in order to emphasize this fact. Mr. Fuller, M.P. said some time ago in a speech at Maddingham that—"His advice to every tenant farmer was not to pay his rent rather than pay it and starve. He maintained that was the right doctrine to preach anywhere. They had no right to allow rent to be paid when the people were starving. If they had a farm which did not produce a profit they had better not pay the rent than starve." When Mr. Fuller's attention was called to this quotation he acknowledged it to be correct, and stated that he could not understand anyone disagreeing with his views of "morals and politics." He added: "A law which legalises an impossible rent, and leaves no alternative but starvation, does not meet my idea of moral politics, even in Ireland." Dr. Alcock, a resident of the neighbourhood, in reply asked Mr. Fuller: "Does such a law exist (if you mean by starvation want ended in death) in any portion of the British Isles? What is the object of poor rates and our elaborate system of poor relief? Is it not to prevent destitution and starvation? Or do you think it less dishonourable to rob a landlord than to seek public relief? . . . You are endeavouring to educate, or rather demoralize, the members of your constituency, so that when a bargain into which they may have deliberately entered turns out unfavourable to the extent of threatening famine they are not to fulfil their engagements. How far is this teaching from saying 'Thou mayest steal if thou thinkest it to thy advantage to steal?" Is not this the doctrine of plunder?" Mr. Fuller replied that—"The law of Ireland enforced the payment of rent whether the rent is fair or impossible to be made from the land. My answer to the second question is that the 'workhouse' and 'starvation' are in the eyes of many synonymous terms. In reply to the third question I deem it equally as dishonourable for a landlord to impose an impossible rent as for a tenant to agree to pay the same, when (as is specially the case in Ireland) no other means of subsistence is within his reach. In the former case the

dishonourable action is legal; in the latter it is illegal." This balderdash may be left to speak for itself. But it is necessary to remind the reader that the rents of which Mr. Fuller complains in Ireland are not fixed by the landlord, but by the Land Courts.

At a meeting of Lancashire tenant farmers held at Preston on Oct. 29, 1892, the following resolution was passed: "That this association of Lancashire tenant farmers earnestly impresses upon the Minister for Agriculture the necessity of an immediate Act of Parliament by which a Land Court empowered to fix fair rents and give security of tenure to the tenants, the ordering of necessary buildings and repairs, and giving free sale to tenants' improvements, will be secured." Yet at this same meeting it was admitted that English landlords were spending a large amount of money upon improving their properties, and that many of the farmers "lived in houses of more than ordinary style and quality, most of them new, and both houses and out-buildings were fitted up with the most modern and convenient appliances and equipment for successful farming." An estate in Northamptonshire was specially referred to "where money was being very liberally spent in modernizing the houses and out-buildings, and effecting improvements in the condition of the farms." Notwithstanding the fact that British landlords are doing all this, and at the same time reducing the rents, the farmers urge that Land Laws and Land Courts similar to those in Ireland are imperatively necessary!

At a meeting of the Farmers' Club, held at Newcastleon-Tyne on Oct. 29, 1892, several of the speakers advocated the formation of "Land Courts for England similar to those established in Ireland," and the representatives of the club were instructed to support the proposal to establish Land Courts to fix judicial rents at the National Agricultural Conference.

Mr. T. E. Ellis, M.P., a Welsh agitator, who was appointed one of the Junior Lords of the Treasury in

Mr. Gladstone's Government after the General Election of 1892, speaking at the annual meeting of the Welsh National Council at Rhyl on Nov. 10, 1892, said: "The tithe system was the buttress of the English establishment in Wales, and clergy and land owners had played into one another's hands, and the people had to struggle against both. The tithe system was intolerable when the clergy and the tillers of the soil were not in harmony. That was true of the system of rent also when landlord and tenant were estranged in language, in religion, and in politics. The system would ultimately breed revolt."

Mr. Michael Davitt, M.P., speaking to the Irish National Federation in Dublin on July 28, 1892, said: "The Irish representatives could claim to be the most democratic in Parliament, and to be the spokesmen of a movement which had won the most signal of all labour triumphs in the direction of State interference. They deprived the landlords of the power of fixing rents, and they seeured the consent of Parliament to the Socialistic principles in the Agricultural Labourers' Dwellings Act."

It may be noted in passing that many of our politicians, not content with desiring to extend the principles of the Irish Land Acts to British land, also demand that they shall be applied to other kinds of property as well, especially to house property. Mr. B. D. Knox, in a letter to the Times of Feb. 17, 1892, said: "Mr. Boodle (the Duke of Westminster's London agent) and his supporters conveniently ignore the fact that London leaseholders are forced to accept whatever terms the London landlords choose to impose upon them, there being as yet no Court of Arbitration to decide renting and rating questions. Formerly the 150,000 Irish leaseholders were in precisely the same position; but now, owing to legislation promoted by the present Government and Lord Cadogan—ground landlord of Chelsea—they can obtain relief in the Land Courts. What I have ever urged, both before the Town Holdings Committee and in the columns of the Times, is that London leaseholders should be similarly protected by the institution of a House Court or Commission." Lord Wemyss showed, in a letter which appeared in the *Times* on July 22, 1892, that the bribes offered to the electors in the shape of the Local Government Act, Small Holdings' Act, and Free Education, had all failed of their intended effect because the other side had offered larger bribes still. He added: "The necessary result of all this is general demoralization to the extent that a London West-end vestry has, in committee of the whole vestry, resolved that a Court should be established, before which any town tenant who thinks himself overrented may appear and have his rent reduced, while all sub-letting and all dealings in land and houses in London are to be prohibited by law."

Although the greater part of the time of Parliament during the past twenty years has been spent in legislating for Ireland, with the result that Socialistic principles of the most deadly and blighting character have been established in British legislation, the one palpable result of it all is that the Irish tenants, for whose benefit all this mischief has been done, are more discontented than they ever were.\*

<sup>\*</sup> This appears to be equally true of the crofters of the Highlands, on whose behalf similar legislation has been carried out, for Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, one of the crofters' representatives, said in the House of Commons on May 10, 1892: "The condition of the crofters was much worse than it was before the passing of the Crofters' Act; and he would say that if three-fourths of the Act was struck out it would be an excellent Act." The debate on this occasion was upon a resolution of Mr. Caldwell proposing to amend and extend the Crofters Holdings Act. Such legislation, which is invariably put forward as "final," just as invariably requires amendment and extension within a few years.

On November 19, 1892, the Fermoy Board of Guardians adopted a resolution "impressing upon the Government the urgent necessity for following the example of the Conservative Government in making a temporary reduction in the statutory rents fixed in 1881, in order to make the rents more equitable." The reasons urged in support of this were short yields of produce and a fall in prices. The Middleton Board of Guardians adopted a similar resolution on the same day. A few days afterwards a number of persons who had purchased their farms under the Ashbourne Acts complained that their annual instalments were too heavy, and prayed to have them reduced. Some of the tenants on the Ponsonby Estate who had purchased their holdings petitioned the Evicted Tenants Commissioners to enquire into and reconsider their cases, on the ground that they had been coerced into the contracts to furchase. The Times said in a leading article on Nov. 28, 1892:

This is significantly indicated by the fact that during the Session of 1892 three proposals were brought forward by Irish members with the object of doing still more for the Irish tenantry—of course at the expense of the landlords. Taking these proposals in the order of their introduction, we come first upon the "Evicted Tenants' (Ireland) Bill," which was introduced by Mr. O'Kelly, who moved its second reading on 12th March. The object of this measure was to compel landlords by law to reinstate in their farms tenants who had been evicted from those farms because they refused to pay the rents, which in most cases had been fixed by the Land Courts and not by the landlords. For this preposterous Bill 174 members voted, and the majority against the second reading was only 55. A still more significant fact was that such men as Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, both of whom were subsequently appointed Cabinet Ministers in Mr. Gladstone's Government of that year, supported the Bill. Sir G. Trevelvan said "the third clause of the Bill really made compulsory, under the penalty of having to give a fair rent, that power which was voluntary under the Purchase Act. Was this principle either wonderful or new? Was it not the case session after session, that while in one session the House established a principle and made it voluntary, in a subsequent session it was found that the principle would not work, and it was consequently made compulsory?" In explanation of this it should be stated that Section 13 of Mr. Balfour's Irish Land Purchase Act enabled tenants who had been evicted from their farms to purchase those farms under the Act, provided that they could agree with their landlords and that the Purchase Commissioners were willing to sanction the terms. This concession to as mischievous a body of men as ever cursed a country was ill-advised;

<sup>&</sup>quot;Judicial rents clearly do not call it forth (i.e., gratitude—'that rare emotion in the Irish breast') for in Ulster even Mr. T. W. Russell is clamouring for abatements and throwing out dark threats of what he will do if they are refused. Elsewhere there are ominous signs of refusal to pay the instalments of the purchase money under the Ashbourne Act."

but at all events this principle was permissive and not compulsory, and it did no injustice to the landlord, but was likely rather to work for his good. As was generally expected, the clause was to a great extent inoperative, and upon this fact Mr. O'Kelly based his demand for a com-

pulsory measure.

The rejection of Mr. O'Kelly's Bill left the evicted tenants in their former position. As a result of the General Election of 1892 Lord Salisbury's Government was ejected from office, and its place was taken by a Government headed by Mr. Gladstone, in which Mr. John Morley resumed his former post of Irish Secretary. One of his first actions in that capacity was to appoint a Commission to deal with the evicted tenants. This Commission was presided over by Sir James Mathew, an Irishman who occupied the position of an English judge, who was taken from his proper judicial duties to preside over this Commission. His first act as president was to deliver an impassioned address of the most partisan character, which would have bentted an Irish agitator of the type of Davitt, Dillon, or O'Brien, but which in the mouth of the president of such a Commission was simply a scandal. It pre-judged the very issues which had to be inquired into, and condemned, before a word of evidence was heard, the landlords who formed one of the parties to the case. The result of this action on the part of Sir James Mathew was that the Commission was discredited before it even got to work, and became simply a laughing stock to the country. Counsel for the landlords were forbidden to cross-examine witnesses who brought unfounded charges against them, and the counsel who had been retained for the landlords left the Commission declaring it to be "a farce and a sham," and that they would no longer "prostitute their position" by taking any part in it. The landlords declined to appear in any way way before the Commission or to tender any evidence. Some evidence (so-called) was taken by the Commission, but for the most part it was nothing better than a tissue of idle tales.\* The significant fact in connection with this Commission is that it should have been appointed at all, as it was absolutely without a precedent or a parallel in British history. It was part of the price which had to be paid by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues for the support of the Irish party, who were their masters and who dictated to them their policy. A more humiliating or disgraceful spectacle was never presented by the Government of a great country. In order to conciliate their Irish allies, whom they had formerly denounced as miscreants and criminals of the vilest type, they had to make terms with a pack of swindlers. Mr. Pierce Mahony, M.P., speaking at Galway a few days after Mr. O'Kelly's Bill had been discussed in Parliament, said: "Last week they brought in a Bill to reinstate the evicted tenants. Of course that Bill was voted down by a hostile majority. But what did that Bill propose to do? It proposed that every evicted tenant should be reinstated in his farm, and that if the farm was occupied by any tenant put in since the exiction, that that tenant should be turned out of the farm as not belonging to it, and that the rightful tenant should be put back in his farm. That was a pretty strong proposition. They (the anti-Parnellites) had to vote for it, and the Liberals voted for it also, including Mr. Gladstone himself, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and Sir George Trevelyan. And what did all that mean? It meant that these men were pledged to the principle, and that if they came into power they would be obliged to deal with it on the

<sup>\*</sup> At the time of writing the Commission is still sitting, so that nothing further can be said as to its proceedings or its Report.

Mr. J. C. Wheeler, in a letter to the Times of November 11, 1892, drew a contrast between the treatment of hardworking people in Great Britain who put their money into rotten building societies and banks and the dishonest Plan of Campaign tenants in Ireland. The former got sympathy, but nothing else; as regards the latter, "an English Government—as the price of their continued existence—appoints a Commission to see how they can have their losses made good to them, at the expense of the unlucky country whose working classes invest in building societies, and who themselves will be called on to contribute thereto out of such of their savings as may be left to them."

lines of the Bill which they supported." Mr. Mahony was right. They had to deal with it; they had no option. And their mode of dealing with it was to appoint a Commission in such terms and on such conditions as to raise the presumption that the whole case had been pre-judged; that the evicted tenants were to be reinstated at any cost; and that the Commission was appointed simply to give a cover of legality and of decency to these unjust proceedings.

The second of the proposals which Parliament was asked to sanction in 1892 was one made by Mr. Kilbride, and was embodied in the following resolution: "That on grounds both of justice and expediency it is desirable that tenants in Ireland should be enabled to compel their landlords to sell to them their holdings, under the Land Purchase Acts, at a fair price." Such a proposition had never before been heard in the British House of Commons. What it demanded was that every Irish tenant should be empowered to compel his landlord to sell to him his holding, and if it had been adopted by the House of Commons the principle of compulsorily expropriating landlords at the mere will of their tenants would have been made universal in Ireland. The poor landlord was to have no option in the matter at all; the tenant, omnipotent because of his aggregate voting power, was to have things all his own way. To have carried out this policy of universal compulsion would have involved the expenditure of about eighty millions sterling, in addition to the fifty millions which have already been devoted to land purchase in Ireland, and for this enormous sum the British tax-payer would have had to be responsible. Mr. Kilbride, who is himself an evicted tenant, based his demand for universal compulsion upon the fact that several Land Purchase Acts for Ireland had already been passed by Parliament, and that these Acts were so limited in their scope and so partial in their operation that only a few of the Irish tenants could participate in their advantages. He said: "One man on one side of the road was found paying the full judicial rent, without the

slightest prospect of his ever acquiring any further property in the soil, while another man on the opposite side of the road, having purchased under the Ashbourne Act, got from 25 to 30 per cent. reduction (on judicial rent). This state of things could not continue, and there would be no finality to the Irish land question except by the adoption of compulsory purchase." Mr. Knox, who seconded the resolution, said that "the Land Purchase Act had not been successful because it did not contain compulsory powers of sale such as were asked for by this Bill. The Bill was drawn on the lines of well-considered English and Irish precedents. The English Allotments Acts did not at first contain any compulsory powers, but the House was forced to give such powers to the County Councils. The Irish Poor Law Boards had also compulsory powers of a cognate kind in relation to labourers' cottages and plots of land. The present position of things put a premium upon disorder, for the peaceable tenant who paid his rent could not get as good terms as the lawless tenant who did not pay his rent, or paid it at irregular intervals." Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, who is now one of the leading members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, said that Mr. Kilbride's resolution "was a reasonable and natural one from the point of view of the Irish members," and that when those members "found that a measure passed for their country had produced much grievance by the inequality of its application, there was surely nothing inconsistent in their coming forward and asking that the measure should be made universal in its application"; though at the same time he stated that "the indefinite extension of the system of pledging British credit for the sake of the tenantry was a thing which the public would hardly contemplate with equanimity." Mr. Kilbride's proposition was too much even for those who had supported Mr. O'Kelly's.

All this strikingly illustrates the evils and the dangers which have followed from the wanton action of Parliament in violating every sound principle of economics and of morals

in its dealings with Irish land. As is always the case with evil doers, the fact that one wrong step had been taken, instead of being regarded as a reason why that wrong step should be retraced, was made a plea for taking a series of other wrong steps. "You have passed Land Acts establishing judicial rents," said these Irish members, "but you have also proceeded to pass Land Purchase Acts, and under these latter tenants may pay 25 or 30 per cent. less annually than they would pay as judicial tenants, and yet at the end of a given term they become possessors of the freehold of their farms. How can you expect the judicial tenants, who are paying 25 per cent. more than State-aided purchasers, but who will never be anything but tenants, to be contented? You are bound by every principle of fairness to place the judicial tenants in the same position as the State-aided purchasers, in other words to make every tenant the owner of his farm. It is true that many of the landlords will not sell their land. What of that? MAKE THEM DO IT. They are but few and have little political power; we are many and we can work our own will." Mr. T. A. Dickson, who supported Mr. Kilbride, admitted that "the recent Land Purchase Act had paralysed land purchase in Ireland. which could be proved by the evidence both of tenants and of landlords." Of course; what else could be expected? As regards Irish land, Parliament has trampled under foot every sound business principle, and the result has been chaos and desolation. It is impossible for rational business principles to be observed between man and man in relation to the letting or the sale of Irish land, simply because it has been made the sport of party politicians and rendered unsaleable. Every new Land Act simply makes confusion worse confounded. Mr. Kilbride's remedy would have been a very Irish one, for it would simply have aggravated the disease. Nevertheless, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, the leader of the Irish Nationalists, told the Gladstonians in answer to their statement that the time was not yet ripe for universal compulsion, that "the Irish members had convinced Parliament of the necessity for many a principle for which when they began to enforce it the time had not seemed ripe." This simply meant that the Gladstonians, should they ever come into office, would be compelled by their Irish task-masters to adopt Mr. Kilbride's proposition. After what has occurred in relation to the evicted tenants it is not at all improbable that Parliament may soon be asked to compulsorily expropriate every landlord in Ireland. Mr. Kilbride's resolution was defeated by a majority of 91, the

figures being 86 for and 177 against.

The third proposition which Parliament was invited to adopt in relation to Irish land during the Session of 1892 was one by Mr. Roche, who introduced a Bill ostensibly for the amendment of the Land Purchase Act of 1892. In reality, however, the object of the measure was to relieve the evicted tenants of the consequences of their dishonesty and folly by reinstating them in their holdings and furnishing them with a considerable sum of public money drawn from the Church Surplus Fund. Sir Thomas Lea said that the effect of the Bill would be "to place the evicted tenants in a better position than that which the honest tenants occupied," and he characterized this as "a most immoral proceeding." Mr. Dunbar Barton forcibly characterized the Bill as a device for "endowing a sordid conspiracy." The Bill was rejected by a majority of 76, the figures being 144 for, 220 against. But that such a Bill, which coolly proposed to take £100,000 of public money and hand it over to a set of men whose only distinction was that they had endeavoured to swindle their landlords, and who in consequence of their flagrant dishonesty had forfeited their farms, should have been introduced into Parliament at all is a fact of the utmost significance. When such legislative proposals as those which have just been adverted to can be introduced into Parliament without protest, and can even command the support of powerful parties in Parliament, it is obvious that those healthy and lofty principles which should guide and govern the conduct of our public men have been corroded.

The Land Purchase Acts which have been more than once referred to are at once the effect and the evidence of the Socialistic tendency which is now so marked in political thought and action. Such measures as the Ashbourne Acts and Mr. Balfour's more recent and more generous (to the tenants) Land Purchase Act, whatever may be said in their defence, are essentially Socialistic, as their active principle is to take money which belongs to the whole people and use it for the benefit of a small section of the people,\* a section which in the main consists of the more undeserving. It is of course sought to make out some sort of an exceptional case for these measures, inasmuch as they were applied to Ireland, where all the ordinary principles of land tenure have been disorganized and practically destroyed by Mr. Gladstone's Land Acts; and it must at least be admitted, in justice to the Conservatives, that they were not the first to enter upon this disastrous legislation. They can plead that it was Mr. Gladstone who made the tenants part owners of their holdings, who established Land Courts, gave the three F's, and who first proposed a gigantic scheme of land purchase, and that if he had not done any of these things they would not have countenanced any departure from true economical principles in Ireland.† This defence cannot be

<sup>\*</sup> During the debate on the Small Holdings Bill, on May 10th, 1892, Mr. Storey, M.P., said that he feared "the same tendency to increase the amount advanced would be shown in this Bill as had appeared in the case of the Irish Land Purchase Act. Many hon. members on his own side of the House showed a desire to compel the Government to advance the whole of the money . . . . So far as he was personally concerned he was not afraid to say in the House of Commons that this was a bad method of dealing with the public money." It may be hoped that in regard to the social legislation of the future Liberals will in the main be true to the principles of their party, and thus form a bulwark against the incursions and ravages of Socialistic error, the more so as many Conservatives are proving false to the truth.

<sup>†</sup> During the debate on Mr. Caldwell's proposal to apply the Crofters' Act to leaseholders, on May 10th, 1892, the chief argument urged in support of this step was that the same thing had been done in Ireland. Mr. J. B. Balfour said that "the Scotch crofter should not be denied that which had been accorded to his Irish brother." The answer to this on behalf of the Government was that "there was no analogy" between Ireland and the Highlands. Mr. A. J. Balfour contended that Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of

regarded as valid. Under Mr. Gladstone's land legislation judicial rents were fixed for 15 years, but the Conservatives revised, and of course reduced, them before half this term had expired; leaseholders were excluded from the operation of Mr. Gladstone's Acts, but Lord Salisbury admitted them within the sphere of that operation; Mr. Gladstone merely proposed to devote British credit and British money to enable Irish tenants to purchase their farms; but Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour actually carried this proposal into effect at a cost of about fifty millions sterling. All this they did without sufficient warrant or justification, and instead of making things better by doing it they have made them worse. This action on the part of Conservative and Liberal Governments alike is really due, not to the imperative and overwhelming necessities of the Irish tenants, as they seek to make it appear, but to the pressure of Socialistic principles and forces, which, if they were not created by Household Suffrage, at all events found in Household Suffrage their opportunity. That this is so is evident from the fact that legislation similar to that which has been given to Ireland is now demanded for the rest of the kingdom. Utterly regardless as to what they have said respecting the peculiar conditions and needs of the Irish people, politicians are now beginning to ask why the resources of the State cannot be used to purchase farms for British peasants as well as for those of Ireland. A good deal of this feeling underlies the agitation in favour of Allotments

<sup>1881</sup> first interfered with Irish leases, and that it interfered with them fundamentally, leaving only "fragments of leases" to be dealt with by the Conservative Act of 1887. He condemned Mr. Caldwell's proposal on the ground that it would "for the first time in the history of legislation in this country introduce a provision into a Bill which deliberately broke contracts between landlord and tenant." He added: "Did they think if they interfered with the matter of leases and contracts between landlord and tenant that a single landlord in any part of the three kingdoms would be idiot enough to make a contract in future? . . . If once they began to break those leases he did not see why any leases should be left untouched; if leases were to be broken, he did not see why other contracts should not be also; and if all contracts were to be thus interfered with, or placed in danger, he did not see how the community could hold together." The Lord Advocate said substantially the same thing.

and Small Holdings Acts. The labourers of Great Britain, with the example of Ireland before their eyes, do not see why farms and houses should not be purchased for them by the State, and let or sold to them on terms as favourable as farms and houses are let or sold to Irish peasants. It is quite possible that there may be grave troubles ahead of us with regard to this question of small holdings and other similar questions. A terrible Nemesis may await the Government of the country and inflict a heavy retribution for the folly and the wickedness which have been perpetrated in Ireland. The Government may find that it has aroused a spirit in Great Britain also which can be propitiated only by sacrificing to it the principle of free contract and the property of the land-owners and capitalists. But British landlords are hardly likely to be as supine and complacent as were those of Ireland.

The Small Agricultural Holdings Bill which was passed by the Conservative Government in 1892, and for which they are disposed to take to themselves much credit, belongs to the same class as the Irish Land Acts. It is Socialistic in its spirit and methods, and it is utterly opposed to those principles which experience has proved to be sound and wholesome. Earl Cadogan, in moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords, said that—" It applied to Great Britain, and extended the principle embodied in the Ashbourne and other Acts relating to Ireland, namely, that on certain conditions public money should be advanced to existing tenants for the purchase of their holdings." This extension of the principles of the Irish Land Acts to Great Britain is spoken of as though it were the most natural and beneficial thing in the world. No doubt the motives of the authors of this Act were very commendable, as not improbably Mr. Gladstone's motives may have been with respect to his Irish Land Acts. Conservative statesmen profess great concern for the agricultural labourer and the small cultivator; they protest that they desire to keep on the land those who are on it, and to bring back to it many who have left it; to re-create the old yeoman class which has been destroyed; and so to bring back prosperity to our agricultural districts. These are most worthy and desirable objects, and if they could be accomplished by means good in themselves, and likely to produce permanent effects, everybody would rejoice. The old yeomen, however, were considerable farmers, holding from 100 to 500 acres of land, and they died out because they could not farm at a profit. How, then, can an Act which merely created small holdings of one acre up to fifty acres bring back the yeoman? And if the yeoman could not farm comparatively large farms at a profit, how can these small holdings be made to pay? Sir John Lawes, who is one of our greatest authorities on agriculture, says: "The British yeoman is dead. You may spend the amount of the National Debt and yet fail to bring him to life again." Experience amply proves that small holdings will not pay under natural conditions, and that they have been given up and absorbed into large estates, simply because it was unprofitable to retain them. If such holdings will not pay under the natural conditions which are produced by economic causes, will they pay under artificial conditions created by the State?\* Clearly not. Experience, reason, and common sense alike warn our legislators against making such experiments as these; but unhappily these qualities, which would be paramount in any well ordered

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons on May 9, 1892, that "The landlord, if willing to let at all, was willing to let at 2 per cent. on the capital, and the county authority could only let at a rate equivalent to 4 per cent."

The late Sir James Caird demonstrated that the plan of buying out landlords as a cure for the poverty and the discontent of the tenants is an economic sham and delusion, as it would place the tenant in a distinctly worse position. A case is given in illustration thus:—"A farmer purchases 20 acres of freehold land for  $f_{1,000}$ . This will not return him more than 3 per cent., or  $f_{30}$  per annum. He requires a capital of  $f_{200}$  to stock his farm, and profit on this at 10 per cent. would be  $f_{20}$ , so that his returns for the year would be only  $f_{30}$ . But for this  $f_{1,200}$  he could hire 120 acres of land from which he would expect and would receive, if he knew his business, a return of 10 per cent., making  $f_{120}$ . His income would be more than doubled by his use of the landlord's capital."

condition of society, are at a discount in the eyes of democratic politicians. As Mr. Chamberlain says: "Under democratic institutions the people will insist that at least an effort shall be made to remedy confessed evils"; and if the people insist that the attempt shall be made on lines which every intelligent man knows to be dangerous and disastrous, well, the will of the people under democratic institutions is law, and therefore it must be done, be the consequences what they may. The Small Holdings Bill was avowedly put forward as an experiment. This is the age of political experiment. It is true that most of the experiments have been tried before, and that they have always failed, but that does not seem to operate as a check upon the imagination or the enthusiasm of our democratic politicians. No doubt we shall have a whole multitude of experiments of a Socialistic character during the next few years, all started on the initiative of "the people," and those who pretend to speak in their name, but the cost of which will fall upon those who own property, and therefore are supposed to be outside the charmed circle of "the people."

As regards this Small Holdings Act, the object of which is to place small holdings within the reach of those who desire them, it may be asked—Why was it necessary? There were thousands and hundreds of thousands of acres

<sup>\*</sup> The Earl of Rosebery, in a speech at Edinburgh, on May 12, 1892, said:—"Our democracy is not a fierce democracy, but it demands that it should be recognised as a democracy, and that, as you have established a democracy, you shall frankly and practically recognize it; that your Government, springing from the people as it does, must be a Government by the people and for the people. One thing is perfectly certain. I believe that some of these questions are not ripe for solution; but in the absence of that ripeness much experimental legislation will, in my belief, have to be carried through. How these experiments will result I cannot at this moment predict. Many of those who are urging them on have not altogether an adequate idea of all the various balances of interests involved; but of this I am certain, that, unless free and frank recognition is given to the necessity of experimental legislation of this kind, the Liberal party when it comes next into power, will find itself divorced from the great mass of the people. Some of these experiments have been tried and are being tried in our colonies; some of them have been tried and are being tried in the most remarkable popular body which at this moment exists in this country—I mean the London County Council."

of land in the market which could be had in large or small quantities by any purchaser, and if, as was alleged, there were also multitudes of people who desired to obtain this land, why did they not purchase it.\* Simply because they had not got the money. The people who had money did not want land; the people who wanted the land had not got the money. The object of the Small Holdings Act was to provide the money for those people who were said to want land and to be unable to obtain it, and this money is to be found at the risk and cost of the ratepayer. Parliament empowers the County Councils to raise millions of money by borrowing from the State or elsewhere, and to use this money to buy land and then to resell it in small holdings of from one acre up to fifty acres to persons who may be deemed suitable and who are willing to comply with the conditions laid down. All this is to be done at the expense of the ratepavers, and as the ratepavers in country districts consist mainly of farmers and tradesmen, these people will be taxed for the purpose of carrying out this experimental policy, and the case of the farmers will be peculiarly hard, inasmuch as they will be taxed in order to set up in business men who will compete with them. There is much to be said in support of the contention that if the State desired to make such a risky experiment as this, it should have done so at the risk of the taxpayer, or the country in general, and not merely at the expense of the ratebayer, or of particular localities.

From whatever point of view this Small Holdings Act may be regarded, it cannot be looked upon as a sound or a

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Chaplin stated in the House of Commons on May 9th, 1892, that "he had made a number of enquiries during the last few months, and he was astonished to find what a large number of farmers, in a prosperous condition, there were who had been agricultural labourers themselves, or who were the sons of agricultural labourers." This fact, which ought not to be astonishing to any resident in a rural district, is in itself an emphatic condemnation of Mr. Chaplin's Bill. For if some labourers can become farmers without the aid of legislative crutches, why cannot others do likewise? And if labourers are thus developing into farmers in considerable numbers, where is the need of this questionable legislation?

hopeful policy. The discussion of the Bill in Parliament was marked by several features of a most instructive character. At the instance of Sir Walter Foster, an effort was made to introduce the principle of compulsion into the Bill, the chief reason alleged in favour of this course being that the same principle had been incorporated in the Allotments Act. But even Mr. Chaplin declined to be a party to compelling landlords by force of law to sell any part of their property which might be coveted by any would-be small farmer or by a County Council. If this engine of compulsion could be used against landlords the result would be that all their best land would be forcibly taken from them and the poor land left on their hands, so that their estates would be practically ruined. Mr. Seale-Hayne endeavoured to introduce the same principle in an indirect manner by moving an amendment empowering the Local Government Board to authorize a County Council to take land compulsorily for any term not exceeding 99 years. Mr. Gladstone supported this amendment, and most of his followers voted for it, though its principle was entirely opposed to the object of the Bill. The aim of the Bill was to create peasant proprietors; the aim of this particular amendment was to create peasant leaseholders. Mr. R. T. Reid said that "the real argument in favour of the amendment was the certainty that after three or four years, compulsory powers of acquiring freeholds would be inserted in some future Bill." Mr. Jesse Collings, not satisfied with placing a man upon a small farm by the help of public funds, proposed that the County Council should be permitted to lend money for the purpose of erecting the buildings and effecting the improvements which might be necessary to turn the land into a properly equipped farm. During the discussion on this amendment Mr. R. T. Reid said that he could not refrain from asking "Where all this was to end. Why was a man who was already to some extent the favourite of the Legislature to have, in addition to other benefits which were being conferred upon him, money

advanced for the purpose of erecting farm buildings?" Mr. Reid contrasted the position occupied by numbers of small struggling tradesmen in villages, who could earn but a bare subsistence, with that of the favoured owners of small holdings who were being helped at their expense. Even Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who can never do enough for Irish tenants, even though they may be lazy and dishonest, soon tires of helping English tenants. Speaking on this amendment he said he thought "that they had already done enough for those whom they were to assist in getting small holdings. Once the tenant was in possession there was no reason why he should have more done for him than any other small farmers who had not had the great advantage of having money advanced to them by the State for their holdings." Mr. Haldane, O.C. moved the addition of a new clause to the measure which would have had the effect of making a small holding personal property instead of real property. One of the strongest points urged by those who supported this amendment was that the same change had been effected in Ireland (it is interesting to note how all through these discussions the evil precedents of Irish land legislation are perpetually invoked). Mr. Shaw-Lefevre said: "All the arguments used last year in respect to Irish tenants who became owners were equally applicable to persons who purchased small holdings under this Act." Mr. Chaplin admitted that "it was true the same principle had been adopted in Irish legislation, but there was a reason for it in the case of Ireland which did not exist in the case of England." Ultimately the principle of Mr. Haldane's amendment was incorporated in the Bill, but it was struck out again in the House of Lords.

To treat of all the Socialistic measures which have been brought before Parliament and the country during the last twenty years, or even during the last ten, would require more than the 600 pages of this book. It is not, however, essential to the purpose of this work that these measures should be treated exhaustively; for that purpose is, not to

expound in detail this Socialistic legislation, but simply to convince the reader that the trend of thought and action in the political world is downwards towards the morass of Socialism. To illustrate and establish the truth of this view it is not necessary to do more than look at what has taken place during the one year 1892. The doings of Parliament during that year have already in part been reviewed; but there are a few other matters which occupied the attention of the House of Commons in the course of that session which claim a brief notice in this chapter. But before dealing with them a word or two may be said in regard to the Free Education Act, which is one of the Socialistic measures that have been passed during the last two years by a Conservative Government. It may be admitted that in some respects this matter stands on somewhat the same footing as the Post Office; that the State can supply a cheaper and better system of education for the common people than could be supplied by private enterprise; and that it is clearly in the interests of the community that children should not be allowed to grow up in ignorance, which unfortunately many parents would allow them to do unless they were compelled to provide them an education. Where the Conservatives went astray, however, was in assuming that because the State compelled a man to educate his children it was therefore also compelled to defray the cost of that education.\* It would be just as

<sup>\*</sup> The Saturday Review, dealing with the Free Education Act in its issue of July 18, 1891, said: "For what, in substance, is the object of that measure? Its object is to provide out of the national revenues gratuitous education for a certain class of the community who are able to defray its cost themselves. In what intelligible sense can that be described as action on the part of the State for the promotion of the 'well-being of the people'? Would it promote the well-being of the people, or only the comfort and convenience of a particular class, if the Legislature were to pass an Act authorizing the purchase of boots and shoes at the public charge, and the distribution of the same among all children in attendance at schools where the fee does not exceed ninepence a week? And if not, why not? Those who cannot pay for their children's education are already provided for by law. This Bill is designed for the benefit of those who would merely rather not pay, and whom it is hoped to propitiate as electors by compelling a number of other people to pay for them." The Saturday Review added that this was not the

logical to say that because the State compels a man to feed his children and to prevent them from running about the streets naked, it is also compelled to provide their food and clothing. It is just as much the duty of the parent to educate his child as to feed or clothe it, and it is not the duty of the State to relieve the parent of these obligations. The action of the Government in taking this duty into its own hands, instead of compelling parents to perform it, is an experiment which cannot be viewed without regret and apprehension by those who desire to see the more robust qualities of the individual citizen developed, and who wish to keep the spheres of State action and private action as clearly apart as possible. Even those who regard the experiment as one that may be justified on exceptional grounds, and who look upon the Free Education Act as one of those Socialistic measures which do not violently interfere with the operation of individual exertion, and who therefore supported the Conservative Government in its dubious course, may vet have serious cause to repent their conduct. The Socialists regard the Free Education Act as a large concession to their demands and as a triumph of their principles. Having got so much, they ask, as is their wont, for more. Now that children get their lessons free, they must also have their meals free. And if food, why not clothing? If food and clothing, why not dwellings? We may live to see the day when a Conservative Government (so-called) will propose to do all these things on the ground that they logically follow from this concession of Free Education.\*

kind of "paternal government" with which Conservatism ever has been, or

ever ought to be, associated.

The Standard, speaking on the same subject on June 22, 1891, said: "We may all regret that the necessity has arisen; but we may depend upon it that, under the method of government on which we have entered, such necessities will arise very frequently. The working man is not only our master, but our idol, and principles count for little when votes have to be secured."

<sup>\*</sup> Some months after these words were written a deputation waited upon the London School Board (on Nov. 18, 1892), and presented a memorial asking the Board to petition Parliament in order that they might have the

A brief glance may now be taken at the Socialistic proposals, other than those already noticed, which were brought before Parliament during the year when this work was written, 1892. Several proposals were made in relation to an Eight Hours' Day, fixed by legislation, but as these will be dealt with in their proper order in a subsequent chapter, nothing further need be said about them here. The same remark will apply to the Shop Hours Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Provand, the object of which was to limit the hours of female assistants in shops to 74 hours per week.

Mr. Seale-Hayne introduced a Bill dealing with the Commission of the Peace, which, if it had been carried, would have introduced the thin end of the wedge with regard to the election of magistrates by the popular vote. The objects of this Bill were to enable County Councils to appoint a certain number of justices of the peace in proportion to the population; to make all chairmen of urban sanitary authorities justices; to abolish the property qualification for the magistracy; and to compel a number of gentlemen who at present hold Her Majesty's Commission to retire from the Bench on the ground that they had ceased to perform magistrates' duties. Under this Bill the London County Council would have been able to

power to feed and clothe the children of firents out of employment. A costermonger named White, who spoke in support of the memorial, said that "as workmen they contributed to the rates, and they recognised that economic co-operation and collective action in this matter would enable the people to provide food for their families better than the present individual method." As to the allegation that many of the unemployed were drunkards and loafers and did not deserve consideration, "he thought it would be seen that to make a distinction was ridiculous." The Rev. R. Plummer asked the deputation whether they had formed any estimate of the cost of their proposal, to which the reply was—"That is totally irrelevant. We do not care what the cost is; the children should have breakfast and dinner and tea." The Rev. Stewart Headlam said that "the proposal to feed all children was a thoroughly economic proposal." The Rev. J. Coxhead said that children were thus fed in Paris, and it could be done with equal reason and out of equal wealth in London. Professor Gladstone stated that in other countries where there was State education the difficulty of feeding the children had cropped up, and it had been in some way or other necessary to feed them.

appoint 500 magistrates for the metropolis, and other County Councils would have been able to appoint a proportionate number. It is easy to see that this would have opened the door to patronage and favouritism of the most odious nature, and that the Bench would have been swamped by a host of new magistrates whose only qualification for the position would be that they were the wirepullers and the hangers-on of political parties, and whose action would soon have brought the administration of justice into contempt. Of course the real object of this measure was to deal a blow at the influence of the class from whom magistrates are now chiefly drawn, and by indirect means to cripple the power of property owners.

Another proposal of a somewhat analogous character was that for the payment of Members of Parliament on the ground that "the principle of gratuitous public service upon which representation in this House is at present based limits the freedom of constituencies in the selection of their representatives." This resolution was moved by Mr. Fenwick, but the principle of it was accepted at Newcastle as a part of the policy of the Liberal party. The proposal was defeated by a majority of 65, the figures being 162 for and 227 against. The payment of members occupies the first position in the programme of the Labour Party, and this in itself is prima facic evidence that the antagonists of capital are convinced that a system under which Members of Parliament were paid would work into their hands, which no doubt it would do as far as it had any effect at all. Even Mr. Chamberlain, who has gone much further in the direction of the Labour Party than any other statesman of Cabinet rank, declares that "it seems absurd that the country should be made to pay from £200,000 to £600,000 a year to remunerate persons who do not wish to be paid in order to meet the case of some score or dozen of gentlemen to whom this remuneration is an absolute necessity if they are to fulfil duties to which their fellow citizens would willingly call them."

A singular measure which was brought before the House of Commons during this Session was entitled "The Eastbourne Improvement Act, 1885, Amendment Bill," the object of which was to repeal a clause in the Eastbourne Improvement Act, under which the local authorities were empowered to prohibit street processions with music. Under this Act the authorities of Eastbourne had suppressed the street processions of the Salvation Army. But this body declined to obey the law, defied the magistrates and the public opinion of Eastbourne, and carried on their processions in spite of the prohibition. The result was that the police authorities had to put down the demonstrations by force. Crowds of people as a matter of course were attracted to witness the conflicts which occurred between the police and the Salvationists, and some of the rougher elements of these crowds soon began to act on their own account, and to attack the members of the obnoxious sect. These processions and disturbances took place on Sundays, and for weeks and months parts of Eastbourne were turned into a pandemonium, to the annoyance and disgust of all peaceable inhabitants. If ever there was a case where the law should have been rigorously enforced this was the case. The Salvationists had no real grievance, as they were the aggressors, and deliberately set themselves to outrage the feelings and the wishes of the majority of the people of Eastbourne, and to defy properly-constituted authorities. Instead of supporting the Eastbourne authorities, however, in upholding the law, certain politicians introduced a Bill to repeal the law which was so distasteful to the Salvationists, and which they had resolved not to obey. In other words, they proceeded upon the principle that when a law is deliberately defied the best plan is, not to punish the law breakers, but to alter the law in deference to their wishes. This course of action was supported by such men as Sir Henry James, Mr. Leonard Courtney, Mr. H. H. Fowler, and Sir Edward Clarke, on the ground that it would be wise to deal with the subject in

a spirit of conciliation. The latter gentleman, who then occupied the position of Solicitor-General, seemed to suggest in his speech that as the Salvationists were total abstainers and non-smokers they ought to be permitted to do as they liked. A singular feature of this matter was that the repeal of this clause in the Eastbourne Act, which gave to the authorities an optional power of dealing with street processions, was advocated by those who in other directions are the strenuous advocates of Local Option. These people would give Home Rule to Ireland on the ground that a majority of the Irish people, and of the Irish people alone, desire it; they would give the majority in Eastbourne itself power to close all public houses and thus prevent the minority purchasing a glass of beer; and yet when an overwhelming majority of the people of Eastbourne desired to retain the power to put down processions which they did not want, these zealous advocates of Local Option in other directions were the people who deprived them of that power. There is good reason to believe that those who advocated the repeal of this clause were actuated by political and not merely by moral considerations. A General Election was close at hand, and the aggregate voting power of the Salvationists was considerable. In many towns their votes would decide the election, and members for these towns who wished to retain their seats, and knew that the contest would be a very close one, did not care to incur the hostility of a compact body of voters. At all events the palpable facts are, first, that Mr. Booth, the head of the Salvation Army, declared to the Parliamentary Committee that he would not obey a law that his conscience did not approve, and that if the law were done away with and bye-laws were substituted which he considered valid, he would feel himself obliged to obey them; and that this Committee in deference to the wishes of Mr. Booth, and against the wishes of the people of Eastbourne as a whole, recommended the repeal of the law. The second reading of the Bill was carried by 269 against 122, a majority of 147. The Mayor of Eastbourne, commenting upon this result, said that before long, as a logical outcome of the House's decision, an Act would probably be passed decreeing that all orders to Municipal bodies should be forwarded by "General Booth" or his successors.

Another extraordinary measure introduced during this Session was entitled "The Local Authorities (Purchase of Land) Bill," which was introduced by Mr. Haldane, Q.C. The object of this Bill was to arm County Councils with compulsory powers to acquire any land that was necessary in the interests of the population whom the Councils represented. It is an established principle of British legislation that when local authorities are empowered to compulsorily obtain land, the purpose for which the land is required must be clearly specified. That principle was wholly ignored in this proposed measure, which would have enabled County Councils to speculate in land, and would have made them gigantic land-jobbers. That alone would be objectionable enough; but the Bill would have enabled County Councils to do much more than this. They could cause any piece of land which they might covet to be valued, and after such valuation they were to have the option of purchasing the land at any time during the ensuing twenty years; in other words, the land would be hung up for that time, and would be practically worthless to its owners, because it would be unsaleable. With the option of the County Council hanging over the land there would be no inducement either for the owner to develop it or for anybody else to acquire it. More than this, the seller (if a man can be called a seller whose land is taken from him by force) was not to receive any increase which might take place in the value of his land between the time it was valued by the County Council and the time when they finally purchased it, unless that increase could be proved to be due to his own exertions. If it were due to the increase of population, the opening up of the district, or to a general rise in the price of land, all the increase was to go to the County Council. The unfortunate owner was to be sacrificed on the altar of the god "Unearned Increment." More even than this, if there should be a fall in the value of the land between its valuation and its purchase, the loss was to fall upon the owner and not upon the County Council. That is to say, if this Bill had become law, a County Council might ear-mark a certain piece of land, say on the 1st of January, 1894, and not purchase the land till the year 1914, during the whole of which period the land is virtually useless to its owner. Suppose the value of the land to be £2,000 when it is valued, and that it increased during the 20 years to £3,000, the owner is, nevertheless, to be paid only the £2,000, although the County Council have had their clutches upon the land during the whole of the period. But supposing that the value of the land in 1914 has decreased to  $f_{1,750}$ , the owner is to receive only this sum, although his land, when it was virtually taken from him, was valued at £2,000. Even this is not all. A County Council, after thus valuing and ear-marking a piece of land, might decline to purchase it even at the end of the twenty years, and demand a second valuation, and a new option extending over another twenty years, and so on indefinitely. In this way they could go on for ever. This is a specimen of the kind of legislation which is coming to be more and more in favour with our democratic legislators. Mr. Asquith, O.C., who was appointed Home Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's Administration of 1892, seconded Mr. Haldane, and stoutly defended his Bill, whilst Mr. H. H. Fowler, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir George Trevelyan, and Mr. John Morley, all members of Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1892, voted for the measure. A more grotesque, or preposterous, or irrational Bill was never introduced into the British House of Commons, and vet it was supported by politicians of such rank as those mentioned. The phenomenon is explicable only on the principle that these gentlemen think any stick good enough to beat a dog of a landlord with.

One palpable result of recent "reforms" is that a strong

feeling of hostility has been developed in the minds of large masses of the population against both land owners and capitalists, and that, as a consequence of this, politicians who desire to please these multitudes of voters are eager to pose as reformers who are willing to more equally distribute the wealth of the country. The poorer classes believe that in some way their votes will enable them to get a larger share of the good things that are going, and they are bent upon using their votes for that purpose, and the politicians who must climb to power by the votes of these people, if they attain power at all, sedulously foster these delusions in the minds of their dupes. "Only send us to Parliament," say they, "and you shall see a magical transformation as regards the distribution of wealth; you who are now so poor shall become richer, and those who are now so rich shall become poorer." Consequently when these gentlemen get to Parliament they are bound to make a show of zeal in this direction, and one way in which they do it is by supporting such Bills as that of Mr. Haldane, and by taking every opportunity of dealing a blow at those whose only crime is that they possess property. One significant illustration of this spirit was manifested in the case of the Cambrian Railway directors, who were summoned to the Bar of the House of Commons on the ground that they had infringed the privileges of the House by dismissing one of their station-masters for giving evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. The facts of the case were simple. This station-master, John Hood, did give evidence before a Parliamentary Committee, and he was subsequently dismissed from his post. The directors said that he was dismissed, not for having given the evidence, but for irregularities in connection with his duties. Of course they were not believed by Radical politicians, and in consequence of the agitation aroused by some of these gentlemen the matter was brought before the House of Commons. Mr. J. W. Maclure, M.P., Mr. J. F. Buckley, Mr. W. R. Hawkins, and Mr. John Conacher

appeared at the Bar of the House of Commons and stated that if they had unintentionally infringed any of the privileges of the House they expressed their unqualified regret. After the matter had been discussed, these gentlemen were admonished by the Speaker. The whole case that was got up against the directors was of the flimsiest description. The great fault charged against them was that they wished to deter railway servants from giving evidence before Parliamentary Committees; but it is certain that their enemies wished to deter railway directors from doing their duty by their shareholders and the public. For if an incompetent or an unfaithful railway servant is not to be dismissed because he has chosen to go and give evidence to a Parliamentary Committee, it is obvious that there is an end to all discipline on railways. The debate which took place on this question of privilege was of a most instructive character, as indicating the implacable malignity of a certain school of Radical politicians towards employers and capitalists. Mr. T. P. O'Connor moved an amendment the object of which was to compel the Cambrian Railway Company to reinstate Hood in his position, and this was supported by Sir George Trevelyan, though Mr. Gladstone thought that it would be "a very novel and in some respects a questionable method of proceeding for this House to come to a decision, which it has no power to enforce, that one individual should compensate some other individual to whom it thinks injustice has been done." As regards the reinstatement of Hood, Mr. Gladstone said: "It is quite obvious that in any case where this House might be inclined to advise, and especially if it were inclined to enforce, the reinstatement in office of a person dismissed from it by competent authority, this House would incur an undefined but a very serious responsibility in the consequences which might follow or which might be supposed—and even perhaps not unjustly supposed—to follow from that reinstatement." Mr. T. P. O'Connor's amendment was rejected by a majority of 115, the numbers being 159 for and 274 against.

Hood was glorified as a martyr, and was rewarded by a testimonial, to which a number of Conservative and Unionist Members of Parliament subscribed. In these days the surest road to notoriety, and even to pecuniary reward, is through insubordination.\* No doubt these Members of Parliament had their eve upon the railway vote, which is a greater power than even the Salvationist vote, when they got up this professional pity for Mr. Hood and this professional indignation against his former employers. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who was Chairman of the Select Committee on the Hours of Labour of Railway Servants, which enquired into the action of the directors with regard to Hood's case, said in a letter to Mr. Maclure on June 16, 1892: "A careful consideration of all the evidence satisfied me that Hood's statements with respect to the accident at Ellesmere in Nov., 1887, and the men on duty on the night of Friday, Nov. 4, were not correct, and that he was not, generally speaking, a trustworthy servant of the Cambrian Railway Company." The entire incident is a significant indication of the harm which is done by the intermeddling of Parliamentary Committees between employers and their servants.†

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. John Hood wrote to the *Times* some months after these events, in connection with the Thirsk railway accident, and stated that he was a shareholder in the North Eastern Railway. Yet he was represented as being a poor man, almost on the verge of starvation, in consequence of his dismissal from his post.

<sup>†</sup> It may be well to give the findings of the Committee's report, which is contained in a Blue Book issued on April 2nd, 1892:—"(1) That the aforesaid allegations in reference to the witnesses Edward Kingstone, Alfred Thomas, and John Spink were unfounded. (2) That the witness John Hood was, by a resolution of the directors of the Cambrian Railway Company, at a meeting held on the 6th day of August last, dismissed from the service of the company, mainly in consequence of charges arising out of the evidence given by him before your Committee, and laid before the directors by John Conacher, then manager of the said railway; and, further, that James Frederick Buckley, John William Maclure (a member of this House), and William Bailey Hawkins, directors of the said company, and the said John Conacher, did, at a meeting at Crewe on the 30th of September, 1891, held in consequence of an application by the said John Hood for the rehearing of his case, at which the said John Hood was present, call him to account, and censure him for the evidence he gave before your Committee in a manner calculated to deter other railway servants from giving evidence before your Committee. Your Committee have

In striking contrast with the eagerness of a certain section of the House of Commons to whitewash Hood and to discredit the Cambrian directors was the reluctance of the same section to take any notice whatever of another alleged breach of privilege in which the chief actors were not railway directors but railway servants. The facts are these. On June 23rd, 1891, Robert Collingwood, a mineral guard on the North Eastern Railway, gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee on the hours of railway servants. Collingwood was the Secretary of the Tyne Dock Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and in consequence of the evidence he gave the Committee of this branch, on July 4th, passed a resolution calling upon him to resign his secretaryship. Eight days later, at an open meeting of the Branch, presided over by Mr. J. J. Harris, of the Newcastle Trades Council, this resolution was confirmed and Collingwood's evidence was condemned as "a libel upon the men of Tyne Dock." In consequence of this resolution Collingwood at once sent in his resignation as Secretary. The matter came before the Parliamentary Committee on July 16th, 1891, when Thomas Hunter, a mineral guard, and William Irving, a fireman, both in the employ of the North Eastern Railway Company, were examined as to what occurred at the meetings at which Collingwood's evidence was discussed. When it became clear that certain members of the Parliamentary Committee and other members of Parliament were determined

not deemed it to be part of their duty to express any opinion as to how far the conduct of the said John Hood, and the irregularities disclosed by his evidence, as well as the character of his evidence, were calculated properly to forfeit the confidence of the directors of the Cambrian Company." The last sentence is a singular one. Surely it was the duty of the Committee, if they inquired into the case and judicially pronounced upon it, to express an opinion as to whether Hood was dismissed for his misconduct as a servant, or simply for giving his evidence. Spink was a signalman on the Great Eastern Railway, who was dismissed after he had given evidence before the Committee. It was proved that his dismissal was in no way due to his having given evidence, but to irregularities in the discharge of his duties. Yet it was sought to affix to the railway officials the odium of having dismissed him because he appeared before the Parliamentary Committee!

to bring the case of the Cambrian directors before Parliament, certain other members of the Select Committee called the Committee's attention to what had been done in the case of Collingwood, and contended that the charge against Mr. Harford, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Railway Servants Society, and those who had worked with him, was practically the same as that brought against the Cambrian directors, namely, that their action was calculated to deter railway servants from appearing before the Committee. Collingwood himself appeared before the Committee on April 4th, 1892, and stated that in consequence of the evidence which he had given in the previous June he was called upon to resign his secretaryship. He said: "The Society objected to the evidence which he gave, and had, as far as they could, prejudiced him in the eyes of his fellow workmen with consequences disastrous to himself. . . . The Society had done their best to show that the evidence he gave before the Committee was a misrepresentation of the facts. and was not to be relied upon, and they had condemned others who had given evidence which was not to their liking." He also stated that he had been held up to execration in articles which appeared in the Railway Review, the organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, of which Mr. Harford was the editor. In one of these articles, dated June 3rd, 1891, which was headed "Renegades," Collingwood was referred to as follows: "We do not deny for one moment that there have been, and probably are, men like Mr. Collingwood who preach on the platform one thing and practise quite another; but we indignantly repudiate the statement that the National Programme is the huge fraud this recreant erstwhile supporter of it would have us believe. Although Mr. Collingwood and his coadjutors exhausted all their available resources in playing the traitor to their former colleagues, they after all did not represent that element in the Amalgamated Society to which it owes its influence. Indeed, the members of Mr. Collingwood's own

branch have already repudiated the views he expressed." In a second article, which appeared on July 10th, 1891, and was headed "Retribution," Collingwood was charged with having deliberately kept from the Parliamentary Committee figures which would have shown that he had worked in certain weeks 86 hours, 83½ hours, 83½ hours, and with having done this "for the same reason that he lent himself to mislead his fellow workmen by his famous or infamous memorial; in fact, because he was the servile tool of the officials." In answer to Sir Henry Tyler, Collingwood stated that the course which had been adopted with regard to himself was in his opinion calculated to intimidate others from giving evidence before the Committee; and he expressed his belief that railway servants had actually been afraid to give evidence because they had seen these articles in the Railway Review. Now if such treatment as this of Collingwood's was not calculated to deter other railway servants from giving evidence, unless their evidence should be in accordance with the wishes of the Union officials, it is useless to talk about intimidation in any case whatever. Collingwood was held up to execration before his fellow workmen as a traitor and as one who had promoted an "infamous" memorial, and in consequence of the feeling thus excited against him he was compelled to resign a position of honour and trust to which his comrades had elected him, and was made to suffer in other ways. In spite of all this, the bulk of the Liberal members of the Parliamentary Committee on the Hours of Railway Servants, and a few even of the Conservative members, contended that the case of Collingwood was not analogous to that of Mr. Hood, and that the action of Mr. Harford and the other officials concerned did not constitute a breach of privilege. Apparently those who took this view were in the majority, for no mention was made of the case in the report which the Committee made to Parliament. It is impossible, in view of the facts which have been adduced, to resist the conclusion that the Cambrian directors were hailed to the

Bar of the House of Commons for no other reason than that they were capitalists and represented comparatively few electors, and that Mr. Harford and his fellow officials were allowed to commit precisely the same offence with impunity because they had behind them a numerous and solid body of electors, who would be prepared to avenge themselves on any Member of Parliament who had the courage to support railway directors even when they were in the right.\* One of the members who did support the Cambrian directors during the debate in Parliament, Mr. Milvain, Q.C., lost his seat at Durham in consequence of his action, and when it was proposed that he should stand as a Conservative candidate at Newcastle in opposition to Mr. John Morley, the hostility manifested towards him by the railway servants was so marked that he had to decline the invitation. From all this it is evident that a railway servant may steal a horse whilst a railway director may not look over the hedge.

A cognate matter which arose out of these discussions respecting the intimidation of witnesses may here be briefly noticed. Two Bills were introduced in the session of 1892 for the purpose of protecting witnesses who gave evidence before Parliamentary Committees or at other public enquiries. One of these was introduced by Mr. R. A. Yerburgh, the other and the more important one was introduced by Sir Charles Russell. This measure makes it a misdemeanor, triable by a court of Summary Jurisdiction, for any person without lawful excuse to prevent, or endeavour to prevent, a witness from giving evidence, or to deprive a witness of his employment, or otherwise damnify him, by reason of his having given evidence. The offences

<sup>\*</sup> William Ellis, an employé of the Great Eastern Railway Company, informed the Select Committee in July, 1891, that a number of his fellow workmen were opposed to legislative interference with the hours of labour on railways, and in consequence a resolution was submitted to the branch of the Amalgamated Society of Servants, of which he was a member, proposing that he should be censured. No notice whatever was taken of this by the Parliamentary Committee.

under the Act were to be punishable by imprisonment for periods not exceeding six months, or by fines not exceeding £500 in any one case, and the Court was to be enabled to direct that the fine, or any portion of it, should be handed over to the person who might have suffered on account of his evidence. The backers of the Bill were Mr. John Morley, Mr. Bryce, Mr. T. Burt, Mr. C. Fenwick, and Mr. E. Robertson. Another Bill of a similar character was actually passed through Parliament in this session, and during the discussion of this measure in Committee Mr. Fenwick and others exhibited serious anxiety that the privileges of Trades Unions should not be curtailed. One clause of the Bill stated that any person who should "hinder" or "intimidate" witnesses from giving evidence should incur the penalties. Mr. Fenwick objected to these words as being too wide in their application, and said that if "a trade society had passed a resolution beforehand declaring that it was inexpedient that its members should give evidence before an inquiry, their case might come under this section." That, of course, would be a terrible state of things. Several other speakers objected to the word "intimidation" appearing in the Bill at all, on the ground that it had never been defined. Mr. Darling, Q.C., truthfully characterised the position of these speakers when he said they "thought that if a number of workmen wished to prevent a fellow workman from giving evidence no objection ought to be raised, but that if employers were to interfere with their workmen in the same way their conduct would be reprehensible." That exactly hit the nail on the head. When the measure reached the House of Lords serious objection was taken to it by Lord Morris, Lord Watson, and Lord Halsbury, then Lord Chancellor, and in consequence of these objections Lord Herschell inserted an amendment in one of the most important clauses which would enable an employer to dismiss a servant for wrong-doing when it would be an offence under the Act to dismiss him for the evidence he had given. Lord Halsbury said the Bill "was supposed to

affirm the principle that witnesses should be protected in giving evidence, but he did not like the mode in which the Bill was framed. The severe penalties which were possible under the Bill afforded a clear indication that the measure had not been well considered in its details."

We may now glance briefly at some indications of the progress of Socialism which have recently appeared in the sphere of municipal government. The Local Government Act which was passed a few years ago by the Government of Lord Salisbury has introduced changes of a deep and farreaching character into our municipal life. In the first place it has created County Councils in every district of the country, and these Councils are elected not only upon the principle of Household Suffrage but also upon the principle of Female Suffrage, and the principle of "one man one vote," so that the vote of the poorest labourer in the village exerts as much effect in creating the County Council and determining its character as the vote of the largest landowner in the county does. The immediate result of this change has been to seriously diminish the influence of the classes who had heretofore been most active and powerful in the local government of the counties, and to introduce into county government a class of men who are to a great extent strangers to the work, and who in many cases were elected on purely party grounds, without any regard whatever to their qualifications for that work. Men of this latter class are naturally more concerned to please their constituents than to secure efficient and economical government, and at the same time they are imbued with the new Socialistic idea that the people are to be saved from all the ills which afflict them by Governmental action. It is obvious that the action of such men within the sphere of local government must be detrimental to the true interests of society at large. That the influence of many County Councils, upon which men of this class are dominant, is detrimental to the public good has been abundantly demonstrated. Perhaps the most signal illustration of this

fact is supplied by the London County Council, and therefore it will be desirable to pay a little attention to the

proceedings of this body.

The first County Council which was elected in London under the new Act contained a majority of Radicals, who in the municipal sphere styled themselves Progressives, but it also contained a powerful minority of Conservatives, who in the municipal sphere called themselves Moderates. The latter were caught napping at the first election, as they permitted themselves to be deluded by their opponents into the belief that the contest would not be fought upon party grounds, whereas it was so fought by the Progressives, who took advantage of the Radical organization all through the Metropolis to secure a victory. Owing partly to this singular simplicity and ineptitude on the part of the Moderates, and partly to the invincible apathy of the average London ratepayer, the Progressives secured a majority, and accordingly were able to mould the policy of the Council in harmony with Radical principles and purposes. One of the first actions of this majority was to augment its power by filling the larger number of Aldermanic posts by other Radicals. The Council, thus composed, during the first three years of its existence made itself look exceedingly ridiculous by venting its spite in various ways upon land owners and property owners generally, its very impotency to carry out its wishes merely serving to increase the contempt which its action excited. The Progressives chafed under the restrictions which Parliament had wisely imposed upon the Council's taxing powers, and were much more concerned about breaking these fetters than about doing the work for which the Council had been called into existence. The Moderates who had been hoodwinked and outwitted, and the men of business whose interests were threatened, took matters very quietly during the first three years of the Council, and comforted themselves with the reflection that the next election would completely change the condition of affairs by putting a

Moderate majority in power. As the second election drew near earnest and strenuous efforts were made by a few men to arouse the people of London to a sense of the dangers of the position, but these efforts were only partially successful; and the reason for this was that many even among the Moderates were half-hearted in their work. Those among them who had the courage to act independently and without regard to political organizations, and who were prepared to oppose and condemn errors of both political parties alike, were a mere handful. The spirit of compromise and the fear of estranging the popular vote were strong even in some of the leaders of the Moderates, and these men effectually paralyzed the action of their party. In addition to this, scarcely any impression could be made upon the well-to-do voter. The natural result was another victory for the Progressives, and this time their triumph was much more pronounced than it was even on the first occasion. Out of the 118 Councillors elected, 83 were Progressives and only 35 Moderates. Again, the majority of Aldermen were taken from the Radicals, and three of them were labour agitators, of whom the most notorious was Mr. Ben Tillett. Those who have studied the social and political movements of the last few years, especially in connection with the questions that affect Capital and Labour, will know what to expect from a County Council of which Mr. John Burns and Mr. Ben Tillett are members.\*

<sup>\*</sup> On January 30th, 1889, a Manifesto was issued by the Social Democratic Federation to the unemployed, urging that the London County Council should grant the following "reasonable demands": "That no contracts should be given to employers who worked their men over eight hours a day or paid less than Trade Union rates of wages; that various kinds of public works should be set on foot, and ' fair wages' paid to the men employed on them; that the administration of the Poor Law should be less 'harsh and cruel;' that in order to meet the additional expense all empty houses should be immediately rated up to their full rack-rental valuation." This Manifesto runs: "To-day, Thursday, 31st Jan., the new County Council for London, composed almost exclusively of members of the classes which rob you of your labour when you toil and jeer at your sufferings when you are out of work, meets for the first time. The Council, as a whole, fairly represents the average middle-class ratepayers, but is not as yet definitely pledged to Social reaction. Henceforth the County Council for London forms a rallying-point

The success of the Radical Socialists in thus capturing the County Council was the most signal victory that Socialism has yet achieved in this country. The electors who supported the Progressives were working for no other purpose than the advancement of a Socialistic Labour Programme. Mr. Sidney Webb (of whom more anon) was one of the Progressives elected, and this gentleman in his book on "The London Programme," demands reforms which would cost London 128 millions sterling, which would be equal to a rate of four millions a year, or something like 3s. in the pound. As the rates in some London parishes are already from 5s. to 8s. in the pound, this addition would be no trifle. But of course Mr. Webb and his coadjutors intend that all this taxation shall be squeezed out of the owners of property for the benefit of the working classes. Mr. John Burns boasts that he and the seven or eight labour members who support him on the Council are "marching towards a Commune." If ever there was a policy of "plundering and blundering" it is the policy of the London Progressives, and that policy is supported by the London Liberal and Radical Union. What they demand is briefly this: That no street improvements are to be effected until those who live in immediate contiguity to the improved district can be compelled to contribute more largely to their cost than residents in other parts of London (this is the principle of "betterment"); that the control of the police is to be vested in the County Council; that the Corporation of the City is to be abolished, and its powers (and of course its property and revenues) transferred to the Council; that the

for all who suffer under grievances due to our infamous social system. Our comrade, John Burns, the Revolutionary Social Democrat, who worked so hard for our cause in the street, now sits in the Council Chamber—a working man returned specially to champion the claims of working men. The unemployed this year are as numerous as in previous years, and yet more miserable; but nothing whatever has yet been done to organise their labour on useful works. The time has now come when the workers, as an organized body, are at last awaking to a sense of their own power. We call upon you, therefore, to act heartily with us in the class war which your oppressors have forced upon us."

property of great private corporations, such as the gas, dock, and water companies, are to be "acquired" by the Council at less than their market value; that public charities are to be administered without any regard to the intentions of those who founded them; that "large" salaries are to cease; that ground landlords are to be deprived of a portion of their property; that work undertaken by the Council or for it is to be performed under conditions prescribed by the Trades Unions; that working people are to be provided with dwellings at rents "sufficient to secure the Council against loss"; and that all open spaces controlled by the Council are to be adapted for the purpose of public meetings, and that those open spaces which are now "nominally" vested in the Crown are to be transferred to the Council, and also used for open air meetings. This is the Programme which was put forward by the London Liberal and Radical Union, on Dec. 9, 1891,\* and it was on this Programme that the Progressives won the election a few months later. It was an unblushing appeal to the envy and the cupidity of working class electors, and it served its

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Sydney Webb says: —"No authoritative exposition of the 'London Programme' has been given. The phrase has indeed gradually come to be used with two different meanings. London has been the main source of the influences which have transformed the declared programme of the Liberal party from the half-hearted and merely political reforms, advocated in 1887, to the long string of Radical and Socialistic measures which compose it in 1891. The measures of social reform which, in 1889 and 1890. were adopted as part of the Liberal policy, have often been described as the programme of London, in distinction from the more political changes demanded by provincial Liberals." Again Mr. Webb says:—"It is not surprising that the Trades Union Congress should now twice have declared in favour of 'land nationalization' by large majorities, or that the bulk of the London County Council should be returned on an essentially Socialist platform. The whole of the immediately practicable demands of the most exacting Socialist are, indeed, now often embodied in the current Radical programme." The objects for the attainment of which Liberals and Radicals have, according to Mr. Webb, joined hands, are thus defined by that gentle-man:—"Complete shifting of burdens from the workers, of whatever grade, to the recipients of rent and interest, with a view to the ultimate and gradual extinction of the latter class; to raise, universally, the standard of comfort by obtaining the general recognition of a minimum wage and a maximum working day; the gradual public organization of labour for all public purposes, and the elimination of the private capitalist and middleman."

turn, for these electors voted for it by thousands in the simple faith that it was all true and would surely be fulfilled. They had been promised that they should have dwellings at low rents, cheap travelling by rail or tramway, free libraries and museums, and various other boons. What was greater than all, and really included all, they had been led to believe that the London County Council would become employers of labour on a vast scale, and that all this labour would be paid for at the highest Trade Union rates. The victory of the London Progressives was really the triumph of the new Trade Unionism, which is another name for Socialism.\* The avowed policy of the London County Council is to municipalize such undertakings as tramways, water supply, gas supply, the docks and so on. If these undertakings were acquired by the Council thousands of labourers, skilled and unskilled, would be in the direct employ of the Council, and when matters once came to this pass the Trade Unions would be absolute masters of the situation. Every class in London would be at the mercy of Trade Union tyranny. For if the men at the municipal water works came out on strike for six hours a day and double wages, the Trade Union Secretary by lifting up his finger could call out the men at the municipal gas works, while other secretaries could call out the men who attended to the drainage and drove the municipal tram cars and omnibuses. "Sympathy" would exist between all these classes of workmen, and when this sympathy became active during a strike they could simply paralyze the whole business of London. The police, being then under the control of Messrs. Burns and Tillett, would defend the

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Goschen, in a speech at Pimlico on March 8th, 1892, said: "The County Council election had been won on a programme which had been placed before the electors mainly on the principles of what was known as the Socialist party." He also intimated that certain politicians "who might be feeling a sentiment of triumph that they had contributed to the capture of London," would probably find out by and bye that they "had themselves been captured in a way which might be extremely disagreeable to them on some future day.

pickets and punish the "blacklegs." This is the blissful condition of things which the London Progressives are trying to bring about, and some so-called Conservatives are virtually assisting them to do it. Of course if they could accomplish their insane purpose their protegé, the working man, would be worse off than he has ever been before; for in the first place working men would be attracted to London in swarms, and would thus increase competition in the labour market; and in the second place those who now employ working men, and thus enable them to subsist, would betake themselves and their capital to other places.

That part of the Progressive policy which was to take immediate effect relates to the acquisition of tramways by the Council, and in regard to this action was speedily taken. In the first place the Council asked Parliament for powers to construct a tramway over Westminster Bridge and to carry it on to the Thames Embankment, which tramway it was also to own. Powers were also sought to compel certain Tramway Companies to use this new line when it was constructed, and to enable the Council to run their carriages over the lines of these Companies. The Council also insisted that the men employed by these Companies should not work more than ten hours daily, and as tramways would be practically of little use if they were run only ten hours per day, the object clearly was to compel the Companies to employ a double shift of men. At the same time it was not intended that the wages of the men should be in any way reduced, but that the double shift of men should involve double the amount of wages. If this resulted in loss to the Companies and drove them out of the business so much the better, as the Council could then work the lines itself, and as for any deficiency that might result from the Council working the tramways, why it would be made good from the rates. It would almost appear that the real purpose of this Bill was to confer a "boon" upon labour by inserting the thin end of the wedge in regard to the reduction of hours. In thus acting the Council were simply carrying out the

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Programme of the London Liberal and Radical Union, which has already been adverted to, and which pressed the acquisition of the Metropolitan tramways as a matter of great urgency. It also insisted that the tramways, when acquired, were to be worked on the "policy already initiated," in other words, by men who should work an eight hours day, a six days week, and receive Trade Union rates of wages. On this plan two distinct sets of men would be required for the work of the tramways on week days, and also a distinct reserve of men for Sunday traffic, all of whom would be paid at Trade Union rates. Even supposing that these wages did not exhibit a tendency to increase (which they probably would), it is obvious that the expenses of working tramways on this system would be enormous, and would result in very serious loss. This loss would have to be made up from the rates, but as these are paid chiefly by the well-to-do the poor would be able to travel at the expense of the rich. Clearly this is the cunning calculation of the London Progressives.

Undoubtedly the County Council has the power to acquire the property of the Tramway Companies at the expiration of their present lease, and it is as little beyond question that Parliament contemplated the probability of their exercising this power. If they give the Tramway Companies a fair price for their property, no injustice is done so far. The point to be borne in mind, however, is that the Council proposes to acquire the tramways for an ulterior purpose, and that purpose is that it may introduce new conditions of labour more favourable to working men. Perhaps there might be no serious objection even to this if the Council were in the position of a private employer who would have to bear the cost of making this experiment. But the Council has the rates of London to fall back upon, or in other words it has the power to put its hands into the pockets of the people who pay the rates, who belong chiefly to the upper and middle classes, and from this source to make up any deficiency which Socialistic

experiments may involve. Now this is obviously unjust in two directions: first, it is unjust to the ratepayer that his money should be taken to pay working men fancy rates of wages; and in the second place it is unjust to the private employer, who is subjected to unfair competition. A member of a County Council may propose to double men's wages with a light heart, as the cost will not come out of his pocket, but to the private employer it is a very different matter. The mere proposal to acquire the tramways, or to acquire other commercial undertakings, at a just rate of payment, is not of course Socialistic; but to propose that these commercial undertakings shall be worked by a public body in the interests of one class of the community mainly, and at the cost of all other classes, is essentially Socialistic. And this is precisely what the London County Council proposes to do; from beginning to end its policy in these matters is dictated by a desire to please and serve "the Labour Vote."

Not content with adopting this policy with respect to tramways, the London County Council has also intermeddled with railways. Here, again, it is merely carrying out the mandate of the London Liberal and Radical Union, the manifesto of which instructed the Council to "press for increased facilities at cheap rates on all tramways, subways, and railways." It instituted inquiries with reference to the service of workmen's trains provided by the thirteen Companies having termini in the Metropolis, and the results of these enquiries were embodied in a series of elaborate reports, which were evidently published for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon the Railway Companies to provide more workmen's trains. Perhaps there was no great harm in this, although it is difficult to see what the London County Council has specially to do with the question. The Cheap Trains Act of 1883 did what was thought to be necessary by Parliament in the matter, though it left a large discretion to the Railway Companies, and properly so, as to how they should carry out its provisions. One

Railway Company, the Great Eastern, carries workmen at the rate of ten miles for Id., but it does it on commercial principles, as the Company can make the traffic pay at this rate. But this is owing to the fact that it serves a very large and populous district, which is almost exclusively inhabited by working men, and it does not follow that a railway differently situated can or ought to do the same thing. Nevertheless, those who are agitating for cheap travel would make every Railway Company do what the Great Eastern is doing, even though it were done at a loss; in other words, they would compel Railway Companies by Act of Parliament to carry passengers at a loss, which would simply be making every passenger a present at the expense of railway shareholders. When the Central London Railway Bill was before Parliament in March, 1891, a condition was imposed upon the Railway Company that workmen's trains should be run from Shepherd's Bush to Cornhill for about one-fourth of the fare demanded by the omnibus proprietors who cover the same distance. The Company urged that every mile of the line would cost about £600,000 to construct, but at the same time they were willing to run workmen's trains at d. per mile. This did not satisfy the Committee, who insisted that workmen should be carried the whole six miles for a penny. In addition to this the Company was ordered to run three workmen's trains each way every day. Mr. Pember, O.C., who appeared for the Railway Company, said that he thought this very hard, as it would put the Company in a worse position than any other railway, as no Company carried a passenger six miles for a penny. Mr. Bolton, M.P. actually proposed that the Company should be made to run six workmen's trains each way every day instead of three. It would appear that he desired to have the railway constructed entirely for the benefit of working men. Mr. Stuart, M.P. supported this proposal in the House of Commons, but the House by two to one refused to do anything so preposterous. Such a condition would probably have prevented the line being

made at all. Other proposals of a similar character have been made from time to time during the last two or three years whenever a Railway Bill has been discussed by Parliamentary Committees or by the House of Commons; but these need not be more particularly referred to.

From such proposals as those just noticed to free travel is not a long step, and this step the London County Council is courageously prepared to take. On October 25th, 1892, this Council considered certain recommendations of its Parliamentary Committee with regard to a new street from Holborn to the Strand. One of the recommendations of this Committee was: "That provisions be inserted in the Bill to enable the Council to re-house the remainder of the displaced working population in other districts of London or in a suburb to be selected by the Council, and to provide for such persons as may be removed to a suburb free transit by train or tram as mentioned in this Report." Mr. Westacott proposed that this particular recommendation should be omitted from the Report, on the ground that a very dangerous principle would be established by adopting it. He said: "They were now beginning to provide something free. If the principle was right to provide this free transit. if a working man was late at night and missed his last train or tram and liked to take a cab home, the Council would have to pay for it. This was the thin end of the wedge, and they would have free trains, free trams, free lodgings, and free everything else." Mr. Westacott's amendment was, however, defeated, and the recommendation of the Committee adopted. Free railway travel is a familiar Socialistic proposal; but it is somewhat startling to find a representative body in the Metropolis of the world giving to it their support. How the expense of this free travel is to be provided for, whether it is to come out of the pockets of the railway shareholders or out of the ratepayers generally, we are not told. Out of one or the other it must come, and out of whichever it comes the result will be pretty much the same in the end, inasmuch as one class of people would

be carried on the railway at the expense of another. It is one mark of your thorough-going Socialist that he never stoops to consider prosaic questions of finance, but proposes in the most jaunty fashion that this, that, and the other thing should be provided gratuitously. In principle, however, there is no essential difference between the proposal of the County Council to pay the travelling expenses of working men out of the rates, and the proposal of certain statesmen that part of the cost of workmen's dwellings should be defrayed out of public funds.\*\*

Before leaving this question of municipal action, a word or two may be said as to the competency of municipal bodies to undertake such functions as those which some of our new County Councils are anxious to assume. All the evidence that can be obtained upon the subject goes to show that whenever a public body undertakes to meddle with building speculations, or to become landed proprietors, or lodging house keepers, the door is not only opened to a good deal of patronage and corruption, but in the end the enterprise is visited with ignominious failure. The City Improvement Trust of Glasgow, upon which two millions of the ratepayers' money has been spent since 1866, is a case in point. According to a recent valuation nearly half the assets of the Trust have vanished through "depreciation." From a commercial and financial point of view the enterprise is a complete failure. Not only so, but the Glasgow Corporation, by entering the land market with unlimited capital as a buyer, disturbed and demoralized that market, and subsequently when it had to go into the market as a seller it injuriously affected the market in the

<sup>\*</sup> There is one feature in connection with the removal of working people from the central districts of London to the suburbs which is usually overlooked. Some of these suburbs have been inundated by new tenants of this description, and the result has been that the School Board precept has been increased by 50 per cent., the Poor Rates largely added to, and demands created for public parks and free libraries. All this of course means a heavy additional burden of taxation for middle-class people, who in return have the pleasure of being out-voted at every election by their new neighbours.

opposite direction. A writer on the subject, who is evidently well informed, says: "The Glasgow Improvement Trust case, in short, may serve to prove to the general public what every owner of house property, estate agent, town surveyor, and architect in the United Kingdom has known for years, that an elective municipal body is quite incapable of managing property of this description economically or profitably.\* On September 23, 1891, a deputation from the Strand Improvement Committee waited upon a Committee of the London County Council in order to urge that body to construct the proposed new road connecting Holborn with Waterloo Bridge without further delay. Mr. Keevil stated that a plan for the making of this thoroughfare had been in existence for 75 years, and Mr. Dowsett stated that if the improvement had been taken in hand by a private company it would have proved a very profitable commercial undertaking.

A Report on the Municipal Ownership of Public Works was presented to the President of the United

<sup>\*</sup> Glasgow has an admirable service of tramcars and omnibuses, provided by a private company, which carries 24,000,000 passengers annually, and pays £30,000 a year rent to the Corporation, £30,000 in wages, and £30,000 for forage, etc., besides £3,000 in rates and taxes. The Company's lease expires in 1894, and new "conditions of let" ought to have come before the Corporation in July, 1889, but they were held over until the municipal elections drew near, and at these elections many candidates, under Socialisticalabour pressure, pledged themselves to deal rigorously with the Company. The new "conditions of let" limited future leases to five years (a breach of a former agreement); the Corporation is to have power to intermeddle with the working of the lines, and to start competing lines, without giving compensation; the carrying of mails and parcels, which brought £6,000 a year, was to be discontinued; advertisements inside the cars were prohibited; the men were to have a ten hours' day, free uniform, and no overtime, at a cost to the shareholders of £13,000 a year. Altogether the conditions were so vexatious and ruinous as to suggest that they could only have been suggested by malignity towards capitalists. Yet the Corporation haughtily refused to discuss objections to, or modifications of, them. Here we have a Company which has invested an enormous capital in the faith that it would be treated justly, and has by its expenditure benefited the city. Yet it is treated so inequitably, at the instance of Socialists who are able to influence the elections to the City Council, that its shares fall from £16 to £9 in two or three years without apparent reason. The Glasgow shareholders, who knew their neighbours and saw what was coming, sold out their shares to English people before any serious depreciation took place.

States early in 1892, a summary of which appeared in Bradstreet's. Even this Report, which declared generally in favour of the public ownership of tramways and gas and water works, recommended that these enterprises should not be worked by the municipalities, but should be let to the highest responsible bidder, which course offered the best prospects from the standpoint of combined economy and efficiency. The London County Council, however, has done its best to repel the contractors who would undertake such work under its auspices. The Earl of Wemyss, in an address to the Paddington Taxpayers' Defence Association on Nov. 13, 1892, referring to the pronounced tendency of the time to transfer public works from the hands of voluntary and private enterprise to the hands of the Municipality or the State, said: "The latest ambition of the London County Council was to rebuild any part of the Metropolis without the help of a contractor, and it was evident that the so-called 'Labour Party' were on the way towards the realization of their aims when all the instruments of production would be in the hands of a labour-governed State. It was his belief that, unless bit and bridle were applied in restraint of the people who assumed the style and title of Progressives, the ratepayers would soon be cast into a sea of Socialism."\*

Before concluding this chapter it is necessary to take note of some recent utterances of certain prominent public men, which clearly indicate the trend of events. In the addresses and speeches of the candidates who asked the

Department, abolish the contractor, and conduct its own building operations.

This also will be adverted to later on.

<sup>\*</sup> At the time of writing this Mr. Tom Mann and Mr. Sidney Webb were giving evidence before the Labour Commission in support of the municipalization of the London Docks and other undertakings. Their evidence will be dealt with in a subsequent part of this work.

The London County Council has also just decided to form a new Works

On Friday, Dec. 9, 1892, the Council resolved to promote in Parliament a measure for taxation of ground values. A Liberal member of the Council describes it as "practically the thin end of the wedge of confiscation," and indignantly adds: "They even had the audacity to make it retrospective in its action.

suffrages of the constituencies at the last General Election there is abundant and striking evidence of the growth of the spirit which looks to the State for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and this is of course the distinctive note of Socialism. It is not practicable, however, to deal with these utterances; but one or two representative and illustrative facts may be given. During the contest in North Hackney in May, 1892, it was stated, in reply to the rumour that a Labour candidate would be put up, that there was no need for such a candidate, as Mr. Arrowsmith Meates had "promised all that the labour voters could wish, and a good deal more." Mr. Meates was the Liberal candidate. Mr. Bousfield, his Conservative opponent, went almost as far in the Socialistic direction. He advocated a graduated income tax, the rating of ground values, and other measures of the same kind; but not content with this he advocated something very like municipal or national workshops, which is one of the most persistent and extreme demands of the Socialists. Mr. John Morley, criticising Mr. Bousfield's address in a speech at the National Liberal Club on May 24, 1892, said: "There is one more article in this programme (Mr. Bousfield's address) which did strike me as rather a strong order for a Tory—that all those, he says, who are temporarily unemployed should be dealt with by some permanent organization, sufficiently elastic to meet all the various demands that may be made upon it. Does he really expect the electors of North Hackney to believe that a Tory party are going in for an ultra-communistic measure of national workshops? That language either means nothing, which is probably what it does mean, or else it means the ultracommunistic device of national workshops." Sir A. K. Rollit read with pride, at a meeting held at Islington in support of his candidature on July 2, 1892, the following testimonial which he had received by telegraph from Mr. Thomas Ashton, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain: "Sir A. K. Rollit is a tried and proved faithful representative. Working men may trust him. He

voted for the Miners' Eight Hours' Bill on the 23rd of March last. No candidate, Liberal or Conservative, is deserving the working class vote more than he." Another Conservative candidate, well known to the writer, issued an enormous number of handbills, on which was printed a letter from Mr. Tom Mann, recommending the said candidate to the electors. Things have reached a pretty pass when Conservative candidates have to beg testimonials from Labour agitators and Socialistic demagogues.

We may now advert to the utterances of a few prominent political leaders, who exert considerable influence upon the opinions of the country. Those on the Liberal side may be left out of the question, as, whatever may be their real views, the exigencies of their position compel them to profess sympathy with the objects and the methods of the Radical Socialists, though it may be hoped that a good many of them will, as the battle becomes closer, return to the soundness of opinion on social and economical questions which has distinguished the Liberal Party in the past.\* Conservatives, however, are naturally expected to use their influence in order to conserve those political doctrines and institutions which have been tested by experience, and have served the country in good stead; and when men who call themselves Conservatives eagerly join hands with those whose teachings and purposes are destructive, simple and honest people may well regard them as consummate hypocrites. Unfortunately, this is exactly the position of many modern "Conservatives," who, in their eagerness to gain popularity with the unthinking multitudes,

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at Sunderland, on October 21, 1891, said: "It has been the great glory of the Liberal Party to remove privileges, imposts, limitations of every kind, and to leave the individual free to make the best of his talents and opportunities." Still he is not satisfied. He now wants the Unionists and Conservatives to join in establishing new privileges and limitations, and thus take away the freedom which has been won for the individual. It may be confidently predicted that the advance of Socialism will develop new lines of cleavage between our political parties, and that both Liberals and Conservatives will be found standing shoulder to shoulder to resist a common enemy.

out-do the Radicals by encouraging demands for State help which are born in ignorance and envy and are doomed to perish in disappointment and disgrace.

Sir Edward Clarke, Q.C., who was Lord Salisbury's Solicitor-General, speaking at Doncaster on October 10, 1880, gave his benediction to the Dockers' Strike, in the success of which he said he rejoiced, as "the claim of the strikers was a fair and a reasonable one." He also stated that he regarded it as a piece of great good fortune that during the greater part of this strike Parliament was not sitting, so that the agitators who headed it were able to discharge their duties without being harassed by a tempest of mischievous questions from both sides of the House. He even commended the moderation shown by the strikers, at which he appeared to be surprised, and also "the feeling of sympathy that existed between different classes of labourers." Those who have really studied the facts of the Dock Strike, and have seen how the dockers actually behaved, and are capable of realising that this "sympathy" was a most ignoble form of selfishness, will know how to estimate such utterances as these. They will also be able to measure the almost unfathomable ignorance and to appraise the infatuated optimism which distinguish some of our public men. Not content with this, however, Sir Edward Clarke proceeded to advocate the amendment of the law of employers' liability by urging "that the simplest plan would be to abolish the doctrine of common employment," which simply means that an employer should be made responsible for all accidents which may happen to workmen in his employ, whether they are due to his fault, or to the workman's, or to any other cause whatever, and that he should be made legally liable to compensate the workman who is thus injured by causes over which he (the employer) has no control. Sir Edward Clarke has a burning zeal, somewhat rare in a lawyer, for "simplicity" in legislation, and he thinks that legislation in regard to this particular matter should be simplified by enacting "that a workman

should be entitled to recover from his employer, whoever was in fault, even if the injury he had sustained was owing to want of care on the part of his fellow servant," and, of course, even if the injury was due to want of care on his own part. This is Sir Edward Clarke's notion of Conservatism and of political justice! This gentleman is never tired of glorifying what has been done by the Conservative Party in the direction of legislative interference with industry and commerce, and his great anxiety appears to be that they should travel further along the same road. In an address at Plymouth on December 30, 1801, he said: "They did not know such a thing as the Labour Party as distinguished from the Conservative Party itself. The Conservative Party had for the last halfcentury been a Labour Party, and it was associated with the labour movement, and the improvement of the social and material condition of the working classes. The time might possibly come, though it did not seem near at hand, when the Labour Party would be not a separate and distinct organization from the Liberal Party, but part of their own organization." There has been much talk of late in certain quarters as to the probability of a Labour Party being formed within the Conservative Party, and Sir Edward Clarke's words seem to indicate that such an idea is stirring even in the minds of some Conservative leaders.

Sir John Gorst, another politician who has held high office in Conservative Governments, has, for some inscrutable reason, been set up, or has set himself up, as an authority upon the Labour Question. During the last few years he has made speeches upon this subject in nearly all parts of the country. What his position on these questions is may be judged from the fact that he advocates complete freedom of combination for workmen; legislation for the settlement of labour disputes and for preventing loss of life at sea; amendment of the Employers' Liability Act; raising the age at which child labour shall be permitted to commence from 10 to 12; free education; allotment

grants, and a Ministry of Labour. These subjects he regards as ripe for legislation, while the questions of hours and the condition of the Poor Law are, he thinks, ready for inquiry. In a speech at Chatham, in Feb., 1891, referring to the relation of the State to the working classes, he said that he thought the Government might stipulate with contractors that they should treat their workpeople fairly, and might interfere to prevent over-work in Indian factories, and restrict the hours of work in unhealthy occupations and on railways. Sir John Gorst is never tired of praising Trades Unionism and its achievements, and he thinks Conservatives should not merely set about the study of the labour question, but should "pledge themselves to a distinct programme of reforms in the conditions of labour." Among the proposals which Sir John Gorst has made recently in his various speeches are thesethat "the Government and the great municipalities who are large employers of labour should try the experiment of an eight hours day, because then if a mistake was made the people would have to bear the burden in increased rates and taxes, and if it led to increased efficiency it would be a good example to other employers of labour throughout the country;" that "both the Government and the municipalities have a perfect right to require as a condition which the contractors under them are to fulfil that they should pay proper wages, and work the people they employed for proper hours:" that "if a proper scheme could be devised by which persons interested in a particular trade could determine what hours should be worked for that locality, in principle he saw no objection to such a course"; that "an employer should be liable for any loss of life and damage to limb incurred by a workman in the ordinary pursuit of the business upon which he was employed;" and that compulsory Courts of Arbitration should be established for the settlement of trade disputes. When a Labour Commission was appointed by the Conservative Government much surprise was expressed that

Sir John Gorst was not made a member of it. The fact seems to indicate that his colleagues did not value him at his own estimate. There is reason to believe that there was some intention of appointing Sir John Gorst to be a member of the Commission, and that the intention was abandoned owing to the determined opposition of certain members of the Cabinet who could not tolerate his extreme views on such subjects as employers' liability. Another significant fact is that Sir John Gorst was not even a witness before the Commission, though it might have been supposed that a gentleman who was so ready to pose as an authority upon industrial questions on the platform would have been equally eager to give the Commission the benefit of his wisdom and knowledge. As a lawyer he no doubt understands the ordeal of cross-examination, but it would be hardly complimentary to suppose that so redoubtable a champion of Tory Democracy would be frightened at the prospect of a few searching questions from members of the Commission. It is not without significance perhaps that Sir John Gorst attended the Trades Union Congress in 1892, and that when he went to Ireland to investigate the condition of the agricultural labourers he chose Mr. Michael Austin, who is an official of a labour organization, as his guide. There is some reason to believe, however, that even Sir John Gorst's views have undergone a little modification in the direction of moderation, as is usually the case when a man's knowledge increases. At all events it is obvious from stray remarks which he now and then lets fall that he knows in his inmost heart that Parliament can do very little to really improve the conditions of the working classes. He said at Lawford on June 27th, 1892, that "he did not think that wages could be raised or hours of labour shortened by Acts of Parliament, but a good deal could be done for the people by law, and there were many things ripe for legislation in the interest of the people if Parliament had leisure to attend to them." At Ashton-under-Lyne, on Dec. 8th,

1891, he said: "The interests of Capital and Labour were to a great extent identical, and any law which impaired the efficiency of production was as disadvantageous and ruinous for the working people as it was for the capitalists. . . . If Labour took too much it would kill the goose that laid the golden eggs; and if the capitalist kept too much he would injure himself by getting poor work." At Manchester on Dec. 7th, 1891, he said: "He did not want to give a man anything, but he wanted every man who was willing to put his labour into the land to have the opportunity of getting the land into which to put his labour," which is of course a mere platitude.\*

In connection with the Labour Commission it deserves to be noticed that Mr. Michael Davitt was nominated as a member of it at the instance of Mr. Justin McCarthy, who had been asked by the Government to nominate a representative for Ireland. But that an ex-Fenian and an ex-convict should be invested with the Queen's Commission as a "trusty and well beloved" person was too much even for democratic Conservatives, and the Government declined to accept Mr. Davitt's nomination, the reason alleged being that his political views were too extreme. But as a matter of fact his views upon labour questions were no more extreme than those of several other members of the Commission. Mr. Herbert Gladstone declared, in a speech at Hackney on April 10th, 1891, that "Mr. Davitt was as fit as Lord Hartington, or anybody else, to sit upon the Commission." The refusal of the Government to accept Mr. Davitt as a member of the Commission aroused great dissatisfaction among the Irish members, who declared their intention of raising a discussion on the matter in Parliament, and their action was supported by a number of Liberal members of the House of Commons. The signifi-

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Randolph Churchill has given utterance to some very extreme views on labour questions during the last few months, but as he is no longer a considerable force either in Conservative politics or in the country generally, no detailed notice of his views is necessary. They are interesting merely as the vagaries of a whimsical and vacillating Tory Democrat.

cance of the incident lies in the fact that such a man as Michael Davitt should ever have been nominated for such a position.

Some attention may now be bestowed upon two or three striking articles which have recently appeared in the "Reviews." One of the most extraordinary of these was written by Mr. Edward Dicey, a Unionist writer of repute, which appeared in the Nineteenth Century for August, 1891. The gist of this article was that Mr. Dicey insisted that the Unionist party should, in order to maintain its own unity and existence and to preserve the Union, promise to tinker the House of Lords, gerrymander the House of Commons, bring in an Eight Hours' Bill, and adopt other similar measures, all in order to win the working-man's vote. Mr. Dicey did not appear to believe in any of these things himself, but for the purpose of securing votes on behalf of the Union he would make promises with regard to them which he knew were not likely to be fulfilled, and which, as far as they could be fulfilled at all, would be harmful both to the working-man and to the nation. To use his own eloquent simile, he would induce the ass (the workingman elector) to jog along by holding over his ears a stick with a bunch of carrots (the aforesaid promises): "The carrots may never be reached, but the donkey will run after them notwithstanding." Mr. Dicey evidently took some other people to be asses as well as the working-man; but as nothing more has been heard of his article and nothing has come out of it, we may hope, for the credit of Liberal Unionism, that he stood almost alone in making his cynical suggestions. Nevertheless, a good many other Unionists have spoken in a way which indicates that they are not averse to dangling the bunch of carrots before the donkey if he can only be made to travel their road and subserve their ends.

In the Nincteenth Century for November, 1892, there appeared an article on "The Labour Question," by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who, besides being one of the most

eminent and vigorous and influential politicians of the country, has succeeded Lord Hartington as leader of the Liberal Unionist party—a party which, in proportion to its numbers perhaps contains more of the intelligence and the wealth of the country than any other party. In this article Mr. Chamberlain put forward a new Programme, of which the main features are these:—

I. Legislative enforcement of proposals for shortening the hours of work for miners and others engaged in dangerous and specially laborious employments.

2. Legal enforcement of trade regulations for the

earlier closing of shops.

3. Establishment of tribunals of arbitration in trade disputes.

- 4. Compensation for injuries received in the course of employment, and to widows and children in case of death, whenever such injuries or death are not caused by the fault of the person killed or injured.
  - 5. Old age Pensions for the Deserving Poor.

6. Limitation and control of pauper immigration.

7. Increased powers and facilities to Local Authorities to make town improvements, and prepare for the better housing of the working classes.

8. Power to Local Authorities to advance money and to afford facilities to the working classes to become the owners of their dwellings.

This programme is the most advanced, or in other words the most reactionary, programme that has ever been put forward in this country by the leader of a respectable and intelligent party. It is saturated through and through with the spirit and principles of Socialism, and indeed is the most daring and dangerous attack upon private property and upon the liberty of the subject which has ever been made, either in England or in any other civilized country, by a man of Mr. Chamberlain's rank. In the course of the article Individualists are sneered at as "the Gradgrinds of the present day," although it is admitted that the enormous

and marvellous developments of intelligence and prosperity which have been made in this country during the last fifty years have been made under, and are due to, the principles of Individualism; the old Trades Unionism is depreciated and the new Trades Unionism magnified. Socialism, pure and simple, of the Continental order, is shown to be ridiculous and impracticable; but State Socialism is commended as a wise and necessary political development, though wherein State Socialism differs essentially from simple Socialism it is impossible to discern. Mr. Chamberlain advocates an Eight Hours Bill for miners; the compulsory early closing of shops; the amendment of the law of employers' liability by the abolition of the doctrine of common employment; old age pensions; and the extension of the powers of municipalities in the direction of providing employment and dwellings for the working classes. Some of these subjects will be dealt with more in detail in subsequent portions of this work. The point to be emphasized here is that the leader of one of our great political parties is actively advocating the adoption of a programme of a more extreme and Socialistic character than has ever before emanated from a statesman of position and authority. The fact clearly proves that we are advancing towards Socialism by leaps and bounds. This programme could not be carried out without the most violent and arbitrary interference with the incontestable rights of the individual and an alarming extension of the sphere of State action. Such an invasion of inalienable human rights as is here proposed is as immoral as it would be dangerous.\*

<sup>\*</sup> An article appeared in the Contemporary Review for the same month, November, 1892, by Mr. William Mather, M.P., in which he proposes a scheme for regulating the working hours of miners by the principle of Local Option, which principle, be it observed, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir John Gorst also accept. As the plan of Mr. Mather will be fully criticised in a subsequent chapter, nothing further need be said in regard to it here. But of course it is one indication of the Socialistic tendencies with which this chapter deals. It may be added that Lord Cross said at Stratford on May 24th, 1892, that "he was entirely in favour of any movement under which persons connected with any trade could say that they would work eight hours a day and no more."

All this may well suggest the reflection—What are we coming to? What with the violation of contracts and the confiscation of property in Ireland; an enormous expenditure of public money for the purposes of relieving parents of the primary obligation of providing for the education of their children and of setting people up in the small farming business; and all this on the part of Conservatives as well as Radicals; and then on the top of it all, schemes for old age pensions, and what not, it is difficult (or rather it is not difficult) to discover where we stand or whither we are going. The situation is both anomalous and dangerous. No very far-reaching mischief has perhaps been done as yet; but we are on an inclined plane, sliding rapidly downwards towards the abyss of Socialism. It is high time that our political leaders pulled up in their perilous career, and set their faces like a flint against the revolutionary torrents which threaten to sweep away so much of what is precious and vital in our national life and institutions. If they decline to do this and continue to attempt the impossible task of at once swimming with those currents and yet moderating the force of their flow, they will, by-and-bye, find themselves at the bottom of the gulf and their parties dashed to pieces, while the country will be left at the mercy of a pack of Socialistic wolves.

The strain of Socialism which runs through the utterances of so many of our politicians is one of the most ugly and disquieting features of the time. It is true that these Socialistic ideas are vague, intangible, nebulous, floating about in the upper air, and incapable of being reduced to rational and practicable forms; but they are all the more dangerous for that. The spectacle witnessed during the General Election, of a few hundred men cramming their hundreds of thousands of hearers with ideas which they themselves have never half digested or understood, is not calculated to make one very hopeful as to the future. Ignorance can only produce fruit after its kind. We have had a perfect deluge of Socialistic legislation in

Ireland during the last dozen years, and it has been shown that the results of all these measures have simply been that the landlords have been crippled while the tenants have received no real benefits, and that the country has been plunged into turmoil and anarchy; that the law has been defied and morality trampled under foot; that the idle, the dishonest, and the criminal classes have triumphed at the expense of the industrious, the virtuous, and the lawabiding; that liberty has been destroyed, property rendered worthless, and religion contemned; and, finally, that the capitalists of the world for years shunned Ireland as though it were plague-stricken (as indeed it was). Yet with this object-lesson before our very eyes, we are invited, and by Conservative as well as Radical politicians, to enter upon a series of Socialistic experiments in Great Britain with regard to Capital and Labour, the land question, the housing of the poor, old age pensions, the supply of gas and water, and the municipalization of docks, tramways, railways, and other public undertakings. Such experiments can here and now produce only such results as have been produced in other times and countries by similar experiments, and those results have been uniformly disastrous.

The strategy of the Socialists is to work by underground means. "The thin end of the wedge" policy is in high favour with them. Their tactics now are to induce County Councils, municipal corporations, and even the House of Commons itself, to adopt measures of State Socialism such as those which have been adverted to, the effects of which would be to limit the area of private enterprise and to extend the area of State action and control. The taking of docks, tramways, water works and gas works out of the hands of the present proprietors, and placing them under municipal control, with the ulterior object of joining hands with Trade Unions in order to increase wages and to force from the Legislature an Eight Hours day and other similar measures, and the insertion of provisos in contracts to the effect that the contractor shall

pay Trades Union rates of wages, are Socialistic measures, inasmuch as the principle involved is that the general taxpayer shall be mulcted in order that some working men may obtain higher wages, and more favourable conditions of labour generally, than they could secure in a fair and open market. If these measures were to be carried, and the State were to fix the hours and the wages of labour, they would not only be detrimental to the community at large but specially injurious to working men. Yet our politicians, instead of pointing out the true value and effect of these proposals, indirectly encourage them in order to secure the working men's votes, or rather the votes of the ignorant and unthinking among workmen. The pliability of modern politicians, and their readiness to yield to Socialistic pressure, are perhaps more serious in themselves than anything that has been actually carried out, because they are symptoms of the fatal inability of democratic statesmen to make a stand for principle. Socialism is not the less virulent because it is insidious, and its ultimate effects will not be the less deadly because they are brought about slowly and gradually instead of violently and rapidly. The Fabian Society and its sympathisers, who aim at permeating the political thought of the day with Socialistic ideas, and thus stealthily undermining the principles which lie at the base of civilized society, constitute a much graver danger to the community than the revolutionists who preach sedition and violence in Trafalgar Square. The effects of this change of policy on the part of the Socialists may be plainly discerned in the platform utterances of our politicians, and in the manifestoes and programmes which are continually being put forth by our political organizations. The Times, commenting upon the "Newcastle Programme," on Dec. 10th, 1891, said: "Individual freedom, individual effort, the abolition of restrictions and obstacles, are no longer the objects for which Radicalism is striving. The Newcastle Programme is saturated with ideas of limitation and compulsion, the despotism of the majority, and the meddlesome

action of the State." These are precisely the ideas and the aims of the Socialists, and they have now become the ideas and the aims of our political parties.

A cardinal fact in connection with recent developments of the Labour Movement is that Socialism is endeavouring to "nobble" Trades Unionism and to convert it into an instrument for the accomplishment of its own ends. With what success it has pursued this object may be judged from the fact that John Burns is able to boast that, out of the sixty resolutions passed at the Trades Union Congress in 1890, forty-five were of a Socialistic character, and from the further fact that the proposal in favour of a legislative Eight Hours day, which was defeated at the Dundee Congress in 1889 by 88 to 63, was carried at Liverpool in 1890 by 193 to 155. Here we clearly perceive the hand of the New Trades Unionism. These are its triumphs, and they are as important and significant in their way as the success of the Dock Strike. The Socialists mean to either bend Trades Unionism to their purpose or to break it. Appearances indicate that they will succeed in doing the former; for they have already managed to discredit Trades Unionism of the old type in the eves of working-men as reactionary. Trades Unionists who are not in sympathy with Socialism are nowadays regarded with pity and contempt by the majority of their fellow members. Socialists conceived and carried out the Dock Strike, and the other similar strikes which have succeeded it. Never should it be forgotten that the Dock Strike was virtually originated at a Socialist Congress in Switzerland, and that it was talked of for days upon the Continent before anything was known of it in this country. Friedrich Engels, the successor of Karl Marx, telegraphed to the strike leaders:-"I envy you your work in the Dock Strike. It is the movement of the greatest promise we have had for years, and I am proud and glad to have lived to see it. If Marx had lived to witness this!" Mr. Norwood, who conducted the fight at the docks on behalf of the shareholders, said

that he respected old Trade Union Leaders like Mr. Burt and Mr. Howell, and that if they had had men of that kind to deal with, they could have got on tolerably well, even under Trades Unionism. He added—"But the Socialistic Trade Union man, I greatly fear, has very different views than those of the mere amelioration of the masses and a fair consideration of the position of the employers. Has he not ulterior schemes, vague and visionary schemes, of social and political revolution behind him? I doubt if he cares very much for the general prosperity of the workmen and their employers."

What we are coming to may be judged from what took place recently in France during two short days. A measure was passed by the Chamber, and was only stopped by the Senate, which would have made an employer liable to three months' imprisonment for dismissing a workman on account of his belonging to a Trades Union. M. Constans, Minister of the Interior, went out of his way to induce the glass blowers to take back two ringleaders whose dismissal was the signal for a strike. An attack was made in the Chamber upon the Paris and Lyons Railway Company, because they had dismissed an official who, contrary to his own promise and to the rules of the Company, had become a candidate for the Municipal Council. M. Guyot, Minister of Public Works, promised that such a thing should not occur again, and he pressed the Company to take the man back. Even all this has been outdone by the lack of vigour which was shown by the French Government in connection with the Carmaux Strike.

A late German Ambassador to the Court of St. James is said to have affirmed that European diplomatists believe it to be the destiny of England to be the first nation to succumb to State Socialism. Two or three years ago we should have laughed the very idea to scorn; but the matter wears a different complexion now. Socialism, thanks to the stupidity of a portion of the British public, and to the supineness of the British authorities, has of late won more

than one remarkable victory. It is now arming itself for further exploits. There is serious trouble ahead. A dead set is to be made against the capitalist and against property in all its forms.

Clearly Herbert Spencer is right in denouncing the error, which he says pervades the thinking of all parties, that Social evils admit of immediate and radical measures, and when he exclaims—" Socialism seems like a wave of madness passing over the country."

The two great bastions upon which the greatness of this nation, and of every other civilized country, is built, are the liberty of the individual and the security of property; and the very breath of that liberty, the very foundation of that security, are those laws and institutions which have been bequeathed to us by the wisdom of our ancestors, and tested by the experience of centuries, and which would be ruthlessly torn up and destroyed by the political insanity which describes itself as Socialism.

## BOOK II.

PROPOSED LEGAL AND POLITICAL SOLUTIONS

OF LABOUR PROBLEMS;

OR THE

RELATIONS OF POLITICS AND LAW

TO CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

"Labour may be congratulated on the manifest desire now exhibited by society to accord to it fair, and even liberal, remuneration. That this may to some extent be attributed to the stand which workmen have by combination and organization made in defence of their interests, may be fairly conceded. To combination for such legitimate objects no reasonable person can, or does, object; but when trade organizations are used for the purpose of imposing arbitrary restrictions on labour, of depriving the workman of his right as a free citizen to work how and as he pleases; or of arbitrarily reducing the hours of work without a corresponding diminution in wages, such as may be dictated by the law of supply and demand, then it seems to me that the real friend of the working man is not his leader who preaches such pernicious doctrines, opposed alike to political economy and common sense, but rather he who bravely warns him of blind leaders of the blind, who, be their motive what it may, are luring him to inevitable and certain disaster . . . That the unsound and unwise policy pursued by the Trade Unionism of to-day, if persisted in, will result in permanently injuring the trade of the country, I firmly believe. The agitation for the statutory restriction of labour to eight hours, or any number of hours arbitrarily fixed, conflicts with the principle of freedom which we have always, and rightly, regarded with pride; it is repulsive to our inborn feelings, and would make slaves of freemen. . . No Trade Union, Parliament, or Power has a right to restrain the energy or restrict the will of any individual . . . Would that we could apply to working men the words of Matthew Arnold:-

"In their own tasks all their powers pouring.
"These attain the mighty life you see."

A mighty life! because free from pernicious limitations, and characterized by the ceaseless concentration of power and energy which constitute the only real high road to success. A mighty life! because inspired by teaching, which is Divine, to work,—and work with might,—while it is called to-day. When workmen burst the fetters with which Trade Unionism is surely binding them; when they return to the good old days of freedom of contract and earnest work; when they recognize, what is as old as the hills, that "in all labour there is profit; but the talk of the lips"—of which we hear so much in these later days—" tendeth only to penury;" then—but not till then—may they expect to emerge from the dismal shade of progressive Socialism, and walk in the path of real progress."

J. H. MACVICAR ANDERSON, Esq.,

President of the Royal Institution of British Architects.—

"The Times," Nov. 8th, 1892.

## CHAPTER I.

## ON THE LIMITATIONS OF LAW.

THE purpose of this chapter is to show that legislation is powerless to do much for the weal of the working classes, and that consequently it is a vain thing to trust in it. Laws passed by Parliaments are not the only laws, nor are they the most powerful laws, which exist in this world. Moral laws, which are ingrained within the very constitution of things, and written deep down in the nature of man himself, have to be reckoned with. Almost as fundamental in their character, and as certain in their operation and effects, are the social and economic laws which prevail in a highly civilized community, and these have to be reckoned Political Economy, which is now so much derided by flippant and shallow persons, is merely the scientific statement of the results of experience; it is an exposition and classification of what is perceived to be in existence around us. Whatever may be said in its disparagement, it is, in the main, as true in its nature, as imperious in its dictates, as invulnerable in its strength, and as inevitable and unerring in its effects, as the Moral Law Just as it is impossible to conceive of a condition of things under which theft and murder would not be crime, or adultery would not be sin, or under which two and two would not make four, but something different from four, so is it impossible to conceive of a condition of things under which commodities, including the work of labourers, would be dear if they were superabundant, or cheap if they were abnormally scarce. The slightest observation and reflection on the part of any man of average intelligence would suffice to convince him that the production and distribution of the

commodities which are needed to feed and clothe, to refine and amuse, the people of a civilised community, are regulated by laws which, although they have never been passed by any human Legislature, and although they are invisible and silent in their operation, are as real and effective as are those laws which govern the inmost life of rational beings, and much more real and effective than any laws which can be devised and enforced by human authority. The supply of provisions, for example, to London, the largest city in the world, is as directly subject to the control of law as is the compass of the mariner on board the ship, or the courses of the planets themselves. Why is it that the five millions of people in London receive every day practically what is sufficient for their needs, no more and no less? Why is there not sometimes a plethora of food, and at other times a famine? Simply because the law of supply and demand controls the market, attracting precisely what is required in sufficient, and not much more than sufficient, quantities, and sternly repelling what is not needed at all. If the laws of Parliament come into conflict with these mysterious but mighty laws of Nature, that is to say, laws of God, it is the laws of Parliament which will have to go to the wall. In Sociology and Economics, no less than in Morals, men will find that it is a vain thing to contend against God.

No delusion is more common nowadays than that which supposes that a Legislature, by its vote, can override and counteract the great laws which govern human character and conduct. This delusion permeates Socialistic teaching of all kinds, and traces of it may be found in the utterances and writings of men who would not describe themselves as Socialists, but who have certainly come under the influence of Socialistic heresies. The common people are being taught by "teachers" who are almost as ignorant as themselves, to look to the State as much as possible and to themselves as little as possible; whereas the true teaching is that they should look to their own brains and energy primarily, and to the help of the State only secondarily. As a matter of

fact, what the State can do for any man, even at the best, is next to nothing. It is not the function of the State to do things for a man, but only to place him in a position where he can do things for himself. It can guarantee his liberty, protect him in the possession of his property, guard him against molestation, and in this way give him a fair field for the employment of whatever powers he possesses, and this is about all it can do. The State may, as it is now doing in hundreds of thousands of cases, ensure to a child a good education, and give him a fair start in life, but when once he has got that start grandmother State can do very little more for him, and she must leave him to run alone. This is the condition of things which has been ordained by a wise Providence, and to this condition the nature of man is adjusted; to adapt it to any other condition it must be violently wrenched, and even then it will soon assert its inherent tendency and revert to its normal condition. No Socialistic system has ever permanently established itself on this earth, and no such system will ever succeed in so establishing itself. Socialists are simply engaged in a futile effort to change the constitution and course of nature. Pity it is that so much ability, energy, and enthusiasm, and genuine and generous love of the race, should be devoted to an end so palpably artificial and unattainable.

It is not surprising that working men, under the influence of such teaching as that above referred to, should devoutly believe that their salvation should come by law through the State rather than by liberty without the State. Let us, however, test the matter practically for one moment. What are the things which the working classes most ardently desire at the present moment? If we may judge from the utterances of those who profess to be their leaders, from the literature which is supposed to give voice to their wants and wishes, and to the demands which are put forward in connection with strikes, the things they most desire to obtain are these three: (I) Higher wages; (2) Shorter hours; (3) Some provision for their old age. Now, within proper

limits, these demands are reasonable enough, and if, within such limits, the working classes can secure what they ask, well and good. But the question is: By what methods are these things to be obtained?

Take first the question of wages. Where do wages come from, and of what do they consist? According to Adam Smith "the funds which are destined to the payment of wages" are of two kinds: first—"The revenue which is over and above what is necessary for maintenance; and, secondly, the stock which is over and above what is necessary for the employment of their masters." He explains this by stating that a man who has a greater income than is required to maintain his own family employs some of his surplus income in maintaining servants; and that when an independent workman has a greater stock than is sufficient to purchase the materials of his own work, and to maintain himself till he can dispose of it, he uses the surplus in order to employ journeymen that he may make a profit by their work. The old idea of political economists, that wages are drawn from a fixed fund, is now ridiculed as absurd. But is it absurd? It is obvious that a man who has no surplus income cannot employ servants, and that a man who has no surplus stock cannot employ workmen, and these surpluses of income or stock, although they cannot perhaps be regarded as fixed in the sense that they do not fluctuate, are certainly fixed in the sense that they have been appropriated to pay the wages of labour. The employers of the United Kingdom require so much labour during the present year, and in order to pay for that labour they have set apart a certain proportion of their resources, and the portion so set apart may certainly be legitimately regarded as a wages fund. These employers will repeat the same process next year, and so on year by year afterwards.

What proportion of his means an employer shall pay in wages to those who work for him is determined, not by his own caprice or by the demands of the workman, but by the standard of the value of wages which has been fixed by

economic laws, which standard is fixed independently of both the individual employer and the individual workman. As Adam Smith says: "The money price of labour is necessarily regulated by two circumstances: the demand for labour and the prices of the necessaries and conveniences of life."

It is obvious that the State as such has, and can have, nothing to do with determining how much money employers are to devote to the payment of wages, or with determining the amount of labour which is available to supply the demand for labour, or with determining the price of "the necessaries and the conveniences of life." It follows that the State, were it to undertake to decide what wages should be paid to labour, would be stepping out of its legitimate sphere, and acting in an arbitrary manner, and by so acting it would do an infinite amount of mischief which would be compensated by no good effect whatever. A more harebrained proposition was never made than that wages should be fixed by the State. It is absurdly impracticable, so impracticable indeed as to be a mere chimera. It could never be carried into effect under such conditions as exist in this country, and from that point of view it might be dismissed as the wild dream of a set of fanatics. Nevertheless, as multitudes of working men believe that it is practicable for the State to do this, and intend as far as they have power to make the State do it, it is necessary to meet it with argument as though it were a rational proposition.

There is nothing new in the suggestion that the State should regulate wages, although some of those who are advocating it speak of it as if it were a heaven-sent revelation. The experiment has been tried in this country as well as in other countries, and it has lamentably failed. To advocate the fixing of wages by the State is not progress; it is plunging back into the darkness of the Middle Ages. In ancient times wages were fixed both by general laws which applied to the whole kingdom and by special orders of the justices in each county. Dr. Burn, who is quoted by

Adam Smith as an authority on such matters, says: "By the experience of above 400 years it seems time to lay aside all endeavours to bring under strict regulations what in its own nature seems incapable of minute limitation; for if all persons in the same kind of work were to receive equal wages, there would be no emulation, and no room left for industry or ingenuity." As late as the time of George III., an Act was passed which, under heavy penalties, prohibited all master tailors in London, and within five miles around it, from giving, and also their workmen from accepting, more than 2s. 7½d. a day, except in the case of a general mourning. Of this Act the workmen complained, not so much with regard to the wages which it enacted they were to receive, as with regard to its effect in placing the incompetent and lazy workman upon an equality with the ablest and most industrious. Singularly enough, however, modern workmen support Trades Unions, although they have precisely the same effect as had the 8th of George III. in placing good and bad workmen upon a common level. It will be seen, therefore, that the experiment of fixing wages by the State has been tried in this country for over 400 years, and, as Adam Smith puts it, "experience seems to show that law can never regulate wages properly, though it has often pretended to do so."

But this is not all. If wages are to be regulated by the State, they can be reduced as well as raised, though the workman, in contemplating the action of the State in this matter, seldom reflects that it would cut two ways. Perhaps modern workmen imagine that they are so omnipotent in political affairs that they could compel the State to raise wages and prevent it from lowering them; but therein they imagine a vain thing. Again, if the State is to dictate to the capitalist how he is to spend his money, which it would virtually be doing if it told him what amount of wages he has to pay his workmen, why should not the State go further and fix the price of bread, of meat, and of all other articles of food, and of clothing as well? Unless the State did this

its work would only be half done, for it is obvious that the value of a man's wages depends upon the quantity of commodities that they will purchase. The purchasing power of a sovereign may be 25 per cent. greater when things are cheap than it is when they are dear. If, therefore, the State is to regulate wages in the interest of the workman, it must also proceed to regulate the price of those goods which the workman requires for himself and his family, so that his wages may go as far as possible. This also has been tried in our own country, for attempts were made to fix the price of provisions and clothing, and thus regulate the profits of merchants and shopkeepers. The Assize of Bread, which was a relic of the ancient usage referred to, existed down to the time of the Georges. And certainly it was quite as sensible a proceeding to fix the price of bread and other provisions as to fix the rate of wages. If it were possible for the latter to be again practised in this country it would almost certainly have to be accompanied by the former, as was the case in ancient times.

The history of those ancient times is fraught with instruction for us who live to-day. However much our environment may differ outwardly from that of our forefathers we really live under the same moral and economical laws as they did, and the operation of those laws must necessarily produce the same effects now as it did then. Time was-and that not so long ago, measured by the life of the nation—when the labourer had no rights whatever in this country. The most primary and fundamental right of all, namely, personal liberty, was denied to him. He was a slave; at first a slave in the most literal and absolute sense, and afterwards a slave with a modicum of the rights of a free man. In those times the farm labourer and the domestic servant were always, while even the skilled artisan was sometimes, the absolute property of their masters; they were bought, sold, and let without any regard to their own desire or will, just like an ox or a horse; they produced nothing whatever for themselves, and their children were

born to the same miserable heritage. It took centuries to transform the English slave, the fruit of whose labour was entirely appropriated by his owner, into a free workman, who could freely exchange his labour with capital for his own advantage. During the transition period represented by those centuries the grossest ignorance prevailed on all economical questions and the most monstrous injustice was continually perpetrated by the strong at the expense of the weak. The great truth that the interests of all classes of producers is essentially one and the same was then but dimly perceived, and the results were that one class would make use of the most unscrupulous and unjust means to benefit itself at the expense of other classes, and that the Legislature exercised an arbitrary power which created a general sense of insecurity, and therefore paralysed the energies of national industry. Labour was not free; capital was not secure. Security is not only the first right of capital, but it is the one condition which is indispensable to its stability and its fertility; likewise freedom is not only the primary right of the labourer, but it is the one condition which is essential to the constant exertion and the efficient development of his powers. These two rights, the security of capital and the freedom of industry, will, under righteous laws and conditions, be interchangeable; the capitalist and the labourer will both meet each other as free men; and the capitalist will be able to freely exchange his capital for labour, and the workman to freely exchange his labour for capital. Where this equilibrium exists as the result of freedom both the labourer and the capitalist are in possession of their fundamental rights. All the conditions that are necessary to make capital productive and labour efficient are present; freedom balanced by security will stimulate production to the utmost; production will lead to accumulation; and accumulation to exchange. Experience shows that under slavery, when labourers can be deprived of all property in their labour, idleness, ignorance and incompetency abound, and general industry is enfeebled to the

point of paralysis. No man will work willingly when he is to be deprived of the power of disposing of the fruits of his labour at his own will and in his own way; no man will exert himself to work skilfully when the same scanty pittance is doled out to all, without any regard to the difference in their abilities, their knowledge, and their energy. Under such a condition of things there can be no accumulation on a large scale, no security for what is accumulated, and therefore no real wealth for anybody. Poverty will be the inevitable lot of oppressor and oppressed alike. To violate the freedom of industry is to destroy the security of property. While slavery existed in this country, either in its absolute form or in the more modified form of villeinage, there was no such thing as freedom of exchange between capital and labour. As the necessary results capital accumulated slowly, and labour was unproductive; the land did not produce the tenth part of a modern crop; and the country was constantly on the verge of famine.

In order to remedy these evils, which really flowed from laws which were morally unjust, and which therefore violated sound economical principles, other unjust laws were passed which merely aggravated these evils instead of removing them. When the woollen manufacture was introduced into England in the reign of Edward III. it was carried on exclusively by foreigners; but as the trade extended new hands were wanted, and the bondmen of the villages began to run away from their masters and took refuge in the towns. If the slave could conceal himself from the pursuit of his lord for a year and a day he was entitled to his freedom for ever. The desertion of the villages by many of the bondmen emboldened those who remained behind to demand their natural rights. The nobility began to complain that the villeins refused to perform their accustomed services, and that the corn remained uncut upon the ground. In the 25th year of Edward the Third's reign, in 1351, an Act was passed which recognised for the first time the class of free labourers. Not until then was it admitted by English law that a labourer might be a free exchanger. Into his full rights as a free exchanger the labourer did not, however, enter until centuries afterwards. Through centuries of English history men were compelled to work by law, to continue at work, to receive a fixed price for their work, to remain in one place, and to follow one employment. While such oppressions and restrictions existed the labourer could not be really free; as labour was not free property could not be secure; as property was not secure nor labour free the two could not unite heartily for the purpose of production; and where capital and labour could not cordially co-operate in producing there could be no certain and rapid accumulation of wealth.

In the year 1349 England was ravaged by an awful pestilence, which destroyed the people by multitudes. The result was a scarcity of labour, and in harmony with the natural operation of the great principle of supply and demand, the remaining labourers refused to work unless they were paid at double rates. In 1351 the "Statute of Labourers" was passed to regulate wages. This statute decreed what should be paid to hay makers and reapers and threshers; to carpenters and masons; and tilers and plasterers. If a man could get work at the wages stated he was not allowed to quit his own village, and labourers and artisans who escaped from one district to another were subject to imprisonment. In 1360 the Statute of Labourers was confirmed and new penalties were attached to it, one of which was that workmen who left their homes were to be burned with the letter F in the forehead. While the wages of labour were thus fixed by statute the price of wheat fluctuated in a most extraordinary manner, sometimes being as low as 2s. a quarter and at other times as high as £1 6s. 8d. In 1376 the House of Commons complained that masters were compelled to give their servants higher wages to prevent them running away, and that the country was covered with staf-strikers and sturdy rogues, who robbed in every direction. The villages were almost deserted by

the labourers fleeing to the towns, where the absurd restrictions of the law were to a great extent evaded, and to prevent the total decay of agriculture labourers were forbidden to move from place to place without letters patent,\* and any labourer who could not produce such a letter was to be put in the stocks and imprisoned. If a boy had been brought up to the plough till he was 12 years of age he was compelled to remain a farm labourer all his life. In 1406 it was enacted that all children of parents who did not possess land should be brought up in the occupation of their parents. It is obvious that where such laws as these prevailed there could be no really productive industry, no accumulation of wealth.

It is found in most departments of human conduct that when one wrong step has been taken it is necessary to take another wrong step in order to repair the consequences of the first one, and that instead of making matters better this second wrong step really makes them worse, and in turn necessitates still other wrong steps being taken. So our legislators found it to be with respect to their attempts to over-ride the laws of Nature by the laws of man. Having decided by Act of Parliament what wages industry was to receive, they next found themselves compelled to determine how the workmen should spend their scanty earnings. 1363 a statue was passed to compel workmen, and all persons not worth 40s., to wear the coarsest cloth called russet, and to be served once a day with meat, or fish, and the offal of other victuals.† In order to preserve something like a balance between the wages of labour and the prices of provisions, the magistrates were empowered to make proclamation twice a year, according to the price of commodities, how much every workman should receive. Naturally the

<sup>\*</sup> The Statute 5th Elizabeth compelled artificers, under the penalty of the stocks, to assist in getting in the harvest.

 $<sup>\</sup>dagger$  In 1461 the King of France issued an ordinance decreeing that good and fat meat should be sold to the rich, while the poor should be allowed to buy only the lean and putrid.

system did not work well. In 1496 a new Statute of Wages was passed, the preamble of which recited that the former statutes had not been executed because "The remedy by the said statutes is not very perfect." This new statute endeavoured to fix wages by iron-bound rules: a new scale of wages was adopted for all trades; the hours of work and of rest were prescribed and regulated by law; and in order to prevent labour being transferred from one district to another heavy penalties were enforced. A fixed scale of wages necessitated a fixed scale for regulating the prices of provisions. A statute passed in the reign of Henry VIII. says: "That dearth, scarcitie, good cheape, and plentie of cheese, butter, capons, hens, chickens, and other victuals necessary for man's sustenance happeneth, riseth, and chanceth on so many and divers occasions that it is very hard and difficile to put any certain price to any such

things."

This seems to show that the blind law-givers of that time were at length beginning to open their eves to the absurdity and futility of their proceedings. Nevertheless, they went on making new scales, and passing new laws, which, whatever their intention, had the effect of crippling both industry and capital, and thus prevented them from joining hands to produce an abundance which, fairly distributed in the shape of profits and wages, would have contributed to the prosperity of every class in the nation. The justices, upon whom was laid the duty of maintaining a just balance between wages and prices, complained both of the onerous nature of their task and of the impossibility of properly carrying it out. The statute, 5th Elizabeth, acknowledged that these laws "could not be carried in execution without the great grief and burden of the poor labourer and hired man." In 1601 what is known as the Poor Law was passed, and it was passed firstly for the support of the impotent and aged poor, and secondly for the purpose of setting the unemployed labourers to work. The iniquitous laws which have been referred to created a host

of paupers, who had to be maintained at the expense of the owners of property. The history of those times impressively illustrates the utter inability of law to properly regulate the wages of labour, the prices of food, or other matters of the like kind; while it also proves that the mere attempt to do these things on the part of the Legislature is the surest way to render labour unproductive and property insecure, and thus to cut the nerves of national industry and dry up the springs of national wealth.

There is nothing new under the sun. The nostrums which are now being proposed by Socialistic demagogues as a cure for the ills of labour have all been proposed before, and tried, and this in our own country: and they have ignominiously failed. Hundreds of years ago the State tried the experiment of regulating the hours of labour; having intermeddled with the hours of labour it felt constrained to interfere with the wages of labour; having tried to fix the hours and the wages of labour, it proceeded to determine how the labourer was to spend his wages; with what results we have seen. Having been delivered from this Egyptian darkness and oppression by the light of knowledge and the power of truth, it might have been hoped that we had for ever left such folly and tyranny behind us. But lo! the errors of 400 years ago are now proclaimed to us as heaven-sent truths, and we are exhorted, with a confidence which could only be born of ignorance, to do the very things which our forefathers tried to do and failed to accomplish. Perhaps this would not matter very much if the government and the destiny of the country had not been placed in the hands of Ignorance. Again we hear clamorous voices demanding that Parliament should decide how long men are to work and interfere with the freedom of the workman in various other directions in the most arbitrary manner. It may be taken for granted that if the State does take upon itself to regulate the hours of labour it will find, as it has aforetime, that it cannot stop here, but must go forward and deal with wages as well. And if the State is

again to decide what amount of wages a workman is to receive weekly, what is there to hinder it from again deciding how he is to spend those wages? What is sauce for the capitalist is sauce for the labourer; and if the capitalist is to be compelled to spend his money, not according to his own inclination, but according to the decree of the State, the workman must submit to the same subordination. In that case the State might decide that the 6,500,000 adult males of the working classes, in spending 19s. a year each upon tobacco, are making an unwise and hurtful use of their money, and on that account prohibit them from so spending it in the future. The working class families of this country have each an average income of £93 per annum, and of this they spend £20 on luxuries, and of this £20 about £17 10s. is for intoxicating drink and tobacco alone, including the taxes thereon. While the working classes spend over onefifth of their incomes on luxuries they spend on the average less than one-tenth of their income, or £8, on house rent. The State, if it ever came to fix wages, might decide that these wages should be so spent as to provide £20 for house rent and £8 for luxuries, including beer and tobacco. How would the working man like to have the State intermeddle in his affairs in this way, saying how much he is to receive for his labour, how much he is to pay in rent, how much he is to spend on luxuries and amusements, and what price he is to pay for his bread and bacon, tea and sugar, and all other commodities. The whole thing is preposterously absurd. But it would not be more ridiculous for the State to do the other things here specified than for it to fix the rate of wages. The State, properly understood, has no control whatever over the amount of money which is available for the payment of wages, and the power to increase or decrease that amount is altogether beyond its scope. It follows logically that this domain is one from which the State should be rigorously excluded.

With regard to the question of hours, the working classes of this country would be acting wisely if they agreed

to "let well alone." The hours of labour for adult workmen are as short in this country as is consistent either with the continued commercial prosperity of the nation or with the welfare of the working classes themselves. During the last fifty years the hours of labour have been shortened by 20 per cent. (although wages have increased 100 per cent. within the same period), and the average number of hours now worked by our factory population is  $56\frac{1}{2}$  per week, while artisans work only 51 hours per week. No reasonable man can say that these hours of labour are excessive. Even those who work  $56\frac{1}{2}$  hours per week have 21 hours of actual leisure weekly, besides Sundays, and in addition to this they have about a fortnight's holiday per annum. We hear a great deal of sentimental nonsense nowadays to the effect that the working classes ought to have more leisure to improve their minds, elevate their characters, and refine their lives. But are they capable of making a wise use of any additional leisure? The best answer to this question is to ask how they use the leisure which they have at present. If they do not make a wise use of the 21 hours per week which they enjoy now, they would not make a wise use of 42 hours were it given to them. It is well for them, if they only knew it, that they should work as many hours as they do now. At all events there is no likelihood of their hours of labour being reduced at present. In France and Germany textile factories are running 28 per cent. longer time than our own, and machine factories 15 per cent. longer; in Austria the excess is 18 per cent. for textile factories, and 27 for machine factories; in Russia, from 28 to 50 per cent. for textile factories, and 38 per cent. for machine factories; in Switzerland the excess is 18 per cent. and 27 per cent. respectively; in Belgium, 28 per cent. and 20 per cent.; in Italy from 23 to 60 per cent. for textile factories, and 38 per cent, for machine factories; in Holland the figures are 28 per cent. and 23 per cent. respectively; and even in the United States the hours in textile factories are 8 per cent. more than our own, and in machine factories 15 per cent. more. It is evident, therefore, that on the ground of foreign competition alone we cannot afford any further reduction of hours.

Under these circumstances it does not appear to be of much practical use to further discuss the question of reducing the hours of labour, especially as the subject will be fully dealt with in a subsequent chapter. It is sufficient to point out that in the case of adult working men the State cannot decide what number of hours they are to work without infringing their liberty, and that consequently the State would be acting illegitimately and arbitrarily were it to fix the hours of labour for such workmen; and, further, that if the State decided that all workmen were to labour for eight hours daily, and to receive for that labour the same amount of wages as they now receive for nine or ten hours, the State would simply be putting its hand into the pockets of the employers and transferring their money to the workmen without giving them any equivalent in return, and this, however disguised by a show of legality, would be an act of down-right robbery. If, on the other hand, the State should fix an Eight Hours' day, and proportionately reduce the wages of the workmen, these latter, however much they may talk about desiring more leisure, would not thank the State for its pains. The real object underlying this agitation for shorter hours is to obtain more wages, of course at the cost of employers, either in the shape of extra pay for overtime on the part of those who are at work at present or in the shape of additional wages for new men whom the employers might have to engage. On either supposition money would be taken out of the employers' pockets, though in the one case it would go to increase the wages of men who are well paid already, and in the other case it would be paid to men who are not at present employed because there is no demand for their labour. The Eight Hours movement is a scheme for compelling the employers of the country to support surplus labourers, and the State is asked to use its power to coerce employers into doing this through the machinery of an Eight

Hours' day. If the State, yielding to this clamour, were to act in the arbitrary way suggested, it would be guilty of as wanton and wicked an act of tyranny as ever disgraced the annals of a civilized country.

It is urged that it is the duty of the State to make provision for workmen during their disablement by sickness and in their old age. But it is no more the duty of the State to do this than to fix the amount of wages that a man shall receive, or to dictate how he is to spend those wages. The utmost duty that lies upon the State in this direction is to prevent people dying from starvation, when they are ill or too old to work, and this it already does through the operation of the Poor Law. Any provision beyond this should be made by the individual man for himself. It may be said that it is altogether impossible for the average working man to make any provision for the future, but in view of the figures which have been given as to the expenditure of the average working man on beer and tobacco, it will be very difficult to substantiate this statement. In presence of this fact it is childish to tell us that working men cannot provide pensions for themselves, and it is wicked to propose that as they will not make such provision, but spend their money in other ways, it should be made for them at other people's expense through the State.\* If a man is to have a pension when he reaches a certain age it is obvious that he can only have it because property has been accumulated on his behalf, upon the returns of which he can live when he is no longer able to work. Whose duty is it to accumulate that property? Clearly it is the duty of the man who is to live upon the property and not of any other being or body whatsoever. Thousands of working men do thus accumulate

<sup>\*</sup> During the examination of Mr. John Taylor, Secretary of the Sheffield Gas Workers and General Labourers' Union, before the Labour Commission, Mr. Mundella asked: "You must be aware that the amount of money spent in "intemperance would provide the most ample superannuation fund for the "working classes of the country?" "Yes," replied the witness, "but pro-"vided the money were not spent in that way it would not be saved, as the "workmen would then discover that they needed it for other purposes."

property, and thereby support themselves in their old age. Hundreds of thousands of working men might do this if they really wished to do it. The State possesses no money except what it takes out of the pockets of the people, and it is out of this that old age pensions would have to come.

Any working man who wishes to provide for himself a pension of 5s. a week after he is 65 has every facility for doing so. All that he has got to do is to save 13d. a week between the ages of 18 and 25, and invest it at interest in the Post Office Savings Bank. When he is 25 he will be in possession of £20 11s. 8d., and for that sum the Post Office will sell him a deferred annuity of £13, or 5s. a week, to become payable immediately after he reaches the age of sixty-five. There is scarcely a young working man in the kingdom who could not provide for himself a pension in this simple and effectual manner. By paving od. a week in the case of males, and 10d. in the case of females, beginning at 20 years of age, a man and wife might purchase an annuity of fiz a year each on attaining the age of 60, and at the same time assure a sum of  $f_{12}$  in the case of death whenever it might occur. A man of thirty may purchase through the Post Office an annuity of f.10, to commence when he reaches the age of sixty, by paying down a lump sum of £24 3s. 4d., or by an annual payment of £1 8s. 4d. till he reaches the age of sixty. There is scarcely a working man in the country who, if he would give up smoking and drinking, might not secure himself an annuity of this kind. If it be said that it is too much to expect that men will give up smoking and drinking, the obvious reply is that if they do not think it worth while to deny themselves these injurious luxuries for the sake of securing a quiet and happy old age, they have no right to expect that other people will think it worth while to undertake this duty for them. When the writer was in the Rosses, one of the poorest districts in Ireland, he found that the most abject of the peasant farmers could spend more upon tobacco in a year than the whole rent of his holding amounted to, and, on a

low estimate, these people spend twice as much on whisky as they do upon tobacco. Yet the State has interfered to reduce the rents of these peasants, or, in other words, to take from the landlord a certain proportion of his property and hand it over to tenants who can afford to spend three times as much on whisky and tobacco as their rent amounts to. Now the Government is invited to do the same sort of thing in relation to working men in Great Britain. Although the working classes can afford to waste during the course of their lives what would secure them a handsome competence in their old age over and over again, they come hat in hand to Parliament and ask that they may be supported out of public funds during their old age. The comfortable maintenance of people in their declining years, we repeat, can only rest upon the acquisition of property in some form or other. A working man who wishes to have this kind of independence when he gets old must acquire property. It is nonsense to say that the working man cannot do this in view of the fact that he can afford such an expenditure on luxuries as has been alluded to, and in view of the further fact that thousands of working men, including even agricultural labourers, are actually doing it at the present time. The State cannot make such provision for working men on principles of equity; the only way in which the State could do it would be by devoting property to that object which would be sufficient to cover its cost. Whose property is it which is to be devoted to this purpose? Clearly it is not the property of the people who are to be provided for, for if they possessed this property there would be no need to make provision for them. The property belongs to other people, that is, to employers, capitalists, landlords, and to those among the working classes themselves who have been industrious, temperate, and frugal. This demand that the State should make provision for working people indiscriminately in their old age is essentially Communistic. It means that the property of those who have been diligent, honest and provident, and who by

the use of those qualities have reached a position of comfort or affluence, should be appropriated for the support of those who have not been diligent, or honest, or provident, but who have squandered the resources which, had they been husbanded, would have sufficed to place them also in a position of comfort and independence. It is of the essence of all Socialistic schemes that they take what belongs to the most reputable members of the community and squander it upon the least reputable. If the proposals which are now being put forward with regard to State provision for old age could be carried out the higher working classes would themselves be the largest sufferers, inasmuch as they would be taxed in order to support those members of their class who degrade it and retard its progress. The working man's worst foes are ever those of his own order—excepting, perhaps, the politicians who wish to climb to power upon his shoulders, and who will therefore delude and exploit him in the most cruel and unscrupulous fashion.

There are two other questions in respect of which changes in the Law are persistently demanded in the interests of the working classes. These are the Law of

Employers' Liability and the Law of Conspiracy.

Taking the former question first, the reader will bear in mind that such men as Sir John Gorst, Sir Edward Clarke, and Mr. Chamberlain, politicians of considerable influence, have practically identified themselves with the Trade Union leaders in demanding that the liability of the employer with regard to accidents should be largely extended. The Trade Union demand is that the doctrine of common employment, which now limits the liability of employers to those accidents which are due to their own faults (about 20 per cent. of the whole number) should be abolished, in order that those accidents which are due to the workman's own fault (over 25 per cent. of the whole) should also carry with them a claim for compensation against the employer. This is the Trade Union notion of justice! And some of our leading politicians, to whom we might naturally look for the con-

servation of those principles which ensure both justice and freedom to employers and employed alike, are not ashamed to endorse this preposterous demand. Mr. Chamberlain, however, who is far and away the most eminent of these Radical-Socialistic politicians, is not quite so irrational as to absolutely identify himself with a demand of this nature. What he advocates is: "Compensation for injuries received in the course of employment, and to widows and children in case of death, whenever such injuries or death are not caused by the fault of the person killed or injured."\* Let it be carefully noted what this involves. Not only is the workman himself who is injured in the course of his employment to be compensated, but whenever these injuries result in death, the compensation is to be extended to his widow and children, provided the injury or death is not the direct consequence of the workman's own action. See how this point is put. Why did not Mr. Chamberlain say that no workman or his family should be able to claim compensation from an employer except the injuries or death were caused by the fault of that employer? The law as it now stands makes an employer liable to pay compensation to workmen who have been injured or killed through his fault. No just law can do more than this. The alterations in the law which are demanded by Trade Unions, and some of which even Mr. Chamberlain now advocates, would be monstrously unjust to employers. Mr. Chamberlain perceives that it would be a very unwise policy (the injustice of it does not seem to trouble him very much) to double at one stroke the burden which employers now have to bear in respect of accidents. In another direction, however, he goes even further than the Trade Unionists. The latter ask that employers should be made liable to pay compensation in respect of all accidents which may be caused either by their own fault or by the fault of their workmen, or a little over half of all the accidents that occur; but Mr. Chamberlain boldly

<sup>\*</sup> The Nineteenth Century, November, 1892.

demands that the victims of all accidents, to whatever cause those accidents may be due, and also the wives and children dependent upon them, should be compensated. He evidently hankers after the thorough-going compulsion of the Germans, whose law "grants compensation in every instance as being a public right arising out of the natural obligation of the employer to compensate every workman injured in his service," and he thinks that "the recognition of the universality of the right to compensation is the only merciful, and indeed the only logical, principle"; but he perceives that the English people are not Germans, and that "in practice it would be impossible, as well as unjust, to throw the burden invariably and exclusively upon the employer." Who, then, is to bear the burden? The community! "The only way of meeting the case with any regard to equity is to acknowledge that the cost of providing compensation is really a charge attached to the business in which the accidents occur." For the wanton carelessness and the criminal folly of reckless workmen, to which causes many accidents are due, other workmen, who form the majority of the community, are to be compelled to pay in the shape of giving an increased price for their commodities. For even Mr. Chamberlain does not venture to propose that this compensation should be raised by special and direct taxation. No; the more subtle method of making it a "charge on production, to be reckoned and ultimately paid for in the price of the commodity produced," is that which commends itself to his judgment. For in this way some working men could be made to pay for the faults of other working men without knowing it! As for those industries in which this simple method of taxing the product would not be practicable, why "the result must be secured by making the employers liable primarily, leaving them to protect themselves and to average the expense by a system of insurance. This proposal would not injure employers, who would recoup themselves in every case from the consumers." And the bulk of the consumers would belong to the working classes! It may be taken for granted that in those happy days when we shall be subjected to the beneficent tyranny of Trade Unionism, when everybody has to pay for the workman's carelessness but that workman himself, accidents of all kinds will alarmingly increase and that the burden imposed by them upon the community will be correspondingly great.

It is simply wanton meddlesomeness to endeavour to disturb, as far as its main features are concerned, the present law of Employers' Liability, and no statesman would propose to disturb it unless he had his eye on the workingclass vote.\* This law adequately meets the justice of the case. Mr. Chamberlain, it is true, pronounces it to be "a half-hearted compromise;" while he acknowledges that "it throws the burden of compensation on the employer when it can be proved that the accident is due to defects of plant for which he is assumed to be responsible, or to the negligence of the superintendents whom he has appointed." What more does justice require? Nothing! But Trade Union selfishness and political exigency require more. Mr. Chamberlain complains that the law "leaves all other causes of injury without redress," or in other words, that it provides no compensation with respect to accidents which are caused by the workman's carelessness, or which are due to pure casualty, or to the act of God. Herein the law does excellently well. Pity for those who suffer from these accidents is a very exalted sentiment, and we may all agree that they are "proper objects of public sympathy, and should receive the most liberal treatment" through benevolent channels, but not through those of taxation. Justice to every man and to all men at all times is a nobler sentiment still, and this is opposed to the compulsory taxation of an individual or a community for the relief of misfortune. But in these ultra-democratic days the august form of Justice is hidden beneath an ugly and distended mass of

<sup>\*</sup> Just as these sheets were passing through the Press it was announced (on Feb. 1) by Mr Asquith, the Home Secretary, that he proposed to introduce an Employers' Liability Bill on the following Thursday.

pseudo-humanitarianism, and her voice is stifled amid the angry battle cries of contending self-seekers. Artemus Ward, in the ardour of his patriotism, was ready to sacrifice all his wife's relations in the American War, so some of our politicians, in their zeal to promote the public welfare, are eager to be inordinately generous at other people's expense. There is one aspect of this matter which appears to be generally overlooked, and that is that if compensation for the victims of accidents is to be enforced by law, through processes of taxation, the result will be that employers and the community in general, instead of meeting the cases of these victims with a large and generous charity, as they now do, will throw charity to the winds and refuse to do one jot or tittle beyond what they are compelled to do by law. If this were to take place it is certain that the case of those who suffer through accidents would be changed for the worse,\*

The Law of Conspiracy is one of the utmost complexity and difficulty. It has for centuries perplexed the minds of legislators and lawyers. Probably there are but few even among trained lawyers themselves who could give a lucid, concise, and yet comprehensive statement of that law; still less can a plain, non-legal writer hope to succeed in making such a statement. Nevertheless, the matter is one of such vital moment that it is impossible to pass it over altogether, especially as scarcely a year passes without Parliament being urged to alter this law in the interests of the Trade Unions.

During the Dock Strike in London the Law Journal, in writing on this subject, said: "As London is suffering at the present time from an epidemic of strikes it is well to recall on what terms the right to strike and lock-out, both equally illegal combinations at common law, has been conceded to workmen and employers. The offences usually known as intimidation and picketing, and punishable with a fine of £20 or imprisonment with hard labour for a term not

<sup>\*</sup> Complaint has been made that the colliery proprietors did not subscribe to the Tondu Relief Fund as generously as they ought to have done. Such complaints may be expected to become very common shortly.

exceeding three months, form a series of acts, all done with a view to compel any person to abstain from doing, or to do, any act which such person has a legal right to do or to abstain from doing, wrongfully or without legal authority. These acts are—using violence or intimidating the person or his wife or children, or injuring his property, persistently following him about from place to place, hiding his tools, clothes, or other property, or depriving him of, or hindering him in the use of, them, watching or besetting his dwelling house, or the place where he works, carries on business, happens to be, or its approaches, and following him with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in any street or road. The words 'wrongfully and without legal authority,' in what may be called the intention clause, qualify all the acts which follow, and the proof of the right or legal authority would lay on the defendant. Intimidation and picketing are offences already tolerably familiar in strikes. But a new development, which goes by the name of 'bombarding,' seems to have arisen. The operation seems to be for crowds of strikers to surround the place of business of non-strikers and shout with all their might until they come out. This would no doubt come under the head of besetting in the Act of Parliament, and it is the latest form of blowing down the walls of Jericho."

It is not so certain, however, that this "bombarding" would come under the head of "besetting," for the one thing which the framers of the law seem to have been most anxious to do is to give strikers as much license as possible. For example, Section 7 of the Conspiracy Act, 1875, says: "Attending at or near the house or place where the person resides, or works, or carries on business, or happens to be, or the approach to such house or place, in order merely to obtain or communicate information, shall not be deemed a watch or besetting within the meaning of this Section."\*

<sup>\*</sup> The following letter appeared in *The Times* of September 5, 1891, during the Carpenters' Strike:—"Your correspondent is quite right when he calls the modern system of picketing 'cursed intimidation.' Picketing is no longer the placing of two or three men at the entrance of a workshop for the

This is so indefinite as to leave open a dozen loop-holes of escape for the offenders, and to make the interpretation of the law a matter of the utmost difficulty to the Judges. What it comes to is that boycotting is lawful so long as it confines itself to moral means, to advice, or to persuasion; and that it is unlawful when it resorts to physical violence, or passes into molestation, persistent annovance, or terrorism. Lord Bramwell truthfully said in the House of Lords, on March 6, 1891, that legal picketing would never pay its way. Everybody knows that as a matter of fact such picketing can hardly be said to exist. Whenever picketing is carried on it is carried on more or less illegally. During the dock strike at Cardiff one of Mr. J. H. Wilson's fellow agitators upbraided the men for neglecting picketing duty, and stated that it was not the number of "captures" they might make that was important; over and above that "the presence of the pickets had a wholesome effect in keeping away men who, if they had a clear ground, would become blacklegs." Picketing is in fact a weapon which has been invented by Trade Unions for the purpose of destroying the liberty of those working men who decline to join such Unions. The demand of these Unions is not simply that working men should have absolute freedom to combine for any lawful purpose, but also that they should be armed with powers to destroy the freedom of those working men who decline to join their combinations. The former demand must necessarily be conceded in a country whose constitution is democratic and whose institutions are free; the

purpose of gaining information, or even of reasoning with those workmen who wish to work. Now the scheme adopted is to send as many as 60 or 100 strikers to any point where men are working, to surround these with a threatening mob, to menace them with death and disablement, to follow them home and bespatter their houses with mud, and to post offensive notices respecting them about their residences. People who are not subjected to this kind of thing when they choose to work while others wish them to be idle may say, 'Oh, but all this is illegal; men doing such things can be punished,' and so on. Quite true; but before you cook your hare you have to catch him, and it is no easy matter for a workman who is surrounded by a hundred antagonists to take his man to a police-station and to charge him with having broken the law. The fact is that the picketing in force is simple tyranny, and should be illegal."

second demand must also necessarily be refused in such a country. The same great principles of liberty which enable working men to combine must also preserve the freedom of the other working men who wish to stand aloof from these combinations. Every individual man must have absolute liberty to join a Trade Union or not as he himself chooses. This is the rock upon which is built that fabric of freedom which is our national glory and which has done more than anything besides to build up our national greatness. It is this fundamental principle which is persistently attacked by Trade Unions, and their attacks are the more pernicious because they are made in the name of that liberty which in practice they deny. It is an infamous prostitution of the august name of Liberty to invoke it in support of practices which strike at the very root of personal freedom.

The Law of Conspiracy, which is represented as being antagonistic to the interests of working men, really exists to guard those interests. Mr. Edmund Robertson, in a letter to The Times of Oct. 28, 1891, said: "The Act of 1875 is limited strictly to trade disputes between employers and employed. Combinations of working men which cannot be brought within that category are exposed to the full rigour of the common law doctrine of conspiracy. Not long ago some Trade Unionists were punished as conspirators under the common law because there was no evidence of a dispute between employer and employed. A dispute between masters and men is protected; a dispute between two sections of the men is not." It will be observed that Mr. Robertson's complaint is that working men are "exposed to the full rigour of the common law doctrine of conspiracy." No special legislation hostile to their class has been passed to curtail their liberties, but they are simply left to be dealt with by the common law like other people. What hardship is there in this? Professor Case has pointed out that Mr. Robertson makes some valuable admissions in the words just quoted. He says: "From these admissions it is plain that the common law of conspiracy protects, not masters,

but workmen against combinations of workmen, and that the abolition of the law would enable workmen to combine, not against a master—that they can do already—but against a fellow workman. The common law of conspiracy is the sole protection of workmen against workmen. . . . Really, the abolition of the common law of conspiracy would give some workmen the unjust liberty of combining against others; and would deprive other workmen of the just liberty of freely contracting for employment. Nor could such combined tyranny be to the general interest of the working classes. It would be the immediate interest of Trade Unions. But the Trade Unions are not the working classes. At their last Congress the Trade Unionists admitted that only 1,302,855 men were represented, while 9,000,000 workmen are still unorganized. The real question is whether the abolition of the common law of conspiracy would be for the good of all workmen, organized or unorganized. At present if a combination of workmen conspire to prevent an unorganized workman from being employed they can be punished as criminal conspirators under the common law. If Mr. Gladstone gets rid of that common law of conspiracy an unorganized workman would have no redress against such a combination of workmen.\* This, no doubt, would be pleasant for the minority of workmen who are combined in Trade Unions; but how would it be to the interests of the majority of the working classes?" From all this it is evident that no man has so vital an interest in the law of conspiracy being maintained as the workman who wishes to preserve his liberty.

Mr. Edmund Robertson proposed the following motion in Parliament on March 22, 1892: "That the common law doctrine of conspiracy, by which persons are made punishable for combining to do acts which in themselves are not

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Gladstone evidently intends to make an effort to get rid of this law; for a Bill to "amend the Law of Conspiracy" was announced in the Queen's Speech at the opening of the present Session of Parliament (1893).

<sup>†</sup> Letter to the Times, December 26, 1891.

criminal, is unjust in its operation and ought to be amended." This resolution seems very plausible, and no doubt a good many people were misled by it. In the abstract it may seem to be illogical, and even unjust, that persons should, under the common law of conspiracy, be "punishable for combining to do acts which in themselves are not criminal." But the real question is whether this law is necessary as a safeguard of individual freedom, and experience proves that this question must be answered in the affirmative. To talk as if the liberty of the subject consisted simply in the unrestricted right of combination is to take a one-sided view of the matter. The liberty of the subject must also have regard to the rights and the freedom of those against whom combinations are directed. What is required is that the law shall impartially guard the freedom both of those who choose to combine and those who choose not to combine. This the common law of conspiracy does, and it is just because it does it that the Trade Unionists are anxious to secure its abolition. But for the same reason all people other than Trade Unionists should do their utmost to maintain it. Trade Unions enjoy all the liberty which they can justly exercise without infringing the rights of others. If the law is defective at all, its defect is that it gives too much licence to Trade Unionists and strikers. Section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875, already referred to, enables workmen to combine even to injure their masters, so long as they abstain from collectively doing any act which would be a crime were it done by an individual; but the common law of conspiracy declares that whether they do or do not commit acts which would be crimes if committed by one man, they may not combine to injure a fellow workman. If the common law of conspiracy could be fused and blended with the special law of 1875 Trade Unions would no longer be liable to be charged with criminal conspiracy against the rights and liberties of individual working men. Trade Unionists, of course, perceive this, and what they are asking for is the

liberty to combine to injure a fellow workman as they are now at liberty to combine to injure an employer.

Properly understood, there is no law more just in its nature or more beneficent in its effects than the common law of conspiracy, simply because its essential and active principle is the protection of individual liberty against combined oppression. It makes an act which is lawful when done by one person criminal when done by a combination of persons, and if this principle were abolished a combination to ruin a man by conspiring to commit acts designed to injure him would not be criminal, provided that none of these acts was in itself a crime. Had there been no common law of conspiracy the Plan of Campaign in Ireland could not have been suppressed as a criminal combination. It was not a crime for an individual tenant to refuse to pay his rent to his landlord, or to pay his rent to some other person; but both law and common sense held that when all the tenants on an estate refused to pay their rent to the landlord, and paid it to third parties, the action constituted a criminal conspiracy against the landlord, and was therefore punishable. It is not too much to say that Ireland could not have been governed at all, except as a Crown Colony, during the last few years, but for the law of criminal conspiracy. It was by the application of this law that the Land League, the National League, the Plan of Campaign, boycotting, and intimidation, and other criminal conspiracies, were suppressed, and the reign of terror which they had created brought to an end. The idea that what are called "Coercion Acts" create new crimes is entirely erroneous; they are simply extraordinary methods of applying the common law. The common law is quite capable of dealing with such immoral and illegal conspiracies as have been the curse of Ireland of late years; and similarly it is quite capable of dealing with any form of illegal trade combination in any part of the Empire. The report of the Trade Union Commission, some of the members of which were eminent Judges and lawyers, says: "The party assailed

may be able . . . to defend himself against the attacks of one. It becomes a very different thing when he has to defend himself against many combined to do him injury. . . . The law has therefore, and it seems to us wisely and justly, established that a combination of persons to commit a wrongful act with a view to injure another shall be an offence, although the act if done by one would amount to no more than a civil injury." Lord Justice Bowen, in the Mogul steamship case, said: "Of the general proposition that certain kinds of conduct not criminal in any one individual may become criminal if done by combination among several there can be no doubt. The distinction is based on sound reason, for a combination may make oppressive or dangerous that which, if it proceeded only from a single person, would be otherwise. In the application of this undoubted principle it is necessary to be very careful not to press the doctrine of illegal conspiracy beyond that which is necessary for the protection of individuals or the public." From these authorities, and still more from the facts of experience, it is obvious that the common law of conspiracy is really a most vital and essential safeguard of individual liberty, and that it could not be abolished without placing that liberty in imminent and constant jeopardy. Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone, who is the leader of the Liberal Party and Prime Minister of the country, says: "We must get rid of that common law of conspiracy."\* Those who, like Mr. Gladstone, desire to abolish this law, apparently for no other purpose than to bribe agents of the National League who boycott in Ireland and agents of the

<sup>\*</sup> It was Mr. Gladstone who thus defined boycotting: "This process of boycotting is, according to the hon. member (Mr. Dillon), a legitimate and proper process. What is meant by boycotting? In the first place it is combined intimidation; in the second place it is combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice by fear of ruin and starvation. . . By boycotting he (Mr. Dillon) means nothing but merely ruining men who claim to exercise their private judgment in a direction opposite to his." The "private liberty of choice" to which Mr. Gladstone refers, and also the "claim to exercise their private judgment," could not have existed in Ireland during the last few years but for the operation of the common law of conspiracy. Yet he would now get rid of this law. How are the mighty fallen!

Trade Unions who intimidate in England, evidently would, if they could, pass a statute something like this: "Be it enacted that any number of persons may, without committing a crime, combine to annoy, injure and ruin any man who declines to join their combination, his family, and his trade, and to deprive him of his freedom to exercise private judgment and choice, and may do any act whatsoever in furtherance of the ends of such combination, provided that no such act is in and of itself a crime in the eyes of the law."

In Jan., 1891, the celebrated decision of Mr. Bompas, O.C., Recorder of Plymouth, was pronounced. Certain strike leaders in Plymouth endeavoured to force an employer, Mr. Treleaven, to dismiss his free workmen by threatening to order a strike of his unionist workmen if he refused to comply with their demand. The actual words used were these: "Inasmuch as Mr. Treleaven still insists on employing non-union men, we, your officials, call upon all union men to leave their work. Use no violence, use no immoderate language, but quietly cease to work, and go home." The question before the Recorder was whether this action on the part of the strike leaders constituted intimidation within the meaning of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. Mr. Bompas decided that it was intimidation in this sense, on the ground that it was a strike not to benefit the workmen but to injure the master. He held that a strike to benefit workmen was a legal combination; but that a strike to injure an employer was an illegal combination. On appeal, however, Mr. Bompas' decision was reversed by the Court of Appeal, the Judges of which held that "intimidation" should be confined to the use of violence to the person, or to actual damage done to property, and they refused to recognise that a contingent injury to the business of an employer came within the scope of intimidation.

Whatever may be the state of the law, however, it is obvious that common-sense is rather on the side of Mr.

Bompas than on the side of the Judges who reversed his decision. What Mr. Bompas decided was that men may combine to strike to obtain any advantage for themselves, better wages or shorter hours for example, but that they may not combine to injure men who are not members of their combination by preventing a master from employing these men. Mr. W. M. Thompson declared that the object of nine strikes out of ten was to prevent masters from employing free workmen, and although this may be exaggerated there is a great deal of truth in it. The Times, commenting on Mr. Bompas' decision, said: "It decides in effect that every strike organized for the purpose of crushing free labour that is to say, the majority of the strikes undertaken by the New Unionism—is illegal, and can be made the subject of criminal proceedings." Mr. Bompas himself said: "A strike for the purpose of compelling employers not to employ other persons, or to alter the terms of employment of such other persons, is illegal, and renders all persons engaged in it liable to proceedings under this Section." Again we say that reason is on the side of Mr. Bompas rather than on the side of the Judges. If strikes for such purposes as those referred to by Mr. Bompas are not illegal, then most decidedly they ought to be, for they are direct attacks upon the liberty of the employer and of the nonunionist workman. These persons are as much entitled to be protected in the exercise of their freedom as Trade Unionists are. It is unfortunate in every sense that Mr. Bompas' decision was not upheld, for it would have deprived Trade Unions of none of their legitimate freedom, whilst it would have supplied a much-needed safeguard to the liberties of those who will not be coerced into Trade Unions. Of course Trade Unionists protested that their Unions would become impossible if Mr. Bompas' decision was held to be good law; but what they meant was, not that Trade Unions would become impossible, but that it would have been impossible for these Unions to continue to resort to the picketing, intimidation, and oppression upon which

they have heretofore mainly relied. That would have been a very beneficent result.

The working man in this country is in the full enjoyment of all his rights as a free exchanger, and these rights are guaranteed to him by the law. No man can be entitled to more than this. Labour, as a property, is entitled to the same protection that Capital is entitled to; that—and no more. The right of a man over his own labour is absolute; no Government or individual has any authority to interfere with it. As an exchanger of labour for capital the labourer ought to be assured that the exchange shall be in all respects as free as the exchanges of any other description of property. Adam Smith says: "The property which every man has in his own labour, as it is the foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of a poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands; and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper, without injury to his neighbour, is a plain violation of this most sacred property." M. Say, a French economical writer, defines the right of property to be "the exclusive faculty guaranteed to a man or body of men to dispose at their own pleasure of that which belongs to them." The working man therefore should have the right to dispose at his own pleasure of his property—labour. His rights as an exchanger have been defined as follows: "That he shall not be compelled to part with his property by any arbitrary enactments without having as ample an equivalent as the general laws of exchange will afford him; that he shall be free to use every just means, either by himself or by union with others, to obtain such an equivalent; that he shall be at full liberty to offer that property in the best market that he can find, without being limited to any particular market; that he may give to that property every modification which it is capable of receiving from his own natural or acquired skill, without being narrowed to any one form of producing it. In other words, natural justice demands that the working

man shall work when he please, and be idle when he please, always providing that if he make a contract to work he shall not violate that engagement by remaining idle; that no labour shall be forced from him, and no rate of payment for that labour prescribed by statutes or ordinances; that he shall be free to obtain as high wages as he can possibly get and unite with others to obtain them, always providing that in this union he does not violate that freedom of industry in others which is the foundation of his own attempts to improve his condition; that he may go from place to place to exchange his labour without being interfered with by corporate rights or monopolies of any sort, whether by masters or workmen; and that he may turn from one employment to the other if he so think fit, without being confined to the trade he originally learnt, or may strike into any line of employment without having regularly learnt it at all. When the working man has these rights secured to him by the sanction of the laws and the concurrence of the institutions and customs of the country in which he lives he is in the position of a free exchanger. He has the full, uninterrupted, absolute possession of his property. He is upon a perfect legal equality with the capitalist. He may labour cheerfully with the well-founded assurance that his labour will be profitably exchanged for the goods which he desires for the satisfaction of his wants, as far as laws and institutions can so provide. In a word, he may assure himself that if he possesses anything valuable to offer in exchange for capital, capital will not be fenced round with any artificial barriers, or invested with any unnatural preponderance, to prevent the exchange being one of perfect equality, and therefore a real benefit to both exchangers."

This is the position of the working man in this country to-day. As regards the exercise of his freedom, the security of his property, and the right to dispose of that property in his own way, he is on an absolute equality with the capitalist. Law has virtually done for him all that it can do; for it has placed him in a position where he is able to make the most

of his advantages and opportunities. His further progress must depend upon himself. If he exercise his rights and use his liberties wisely, for the development of his own character and the legitimate pursuit of his own advantage, his position, favourable as it now is, will continue to improve; but if in his blindness he should so use his opportunities as to injure the interests and restrict the rights of those around him, it is morally certain that the time will come when he will be deprived of much of the freedom and power which he now enjoys. The sad and bitter history of recent strikes, the evidence which they have afforded in regard to the selfishness, the blindness, and the malignity of some among our working men, plainly indicate that we have reached a critical point in our industrial history. It has been demonstrated that whilst working men have the fullest liberty of combination, the liberties of employers and of some working men are continually menaced by those combinations. We have seen thousands of workmen and hundreds of employers deprived of their fundamental right to freely exchange the property which belongs to them. Masters who wished to carry on their business, and workmen who wished to pursue their avocations, were alike hindered from doing so by mob violence and Trade Union tyranny. Such a state of things in a country which glories in being the cradle and the home of liberty is not only an anomaly but an infamy. The tolerance which has been displayed by the police authorities and the Executive Government towards combined ruffianism has constituted nothing less than a betraval of the essential principles of British law and a crime against the natural and civil rights of British citizens. Judges and magistrates have, in the main, done their duty without fear or favour, and punished lawbreakers according to their deserts; but no condemnation can be too severe as regards the indifference and inefficiency which have been manifested by the executive authorities. If a revision and an amendment of the law should be provoked it may be taken for granted that the law will not be altered entirely in the interests of Trade Unionists. The strong right arm of the law must be strengthened, not weakened. The rights and liberties of an employer of labour or of a non-unionist workman are as sacred and inviolable as those of a Trade Unionist; and when our legislation fails to practically recognise this fact the knell of England's greatness will have been sounded. For England can only remain a great, a free, a progressive, and a prosperous country as long as the poorest and obscurest peasant in his cottage is as fully guaranteed in his rights and liberties as is the proudest of her peers in his palace.

It is not necessary to create new laws either to enlarge our liberties or to conserve them; all that is needed to effect this is a wise and just administration of our old laws. It is the administrator rather than the legislator whom we chiefly require. Legislation indeed is much more likely to curtail our freedom than to extend it. Over-legislation, combined with ineffective administration, is fast depriving Englishmen of their most precious rights and privileges. The laws of this country, taken as a whole, are superior to any others in the world. Lord Thring, one of our greatest authorities upon this subject, says: "The English Statute Book is even now long and uncouth in form. But in substance it is the most just and righteous law that ever was devised by and for a nation." This being the case, it is a great pity that we are not more contented with British law. It has been said that good laws execute themselves. Under normal conditions this is no doubt true; but under abnormal conditions such as have prevailed in Ireland for years past, and such as prevailed temporarily in England during the Dock Strike, the exact contrary is the case. In such times, when the unthinking populace are apt to be led astray by demagogues and to run mad with excitement and passion, the cool head and the strong hand of the prescient and resolute ruler are required. Mr. Balfour's triumphant success in Ireland shows what a determined administrator can do when he acts in harmony with those great moral forces which appeal

with almost irresistible power to the hearts and consciences of mankind. When the administrative policy established by Mr. Balfour was supplanted by the weaker policy of his political opponents dishonest and lawless men in Ireland at once took fresh encouragement and crime again began to rear its head in that ill-fated land. One of the questions constantly and forcibly suggested by recent events is this-Can law be justly and persistently enforced under democratic government? This is a question of profound and vital importance. What has occurred among us of late years appears almost to force us to answer this question in the negative. In the United States, where democracy is checked and checkmated in a hundred ways, the President is armed with powers far more absolute than those which are possessed by our constitutional monarch, and besides this the Executive Government is virtually independent of the popular vote. Among ourselves the Crown has been gradually shorn of the powers which it once exercised, and those powers have been nominally transferred to Parliament and the Government. But as Parliament and the Government are the creatures of the popular will, which nowadays means that they are virtually appointed by the working class vote, they are constantly subject to the pressure of most powerful temptations to gratify the class of voters which is numerically the most powerful. The addition of millions of new voters to the electorate, consisting mainly of the uneducated and the unthinking, without the introduction of proper safeguards against popular prejudice and fury into the Constitution, has virtually placed the fortunes of the nation in the hands of those who are least capable of taking an intelligent part in its government. Lord Salisbury, speaking in the House of Lords on February 1, 1893, used these remarkable words: "There is no country in the WORLD WHERE PROPERTY IS NOW SO INSECURE AGAINST LEGISLATIVE ATTACK AS IT IS IN ENGLAND." This is a startling truth, which every English citizen should lay to heart. The sudden and excessive transfer of political

power into the hands of the working classes, without at the same time correspondingly strengthening the influence of other classes, is the gravest defect in our Constitution and is a standing peril to the national welfare, which, if it be not removed or reduced, may drag even this proud and mighty nation down to dishonour, decay, and desolation.\*

<sup>\*</sup> M. de Blowitz, the Paris correspondent of The Times, writing on the Panama scandals on December 20, 1892, said: "The moral of these events, which are striking Europe with amazement, and almost with pity, is that the fear of the mob governs the decisions of the Executive. . . . Hatred, distrust, mob law seem to be the natural results of universal suffrage."

## CHAPTER II.

THE RECENT ACTION OF PARLIAMENT ON LABOUR QUESTIONS.

A FTER what was said in the last chapter as to the inability of Parliament to materially change the essential conditions which ultimately determine economic issues it is not necessary to further elaborate the point here. It may, however, be well to state that the one thing which legislation can do, and which it ought to do, with regard to the labouring classes, is to protect the weaker workers, that is women and children, against oppression and violence, and to ensure to workers of every class that their occupation shall, so far as it is possible, be conducted under such conditions, sanitary and otherwise, as will protect their lives and their health. The Factory Acts were passed in the interests of women and children, though they have incidentally had the effect of also fixing the hours of labour worked by adult males. But this effect was undesigned and accidental, for it was no part of the direct purpose of the Acts to prescribe what number of hours men should work. These Acts were humanitarian in their nature; and they were called for by the selfish and inhuman conduct of husbands and fathers, who drove their wives and children into the factories, in order that they themselves might have the more to spend upon drink and low racing pursuits, even more than by the harshness of some of the employers. It is a great mistake to suppose that the conduct of employers constituted the main reason for the passing of these Acts. The women and children needed to be saved, not merely from the grinding tyranny of some of their masters, but from the almost inconceivable brutality of many of those who ought to have been their natural and affectionate protectors. It is notorious that working men are, in the main, indifferent, not to say callous, where only women and children are the persons chiefly concerned. The greatest opponents of the Factory Acts were the working men, who profited by the enslavement of their wives and children. It is morally certain that Lord Shaftesbury would have found it absolutely impossible to carry the Factory Acts if household suffrage had then existed. One of the reproaches of Trade Unionism is that it has attempted little or nothing to improve the conditions of labour for women and children. It is not intended to convey the idea that the majority of factory workmen were of the ruffianly type just described; but it is notorious that a considerable proportion of them were of this type (as is still the case); and it was the conduct of this minority which caused the abuses that led to the passing of the Acts. The point emphasized here, however, is that Parliament, in passing the Factory Acts, aimed at nothing beyond protecting women and children from unduly severe labour, and also at protecting men, equally with women and children, against insanitary arrangements and against unprotected machinery which might be dangerous to life and limb.

It might have been supposed that after fifty years of factory legislation we should have approached somewhere near finality. Yet scarcely a Session of Parliament passes without some new Factory Act (or Acts) being introduced. During the Session of 1891 no less than four such Bills were introduced; two of them, aimed specially at the sweating system, were brought in by Lord Dunraven and Mr. Sydney Buxton; while the other two, which more strictly aimed at regulating labour in factories, were introduced by Sir Henry James and Mr. Henry Matthews, who was then Home Secretary. Now, as the author of this work was for some years an operative cotton spinner, it is not perhaps presumptuous in him to assume that he knows a little more about factory life and labour than any of the gentlemen just

referred to; and he has no hesitation in saving that, so far as his knowledge of the matter goes, there was no real necessity for any one of these Bills. Neither the workmen nor the employers asked for them. The fact is that the majority of both these classes are convinced that they have been regulated quite enough, and possibly a little more than is good for them. These Factory Acts, now that operatives are working only fifty-six hours a week, under conditions which are in the main as pleasant and wholesome as it is possible to make them, are simply so many attempts at grandmotherly interference, and there is only too much reason to believe that they are often undertaken from a desire to angle for votes rather than out of pure zeal for the working classes. As regards one point, indeed, a slight case was made out by Sir Henry James, and that is with regard to excessive steaming in weaving sheds. This practice may in a few cases have been carried to an extent which. however beneficial to the fabrics being woven, is injurious to the health of the operatives. But if Sir Henry James thoroughly understood the northern folk he would know that they do not need to rely upon the help of Parliament when once they have made up their minds to demand an improvement in the conditions of their labour. Trade Unions are nowhere so strong as they are in the textile industries, and it is paying but a poor compliment to those Unions to assume that they cannot deal with so trivial a matter as that of excessive steaming in weaving sheds without coming to Parliament for help. The factory population of Lancashire and Yorkshire are, on the whole, living under conditions which are ten times more wholesome than those which prevail in the slums of London and other large towns, and even in some of our country villages. If our politicians will be tinkering and peddling at such questions as these they might at all events begin at those points where the evils are most flagrant and pronounced. There are thousands of cases in which six, and eight, and ten people, children, young men and women, and adults of mature age, are all sleeping together in one room. Yet instead of dealing with such gross and palpable abuses as these our Home Secretaries are pottering about with factory Bills, which it is pretended will improve the conditions of people working in factories, whose condition is in the main so good that it does not need any improvement at all. Clearly some of our statesmen, and among them a few of the most able and eminent, have been badly bitten by the prevailing mania to flatter and worship the Working Man.

One of the greatest dangers of Parliamentary action with regard to labour questions is that it is apt to rush to extremes. This tendency has strongly manifested itself during the last few sessions, notably in that of 1891 in connection with the Government Factory Bill. That Bill proposed that the labour of children in factories should commence at the age of ten. An extreme section of the House of Commons, led by Mr. Sydney Buxton, insisted upon the age being raised to eleven, and this was actually carried against the Government. It was also proposed that the earliest age at which work could commence should be thirteen, the main argument of those who took this view being that as the Berlin Conference agreed to this age, and as the British Government was officially represented at this Conference, it was morally bound to carry out the decision of the Conference in this respect. Properly understood, however, the action of the Berlin Conference simply demonstrated that our Government were extremely unwise in having anything at all to do with it, as they thereby restricted their freedom of action. The Lancashire members strongly opposed the raising of the age even to the limit proposed by the Government Bill, and there can be no doubt that they truly represented the preponderating opinion of all classes in our manufacturing districts. It is the duty of a British Government to legislate, not in accordance with the whims of a Conference of doctrinaires. whether held at Berlin or elsewhere, but in accordance with the desires of the people from whom it derives its authority and whose interests it is its first duty to guard. Upon no point have we been treated to a greater deluge of sentimental balderdash than upon this question of children beginning to work at too early an age. Of course it was a barbarity to compel children to work in factories at the tender age of five, six, or seven, as was formerly the case; but the Factory Acts have changed all that. Experience proves that the half time system which prevailed up to the time when the Government passed their Factory Act of 1891 was, in the main, beneficial to all classes. Boys who are destined to earn their living in factories do not require the same education as boys who are destined to be clerks in counting houses. Proficiency in many a trade can only be acquired in the fullest degree by commencing it early in life; and the probability is that a boy who has to learn a handicraft will acquire it much more perfectly and with much greater ease to himself if he is apprenticed to it at the earliest practicable age, and compelled to give half his time to that and the other half to school. We are overrun in this country with dilletante youths who have been taught to believe that they ought to earn their living in a black cloth coat and that it is quite beneath their dignity to soil their hands with any kind of hard work. We are burdened with tens of thousands of such practically useless creatures, who can find no such work to do as their taste inclines them to, and who therefore sponge upon their relatives and friends-many of whom are women. At the same time we are so short of deft and skilful artisans that we have to import them from other countries. Yet our enlightened rulers persist in making arrangements which will still further increase the number of the lazy gentlemen referred to and still further diminish the number of proficient handicraftsmen. Consequently we shall be compelled to maintain many thousands more of idle clerks and at the same time to send to other countries for a larger number of men to do the real work of this country. There was a great deal of philosophy in the remark which was made to a London magistrate some time ago by a coster-

monger, who said that the streets were full of educated men who could get nothing to do, and that he thought it would be wiser to teach his boy to earn an honest living with a costermonger's barrow than to send him to swell the ranks of the educated unemployed. The subject of child labour may be dismissed with this general remark: if the working classes wish their children to remain at school till they are thirteen or fourteen years of age they have only to cease spending so large a proportion of their incomes on injurious luxuries, such as drink and tobacco, and devote the money now worse than wasted to the purpose of giving their wives and children more leisure; if they were to do this there would be no actual necessity for any child to work before he was thirteen, and no necessity for any married woman to work at all. But it is perfectly hopeless to expect that Parliament can do much as regards reducing the amount of child labour and of married female labour in the present condition of affairs. There must be a stupendous moral advance on the part of working men before there can be any marked improvement in relation to these matters. And moral advance does not come by way of Acts of Parliament.

Without dealing with the numerous subsidiary matters (beyond those already alluded to) which have cropped up in Parliament during the last two or three Sessions (which indeed the exigencies of space will not admit of), attention may be called to the action of Government and of Parliament in appointing the two Commissions of which we have heard so much of late—namely, the Sweating Commission and the Labour Commission. No doubt the motives which led to the appointment of these Commissions were excellent; nevertheless one is constrained to affirm that more harm than good is likely to be the result of their That evils exist under what is called the Sweating System there can be no doubt whatever; but it is questionable whether any good result can be obtained by merely calling public attention to these abuses through the Reports of the Sweating Commission. If Parliament were prepared to follow up its investigations by issuing Draconian decrees prohibiting the abuses referred to there might be some sense in the action which it has taken. But then this is precisely the thing which Parliament cannot do, and as it cannot do this it might just as well, or better, have done nothing, and have left these abuses to be cured by that alone which is able to cure them, that is a growth in the morality of our people as a whole. It may be said that incalculable good has been done by merely dragging these facts into the light. But this is a very debateable point. Publicity has its drawbacks as well as its advantages. What is called public opinion has no more inherent power to heal these social and moral diseases than has Parliament itself. Where the malady is moral the remedy must be moral also. The Sweating System and its results are due mainly to one master cause, and that is the demand on the part of the public that its commodities shall be cheap, and when the public is unselfish enough to be willing to pay a third or a half more for its commodities in order that those who produce them may be well paid, then we shall be within sight of the reforms which are desired. Manufacturers and middlemen (commonly called "sweaters") are not responsible for the existence of the Sweating System: they are but the servants of the public, who produce what the public demands and is willing to pay for; consequently the really responsible party is this same public. But the general public is a very awkward quantity to deal with, as Parliament and social reformers have found out long ago.

The investigations and reports of the Sweating Commission, although they have not produced a single good result of a definite and tangible character, have certainly done a great deal of harm indirectly. Ben Tillett's evidence before the Sweating Commission was really the germ from which the Dock Strike sprang. The facts disclosed before the Commission have been made a peg by all sorts of political and philanthropic busybodies, who have endeavoured to hang upon them Socialistic proposals of the most pernicious

nature. During the Session of 1891 Lord Dunraven, who was Chairman of the Sweating Commission, introduced a measure which would have enormously extended the scope of the Factory Acts, and would have prohibited the employment of children under twelve years of age. It would also have compelled the registration of all workshops, and any house where more than five persons were employed would have been deemed a workshop. Those "domestic factories and workshops" where not more than five persons are employed were exempted from the provisions of the Act with regard to cleanliness, ventilation, &c.; but even in these the child or young person was not allowed to work more than ten and a half hours a day, and not after four o'clock on Saturdays. Even where the workers were members of the same family they were to be bound by these hard and fast rules; if they were starving for food they were not to be permitted to work beyond the prescribed hours in order to obtain it. Unless the head of such a household had proved before a magistrate that "the persons so employed are members of the same family," and had received a certificate "setting forth the number of persons so employed and the relationship between them," his house would be regarded as a "workshop" to which the drastic provisions of the Factory Act would be applied. Mr. Sydney Buxton brought in a similar measure, but even more ridiculous. This Bill proposed to turn every room or place, whether used as a dwelling-house or not, where three or more persons were employed, into a "workshop," which was to be visited by inspectors, and subjected to the same regulations as factories, although the three persons employed might be man and wife and child. The measure also proposed to make the employer responsible for the sanitary condition of every house, garret, cellar, or shed where three people were working for that employer, even though the work might have been given out to them by a middleman. The object of this provision was of course to coerce all employers to build workshops and have all work done on their own

These are the notions of our modern politicians premises. with regard to the liberty of the subject; these the methods by which they propose to enlarge the freedom of the people! Mr. Buxton is a Radical; Lord Dunraven is a Conservative; but both appear to be equally bent upon restricting the liberty and damaging the property of the British citizen. Lord Dunraven's action is prompted by a belief that "legislation with a view to the amelioration of the people suffering under the Sweating System is urgently needed;" but what he fails to realise, and has certainly failed to prove, is that the amelioration desired can be effected by legislation. Sydney Buxton, not content with introducing the measure already referred to, proposed during the same Session this resolution: "That in the opinion of this House it is the duty of the Government in all Government contracts to make provision against the evils which have recently been disclosed before the House of Lords Sweating Committee, and to insert such conditions as may prevent the abuses arising from sub-letting, and to make every effort to secure the payment of the rate of wages generally accepted as correct for a competent workman in his trade." Strange to say the Government (a Conservative Government) and the House of Commons (mainly composed of men of education and wealth) accepted this resolution, and the fact that they did accept it is alone sufficient to prove either their utter incompetence to deal properly with economical questions, or their utter indifference to the vital issues at stake when such questions are handled. If they had learned but the mere A B C of economics they would know that it is a perilous and a fatal device for Parliament to violently interfere with the security of accumulations and the freedom of contracts and exchanges.

During the same Session of 1891 a Royal Commission was appointed by the Government to inquire into the relations between Capital and Labour. Upon the work of this Commission very great expectations are being built in certain quarters; indeed its appointment is regarded as marking the

opening of a new epoch in the relations between Labour and Capital. Those expectations are probably destined to prove illusory. No doubt the Commission may do some good; but it is equally certain that it may do infinitely more harm. If inquiry alone were the object in view, that is, if the Government would be content to elicit the facts impartially and exhaustively and then leave the public to judge of the matter for itself, without forcing on any special legislation upon the subject, the result could scarcely be other than good and to the advantage of capital and commerce—and therefore of labour. But will the Government be content with a mere investigation of this kind? It is doubtful. It is practically certain that when the Commission has issued its Report there will be a demand for legislation thereon, not only from the Labour Party, but from the "Progressive Conservatives," some of whom bid fair to out-Radical the Radicals and out-Socialist the Socialists. As already indicated, there are obvious and ominous signs that a Conservative Labour Party is about to emerge into being, and for this we have no doubt mainly to thank Lord Randolph Churchill, whose influence upon our politics from beginning to end has been of a distinctly mischievous character. He has influenced such men as Sir John Gorst, Sir Albert Rollitt, Mr. Bartley, and other Conservative M.P.'s, who are striving to emulate him in his worship of the Democracy. A Radical Democracy is bad enough; but a Tory Democracy is, if possible, even worse. Radical Democracy and Tory Democracy are now engaged in the congenial task of outbidding each other for the votes of the working classes. Between the two both the liberty of the citizen and the property of the capitalist are in exceeding great danger of finding themselves annihilated. It is rapidly coming to this-that those among us who still retain the old English love of freedom, and who believe in the inviolability of the rights of property, will have to make a firm stand against the designing agitators, the political popularity hunters, and the unprincipled vote-mongers who are rapidly dragging our grand old country down to the level of the American Republic. Those members of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties who have not yet been infected by the prevalent Socialistic mania, especially those of them who are in Parliament, may render a signal service to their country by saving it from the cataclysm by which it is now threatened. If things go on as they are now going the day is not far distant when every citizen who possesses property will thank God that we have a House of Lords which is not

dependent upon popular favour.

The Labour Commission has been made a vehicle for the publication of what the Duke of Argyll calls the "wild ideas" of professional agitators. Much of the "evidence" which has been presented before the Commission has been of such a nature as to turn the proceedings into something like a burlesque. Such witnesses as Ben Tillett, Henry Quelch, Tom Mann, and Tom M'Carthy have simply poured into the ears of the Commissioners a stream of Socialistic twaddle. For facts one looks in vain from these men; opinions are there in wild profusion. Tillett told the Commission that the docks should be municipalized and placed "absolutely under popular control"; that "the State should co-operate with the local bodies to erect municipal workshops to provide employment for all desirous of obtaining it, to provide technical education for youths and also for men if they wished it"; and further that "the State should provide them also with all the necessaries of life providing they worked "-and so on. In answer to Lord Derby, Tillett said that the State ought ultimately to be the universal employer. And this is the sort of stuff which is called "evidence," and which such men as the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Derby, and Mr. Courtney are compelled to listen to. Mr. Quelch, being asked by Mr. Collings if he called it liberty for a number of men to combine to keep others out of work, replied that he did not call it liberty, but "he believed men had a right to combine to keep out those who would not work in harmony with them." Mr. Falvey, a corn porter, thought that labour-saving machinery ought

to be "very heavily taxed" in proportion to the amount of labour saved. These are merely specimens of the "wild ideas" which have been aired before the Commission, and which have thus acquired a publicity which they could never have otherwise obtained.

The Labour Commissioners made a grand mistake when they threw their meetings open to the public and decided that the proceedings should be published from day to day. This was a direct encouragement to loquacious persons of the agitator type to preach Socialism before the Commission. These people do not care how much time they waste or how far they succeed in bringing the Commission into contempt if only they can get a good paying advertisement. It is not the function of a Royal Commission to collect and record opinions, but to collect and record facts. This seems to have been too much lost sight of by the Labour Commission. The Duke of Devonshire, the President, has stated that he intends, as fas as his influence goes, to make the Commission useful, and no doubt he means this; but notwithstanding the good intentions of the President and some of his colleagues it is in the highest degree improbable that the Commission will play any important part in readjusting the relations between Capital and Labour.\* When the Sweating Commission was appointed great things

<sup>\*</sup> The Duke of Devonshire (then the Marquis of Hartington) said on June 24, 1891: "I hold that the appointment of that Commission, constituted as it is, implies a pledge and involves an obligation. It can scarcely be that such an inquiry as we have undertaken by a Commission, composed of men representing such various interests as those who constitute this Commission, could fail to discover some evils to be redressed, some remedies to be applied, and I firmly believe that it is with the intention of discovering those evils, and if possible arriving at those remedies, that the Commission has been appointed. It is quite possible that the remedies suggested and the conclusions arrived at by the Commission may not be the wisest, and when this inquiry is finished it is the honest and the settled determination of the Government to apply, as far as Parliament can apply, the remedy for the evils that may be disclosed and to cure the grievances which may be found to exist." This seems to point definitely to legislation as the result of the Commission, though it is evident from the qualified language of the Duke ("as far as Parliament can apply") that he well knows that the power of Parliament in such a matter is exceedingly limited.

were expected from it. Nevertheless, it has done practically nothing, and nobody can say whether it ought to have done anything, or, if it ought to have done anything, what it ought to have done; and just so will it be with the Labour Commission. The relations between Capital and Labour are of such magnitude and such complexity, and they touch vital interests at so many points, that it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to clearly understand them, and a danger of the gravest kind to rashly interfere with them. The essential elements in the case are utterly unsuited for Parliamentary treatment; any recommendations which the Commission may make to Parliament are likely to be of a very vague character; and any attempt which Parliament may make to carry out those recommendations will almost certainly end in making matters worse than they were before. The Commission will accumulate in its Reports a vast mass of miscellaneous information and opinions, and that is about all it will or can do. Even this is much, if politicians would only be content to think so, and the information thus acquired and tabulated will be worth all the labour and expense of the Commission apart from legislation altogether. As regards any practical usefulness, beyond informing and educating the country upon these questions, the Commission will leave matters virtually as they were before. The Government, and the Commissioners as a body, may be actuated by the best intentions, but if they aim to bring Capital and Labour into harmony by Act of Parliament the task which they have undertaken is an impossible one.

The constitution of the Commission has been a good deal criticised from different standpoints. The Labour party contend that their side of the case is not sufficiently represented, and that capital is over represented. People of this class were grievously offended because Michael Davitt was not placed on the Commission, but even a Government which desired to conciliate the turbulent working-class element drew the line at the ex-convict. Yet it is difficult

to see what better claim such men as Tom Mann and Henry Tait have to sit on the Commission than Michael Davitt. His opinions and aims are not one whit more dangerous than theirs. It is true they have not been convicted of treason-felony; it is equally true that they have been associated with strikes which have been marked by violence and crime. Mann is nothing more nor less than a Socialistic demagogue. He has taken part in nearly all the Socialistic movements which have occurred in the United Kingdom during the last ten years, and he has sedulously endeavoured to instil into the minds of working men ideas of the most malignant and poisonous nature. It would be difficult to point to any part of this agitator's public work and say— "There he did good." Nevertheless he is promoted to a seat upon the Royal Commission on Labour, where he is supposed to represent the true interests of the working classes. His presence on the Commission at all events proves one thing, and that is that the profession of agitator and demagogue is in these times a sure and easy way to a certain sort of eminence. The Government have not done wisely in thus stimulating the ambitions of a very undesirable and pestilent class of men. It was, of course, but simple justice that labour should be well represented on the Commission, but why did not the Government select genuine labourers for the work, men who would have come straight from the factory, the ironworks, and the plough, and who would have been independent of Trade Union influences? There are hundreds of such men in the country who are honestly and quietly earning their livelihood, and who are using their influence, not to create industrial envy or strife, but to promote peace and goodwill between employers and employed. Some of these men have ten times more real ability to represent labour than the noisy demagogues who have been placed on this Commission, and yet they are entirely passed over. Our rulers seem anxious to teach working men that they can only be honoured in proportion as they make themselves a nuisance and a danger to society. This is not a lesson which wise governors would be anxious to teach.

When the Commission was appointed it was subjected to severe criticism at the hands of some of the so-called labour leaders which admirably illustrates the narrowness which is one of their most prominent characteristics. John Burns thought the selection of the Duke of Devonshire as Chairman "singularly unfortunate," as the Duke had "hitherto been regarded as a man destitute of all knowledge of social, economic, and political questions affecting the labouring classes;" whilst the Earl of Derby "had not the knowledge of economical and industrial questions with which he was commonly credited." Of course Mr. Burns thought that there ought to have been "one or two Socialists of the militant type" on the Commission, and it is perhaps not difficult to divine who he had in his mind when he made that remark. Mr. Henry Broadhurst said, on April 14, 1891: "If I had the editing of a labour paper I would on Friday have got one of the sharpest-tongued and razoredged sentence writers that I could pick up in Fleet Street, and got him to give shape to my opinions, and to have riddled and ridiculed this Commission, at any rate in its character of being anything like a complete representation of the cause of labour." Mr. Pickard, M.P., spoke in a similar strain. The idea which underlies all these criticisms is that such men as the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Derby, because they are landlords, and such men as Sir W. T. Lewis and Sir Edward Harland and Mr. George Livesey, because they are large employers of labour, must necessarily be actuated by hostility towards the working classes. They are deliberately represented as men not to be trusted where the interests of labour are concerned. Yet there is not one of these men, nor one of their colleagues of their own class in life on the Commission, who has not done ten times more for the true interests of labour than the men who pass upon them these petty and spiteful strictures. But it is part of the game of all "labour leaders" to represent

landlords and capitalists as ogres who prey upon the very life-blood of the working classes, and to stir up odium against them. This is the chief portion of the agitator's stock in trade.\*\*

The chief fault of the Labour Commission seems to be that it has, to a large extent, lost sight of the terms of the reference under which it was appointed, by which it was instructed "to enquire into the questions affecting the rela"tions between employer and employed, the combinations "between employer and employed, and the conditions of "labour which have been raised during the recent trade "disputes in the United Kingdom; and to report whether "legislation can, with advantage, be directed to the remedy "of any evils that may be disclosed; and, if so, in what "manner." But the Commission has shown a marked indisposition to enquire very closely into the causes of recent strikes and lock-outs, and still less into the means

<sup>\*</sup> Months after the above portion of this chapter was written, a Special Correspondent of the Times said, on January 7, 1893, speaking of the Labour Commission: "The reports of its proceedings have almost ceased to attract public attention, and it is doubtful whether men expect any fruit, other than the plentiful harvest of Blue-books, from its deliberations. . . . Witnesses come and witnesses go, complaining sometimes of grievances that are dead and gone, giving a great deal of irrelevant evidence, indulging in a vast amount of mutual recrimination, ventilating many crude schemes of municipalization, of conciliation, and so forth. . . . It is inquiring into the relation between employer and employed everywhere, on the Continent—at the Hague, for example—and in America; it is compiling a précis of an immense amount of literature; it is collecting information which may be useful and interesting some day to the student, but it is giving too much freedom to its witnesses, it lacks the practical spirit, it is not sufficiently careful of the present, and the world is moving onwards." The Times itself said, in a leader on December 15, 1891, a few months after the Commission was appointed: "At first blush the Commission seems to be likely to be barren in results. It will add many more volumes to the pile reared by the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade; mountains of sand in which the student painfully digs to find scattered grains of wisdom. Some of the necessary conditions of the inquiry are unfavourable, many of the witnesses are really advocates, not the less such because free from the restraints binding professional advocates. Others are experts, with all the proverbial infirmities of such witnesses; some members of the Commission have, as their questions show, if we did not know it otherwise, pronounced opinions on the matters under investigation; and there is a danger that there will get on the notes not a few facts which are not facts, figures not the result of actual counting, and crude theories extemporized for controversial purposes."

and methods of those who have promoted these strikes; in other words it has exhibited too great a tenderness towards the susceptibilities of the leaders of the "New Unionism." The Commission would do well to imitate the example of the Labour Commission of 1867, which was appointed to enquire into the "rattening" practices of the infamous Broadhead and his coadjutors at Sheffield. A sub-Commission was sent to Sheffield, and was empowered to grant a full indemnity to all workmen who should give such evidence as to implicate themselves in any criminal proceedings, and the result was that they elicited some remarkable and instructive facts as to the operations of the Trade Unionists. In the course of this work it has been made abundantly clear that the "New Trade Unionists" have resorted to violent and illegal methods for the purpose of injuring the property of employers on the one hand and of depriving the workmen of freedom of choice as regards their labour on the other hand. It is at these points that close and searching inquiry is necessary; if they are shirked the Commission will be little better than an elaborate and solemn farce. So far this part of the subject, which is the most vital and essential of all, has, to say the least, received but scanty attention. There has been a pronounced tendency to make the Trade Unions and their officials the channels through which the Commission receives its information, whilst employers and workmen who are opposed to Trade Unions, and who have been injured by them, have been far too much ignored. Paid agitators, Trade Union officials, fussy faddists, and self-seeking politicians, find no difficulty in getting before the Commission, as their expenses are paid, and the path is made easy and pleasant for them all along; but the poor fellows who cannot afford to lose their work to hang about a Committee room in London, because it means semi-starvation, are practically without any voice in the matter. Why have not sub-Commissions been sent to Southampton, to Cardiff, to Edinburgh, and Glasgow, with full instructions to enquire into the Dock and Railway

Strikes which have taken place in those districts? Why has not a special inquiry been made in the East end of London with regard to the Dock Strike? Such inquiries as these, made on the spot, and continued week after week until the evidence is complete, would be simply invaluable, as they would dig out the facts which are now buried and make them available for use. If the evidence taken by the Commission, and the Report which it may make thereon, are to command the respect and confidence of the general public, representation and effect must be given to the views of the gas-stokers, the dock labourers, and the railway men who were driven from their work in London, Leeds, Liverpool, Salford, Southampton, and other places by the violence and the intimidation of the "New Unionists," or who lost their occupations in those places through blindly following the advice of Unionist leaders who afterwards left them in the lurch. These are the men whose evidence and experience would be of inestimable value. But, then, these poor fellows are now scattered all over the country, tramping about in search of work, and therefore they are not in a position to come forward and offer their evidence. They ought to be sought out by such sub-Commissions as have been referred to. If the Labour Commission is unfaithful to the terms of its reference as regards a searching scrutiny into the real causes of recent labour difficulties a suspicion will be created that its action in this respect is dictated by a desire to make things as pleasant as posssible for the Trade Unionists, and such suspicion will beget a distrust, which will be reasonable and well grounded, with regard to the whole of its proceedings. It is a significant fact that the appointment of the Labour Commission was not cordially welcomed by the Trade Unionists, although they are always clamouring for the investigation and redress of grievances which they allege to exist in connection with labour. It is not surprising that this should be the attitude of Trade Unionists when the revelations made before the Commission of 1867 are called to mind. What is called the "New Trade Unionism" is as

much like the Trade Unionism of Broadhead & Co. as one pea is to another. If the present Commission does its duty as fearlessly and as thoroughly as the Commission of 1867 did its duty, and brings the nefarious operations of the "New Trade Unionism" into the clear light of day, it will be seen that the Trade Unionists had excellent reasons for not hailing the appointment of a Labour Commission with acclamation. There is this difference, however, between the Labour Commission of 1867 and that of 1891; political power had not then been transferred from the hands of the intelligent and propertied classes into the hands of the ignorant and impecunious classes; now this has been done, with the result that the government and the fortunes of the country are at the mercy of those who least understand government and who have least to lose through unwise legislation. It may be taken for granted that the Labour Commission, like other public and political bodies, will feel itself called upon to pay homage at the Shrine of Demos.

On the whole it would be well for those who are seriously interested in the relations between Capital and Labour, and who desire to see these relations re-adjusted upon a thoroughly equitable basis, not to expect much practical assistance either from the Labour Commission or from Parliament. If they do expect much they are doomed to bitter disappointment. Parliament and politicians do not possess the secret of regenerating humanity; and it is only out of such regeneration that the ideal relations between Capital and Labour can be evolved.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Just as this is being written it is announced that Mr. Gladstone's Government have resolved to form a new Labour Department. This, however, turns out to be merely an expansion of the Labour Bureau which has been in existence for some years. A new office, that of Commissioner for Labour, has been created, and Mr. Llewellyn Smith has been appointed to the post. There is to be a newspaper in connection with the department, which is to collect current information about labour and trade. This extension of the functions of the Labour Bureau will no doubt make it more efficient as an intelligence department, and will therefore increase its educational influence. To this extent the new departure may produce good results. But to expect anything further than this is merely to court disappointment. Such a department cannot, in the nature of things, do much to change the fundamental conditions which determine the relations of Capital and Labour.

## CHAPTER III.

On the Demand for an Eight Hours Day, and on the Shortening of the Hours of Labour Generally.

NE of the legal solutions which it is proposed to apply to the labour problem is the enactment of an Eight Hours day for all who work. Those who advocate and demand such a law represent that it would prove almost a panacea for all the ills under which labour groans. Its effect is to be magical. Once we get this law, the unemployed are to cease out of the land; although there is to be less work, that is, less production, there is at the same time to be more wealth; and every class of the community is to have its condition improved simply because those who have to work will do less work than they ever did before. How all this is to come about we are not told. Our Socialistic "reformers" are great adepts at using grandiloquent language, and vague and glittering generalities form the principal part of their stock in trade. They do not condescend to details; they are too cunning for that; for they know that once they got down to details everybody would perceive that their schemes are too flimsy and absurd to admit of sensible men spending a moment's thought upon them. Not one of them has yet deigned to inform a waiting and a wondering world what the Eight Hours day really means, what it involves, and what it excludes. As regards the individual workman, would be be allowed to work exactly eight hours a day at his trade, no more and no less, and would the working of overtime be made a penal offence? If he would not be allowed to work longer at his own trade, would he be allowed to work at any other occupation, say at cultivating his own garden or attending to some business which he carried on independently of his occupation as a workman? Mr. Herbert Gladstone asked some such question as this during the examination of a witness before the Committee on the Hours of Railway Servants, but it is not recorded that he received any satisfactory answer. With regard to wages, would the workman under an Eight Hours law receive the same wages as he receives now, or would be receive less wages, or more? And how would the employer be affected by an Eight Hours law? Would he be permitted, where it was practicable, say in a cotton or a woollen factory, or in a flour mill or a machine shop, to run his establishment during the whole twenty-four hours, having three separate sets of workmen, working eight hours each at exactly the same rate per hour as he pays his men now? If so, it is obvious that the employer would, if anything, be in a better position than he is in now, since he would run his factory every hour of the day and night, except Sunday, without paying any more wages proportionately than he now pays; while, at the same time a larger number of men could be employed; though, of course, if all our factories and workshops were to work more than double the time that they are now working it would lead to an immense increase in production and a glut in the market, and therefore ultimately to a fall in prices and a reduction in wages.

These questions are asked only by way of illustrating the utter confusion in which the whole subject is left by the wonderful gentlemen who tell us that all wealth is the result of labour, and then tell us in the next breath that the surest way to get more wealth is to have less labour. Nevertheless, the aims of the advocates of an Eight Hours day, although they are not clearly and definitely expressed in plain language, are obvious enough to those who can look underneath the surface. Their first object is to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to lead them off on false issues,

so that they may thereby gain something which would never be accorded to them if their real aims were manifest. What they are actually working for is to gain an increase of wages by underhand methods. They wish to earn more money and at the same time to do less work. They would not be content even to take for forty-eight hours' work the money which is now paid to them for fifty-six hours' work. This point was brought out clearly by the deputation which waited upon Mr. John Morley at Newcastle on August 21, 1892. A Mr. John Scott stated on that occasion that the application of the Eight Hours system would make labour more scarce and therefore increase wages. Mr. Morley, who was anxious to convince the deputation that Parliamentary interference with the hours of labour also involved interference with the wages of labour, asked: "But by an Eight Hours Bill you do expect a rise in wages?" Mr. Scott's answer was: "Most undoubtedly." Mr. Morley rejoined: "Therefore, one of your motives I may take it, for arguing for an Eight Hours Bill is the expectation that it would be a wages Bill as well as an hours Bill, indirectly?" The truth of this was admitted.\*

Under an Eight Hours law overtime would of course commence as soon as the eight hours period was up, and as overtime is paid at higher rates than ordinary time a man who worked ten, eleven, or twelve hours would earn considerably more than he would by working the same number of hours

<sup>\*</sup> Further light was thrown by this same deputation upon the ulterior objects of the advocates of an Eight Hours law. Mr. Robert Scott stated that one of their aims was to get at "the large sum the idle rich appropriated." A Mr. Barber said: "The working classes simply ask for the same protection for their labour, which was their only wealth, as the land-owning and capitalistic classes at present had in the numerous Acts of Parliament by which their interests were sustained." Mr. John Scott stated that the Eight Hours law was required to enable them to carry on "a war with their employers," and to keep a grip on what they had "on some previous occasions wrested from their employers." Mr. Morley said: "I listened with very great sympathy, as far as its spirit goes, and its sentiment goes, to the speech of Mr. Scott, and I have listened with sympathy to all your speeches, except perhaps Mr. Hill's." Surely it is an ominous fact that a Cabinet Minister of Mr. John Morley's eminence should have apparently sanctioned the principle of appropriating the money of "the idle rich," and of dividing it among working men.

at present, although his work would be worth no more than it is now to his master. Consequently, the master, if he employed several hundred men, would have to pay something like from per week (in many cases from or from a week) in additional wages, although he would get no additional labour for it; in other words this money, paid for what would then be overtime, would be taken by law out of the employer's pocket and no equivalent would be rendered to him. Professor Case has clearly shown that the demand for an Eight Hours day is inseparably connected with the demand of the Trade Unionists for an amendment of the Conspiracy Law. He points out that if the Law of Conspiracy were amended in the sense desired by Trade Unionists the law would be too weak to protect the freedom of labour; that combinations of Trade Unionists would be able to obtain a monopoly of employment in every district and in almost every business establishment; and that nobody outside the combination would dare to apply for employment, or, that if he did apply, no employer would dare to engage him. Professor Case further shows that as long as the Conspiracy Law is able to effectually protect the freedom of employment hours cannot be shortened without ultimately diminishing wages, inasmuch as more hands would be required, which would increase the cost of production, and thus raise prices. A rise in prices would lead to a contraction of the demand, and then prices would have to fall again." Thereupon in a state of free labour wages as well as profits would be diminished, with the result that more men would be employed for shorter hours at less This is not what Trade Unionists want; they want shorter hours with the same, or higher wages. But now, suppose they could first weaken the Conspiracy Law so as to obtain monopoly of employment. Why, then, if the hours of work were also shortened, the same effects would follow, except the last. On the ultimate fall of prices to the level of demand, instead of sharing the loss between wages and profits, as they could not help doing in a condition of free labour, they would now, as monopolists of employment

under a weak Conspiracy Law, defy the employer either to engage other workmen or to reduce their own wages, if he is to get any work done at all. Hence an employer would have to maintain high wages of more men at shorter hours, and suffer the whole loss entailed by high cost of production at low prices out of his own pocket. When we consider the objects of Trade Unionists together we cannot avoid, nor could they prevent, the sequences that to weaken the Conspiracy Law would be to deter competition for employment; which would give a monopoly of employment to combinations of Trade Unionists; which would enable them to shorten hours without diminishing wages; which would require more workmen at the same wages from Trade Unions: which would raise the cost of production all round, not demand, nor permanent prices; which would, without affecting the wages of the monopolists of employment, diminish the profits of the employer. So long as the monopoly of employment could be maintained under a weak Conspiracy Law, the monopolists could even go on raising their wages until they had absorbed the remaining profits. Thereupon, workmen would have become practical owners. Meanwhile, not all the profits would have remained—the greater part of realizable capital would have gradually and imperceptibly been diffusing itself over more profitable parts of the globe. Hence the Trade Union monopolists would have to some extent enriched themselves and become small capitalists, and this is perhaps enough for them; but the great majority of workmen would be worse off than before and the country would have lost capital.\*

It is often represented that Trade Unionists wish to abolish overtime; but this is in the main an utterly fallacious

<sup>\*</sup> Professor Case, letter to the *Times*, Sept. 24, 1891. The Professor adds: "Freedom of ownership, of employment, of contract, must, one would think, command a vast majority in all classes, high and low, against a minority—a million or two of workmen, as the Trade Unionists themselves confess they are, unjustly attempting to create for itself an artificial monopoly of employment. if not of ownership. Nevertheless, an effort is needed, for elections are apt to be turned by a solid minority pursuing a definite end between opposite parties."

idea. Whatever Union officials and platform agitators may say the bulk of the working men will insist upon working overtime when they have the opportunity. It is not uncommon for artisans, even when they are members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to leave one workshop for another, not because they are going to be paid higher wages or work shorter hours, but because they will be allowed systematically to work overtime. A short time ago a number of men employed on one of our principal railways struck for a reduction of hours. Their demands were granted, and the hours of work reduced. A few weeks later the same men struck again because the manager refused to give them enough overtime employment; that is to say they virtually struck for longer hours. What they were after all the time was not actually shorter hours but increased wages for about the same time as they had worked formerly. This is a typical instance, and it shows that the movement for shorter hours is really used only to mask a demand for increased wages.\* Let the Trade Unions who are now

<sup>\*</sup> On Aug. 22, 1892, a deputation of workmen from the Cambrian Navigation Collieries waited upon Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., managing partner of the Company, and requested him to abandon the eight hours bank to bank system. Mr Thomas promised to return to the old hours, and stated that the new system had been more costly to the Company and that it was impracticable in the South Wales Steam Coal Collieries.

Mr. R. G. Hall, managing director of the London General Omnibus Company, stated on Aug. 27, 1892, that the men had "inundated the Company with petitions praying to be allowed to work the full time," and at last "came by deputation to this office." Mr. B. O. Hillyard stated in the *Times* of Aug. 19, 1892, that most of the London omnibus drivers were dissatisfied because they were not allowed to work the full hours and earn the extra shilling per day, and that they felt they had been harshly dealt with by the Company in this matter owing to the intervention of the Union.

Mr. W. Kingham, secretary of the London General Omnibus Company, stated in his evidence before the Labour Commission on May 5, 1892, that: "Since the establishment of a twelve hours day a very large proportion of the men had petitioned the Company to let them go back to the long hours on condition of increased pay," and that "a good many of the drivers had resigned and gone into the employ of private omnibus proprietors where they got higher wages and worked longer hours. . . . If the hours were reduced to eight per day the Company would either have to lower the wages or make the public pay higher fares."

Mr. H. A. Jones, secretary of the London Omnibus Carriage Co., stated that since the strike 90 per cent. of the men had memorialized the Company to let them go back to the old hours and get one shilling extra per day.

agitating for an Eight Hours law say distinctly that they wish to be paid under the Eight Hours law at the same rate per hour as they are paid now; that they wish all overtime to be abolished; and that they think it right for the manufacturer to run his works for sixteen or twenty-fours hours per day as he may see fit, using the men in day and night shifts, and then the public will believe that the Eight Hours movement is what it professes to be, namely, a scheme for giving employment to more men and not an attempt to secure an increase of wages for the men who are employed already. No doubt there are people among us, amounting in the aggregate to a considerable number, who actually desire to shorten the hours of labour to eight hours per day; but they are in the main Socialists.

When we look deeply enough into this demand that the labour day should be restricted to eight hours we have these two fundamental facts at the bottom of it—first, that the people who make this demand (to put it mildly) have no relish for labour; and secondly, that they are dominated by an utter misconception of the true nature of labour. When Darwin was in South America he asked two unemployed cowboys why they did not work. One of them said he was too poor and the other that the days were too long. It is a pity that Darwin did not make this the germ of an Essay on "The Ingenuity of Idleness." A man in whom laziness is inbred will never have any difficulty in finding reasons why he should not work. The distaste for hard work which is gradually taking possession of so many of those who call themselves "the working classes" is one of the most melancholy features of our times. When the writer was in Ireland he met a shrewd old farmer who had accumulated a pretty good fortune and whose one trouble was that his sons would never get up till twelve o'clock at noon. The Irish peasant farmers as a class never think of getting up at four, five, or six o'clock as our English farmers do, and putting in two or three hours' work before breakfast. They are seldom out before eight or nine in the morning, and this lack of industry

and application is far more to blame for the condition of these people than the alleged exactions of their landlords. It is related of the late Mr. Herbert, of Muckross, that he visited a number of his tenants rather early one morning and found that they were all in bed, and that he afterwards sent them a night-cap apiece. A gentleman wrote to The Times on Sept. 17, 1891, to say that he asked a cabman who had regularly driven him to the City every morning for years if he would engage a cab to be at his door at 8.20 a.m., as a member of his family wished to be at Fenchurch Street Station at nine o'clock. The cabman said he could not carry out the arrangement, and when asked why he said—"Well, you see, 8.20 is a bit too early to suit most of us." This speaks volumes as to the condition of London cabmen, who are said to be over-driven, oppressed, and trodden underfoot by callous proprietors. No wonder the gentleman who relates the fact should have seriously thought of transferring his son from the high stool in Fenchurch Street to the dicky of a hansom cab. Another correspondent in The Times stated that he one day watched for ten minutes four carpenters who were at work upon the roof of an unfinished house. One of them stuck to his work steadily; the second knocked in three nails, giving three blows to each; the third did somewhat the same; the fourth did absolutely nothing. He further states that he saw two men at the Natural History Museum, who appeared to be deeply interested in the contents of the cases, and he was delighted to see the British working man employing his leisure in so rational and so intelligent a manner. After a considerable time, however, he discovered that the men were "at work" fixing blinds. He had a similar experience at the British Museum. He states that he once ventured to suggest to a man who was painting his vinery that for a man to sell a day's or an hour's work and then to idle away a part of it was as dishonest as for a tradesman to sell short weight or short measure. "The workman," he says, "seemed astonished at my effrontery, but otherwise unaffected, so far as I could

see." This gentleman thinks that "if we can compound for eight hours' work in place of ten hours' dawdling the community would be a gainer indeed, but anyone who hopes for such a consummation must be of a sanguine temperament." This gentleman's experience is not at all singular, as anyone may see who keeps his eyes open. Indeed, at the Eight Hours demonstration which was held in Hyde Park one summer Sunday in 1891 several of the leaders explained that when they get the Eight Hours they will agitate for six, and when they get six they will agitate for four or three. Why have they not the courage of their convictions? Let them boldly announce as their programme—"The Total Abolition of Work." When that programme was adopted, as a sage in the Hyde Park crowd remarked, "work would be a pleasure."

The misconception which prevails as to the true nature of labour is really at the root of most of our industrial troubles. And this misconception is in its very nature moral. The Creator has ordained that labour shall be the lot of man, and man can no more escape from this necessity than he can elude the law of gravitation. Mr. H. M. Stanley said at Swansea on October 3rd, 1892: "He had been in every continent, and wherever he went the impression became more fixed that man should work so that he might eat, and the man who transgressed that law should die. No matter how many labour men they got into Parliament, they would never be able to legislate away the necessity for work. Work must be done for good wages if they could be got, for bad wages if they could not, and the sooner working men understood that the sooner the labour difficulty would be got over." In the same speech Mr. Stanley said that what concerned him more than the depression in trade were the "indifference to work, the lassitude, and the languor which he had seen among the working classes.\* He

Col. Stanley Bird, in his evidence before the Labour Commission on Nov. 22, 1892, said: "A workman did not do half the work now that he formerly did in an hour, notwithstanding the increased wages he received and

was told that the Democracy was rising; it seemed to him that they had the idea that work in a future time would no longer be necessary, but his experience of this world told him that this was wrong." Yet while labour is a necessity it is also a delight. He who knows not the joy which springs out of honest labour is no true man. The nature of man is wisely adapted to his environment. The earth will yield him but little unless he bestows upon it diligent toil; but such toil will be rewarded by abundant harvests. And these harvests will be the least valuable part of the return which the man's labour will bring him; the greater and more valuable part of the reward of labour will be found in the alertness, the strength, the health, and the discipline and development both of mind and of body which surely accompany it. Labour properly understood is not a curse but a blessing; it is the sweetener of life, the balm of sorrow, the spring of joy. It is the divinely appointed means by which man wins those external commodities which are necessary to his bodily sustenance; by which he satisfies his innate love of the beautiful; by which he nourishes and cultivates his mental faculties; in a word, by which he greatens all that is noblest in his own nature and mounts God-ward. For God Himself is the greatest Worker in His own universe.

All good things in excess become evil things. Labour is no exception. Labour in excess is a dreary and monotonous drudgery, out of which all the brightness and sweetness of true and wisely moderated labour have been crushed. A

the greater purchasing value of those wages. The workman did not give his best energies during the hour, and this statement was borne out by every builder in London. Instead of doing a fair hour's work he did as little as he could." Mr. Mundella remarked that that was rather a serious allegation. Col. Stanley Bird replied—"Very serious, but I make it with full knowledge of what I say. We get a good deal less work out of the men per hour than we ever did. A bricklayer would formerly lay 1,000 bricks in a working day of 10 hours, but now a man will not lay more than from 300 to 400 in a day of nine hours. The letting of brickwork was now at 90s. per rod instead of from 30s. to 40s., and in the joinery trade from the same cause it cost as much now to produce the work by machinery as when the men had to do the whole of the work by hand."

true labourer is one who finds the keenest enjoyment of life in his labours; a drudge is one for whom even life itself has scarcely any charm. The surest way to blunt the edge of man's natural sensibilities and appetites is to overburden him with severe toil. That which in moderation is the very zest of life is in excess the curse of existence. But what is excessive labour? Some people would think two hours of hard work a day excessive; others would cheerfully work for sixteen hours a day and feel little fatigue. No reasonable man can, looking impartially and dispassionately at the general condition of our working population, say that the bulk of them work too many hours. Socialistic theorists dream of a time when all labour will be practically abolished. Such fanatics must be as blind to the laws of human nature itself as they are to the laws of the universe. The abolition of labour, if it could be accomplished, would turn this world, not into a paradise, but into a purgatory. Some men who are not Socialists, seem to have been brought under the spell of Socialistic teaching with regard to this point. In a very thoughtful little book, written by a Conservative employer who was recently a candidate for Parliament, there are these sentences: "In speaking of leisure I give to the term its widest scope, in which it embraces all the hours not devoted to the labour pursued to earn a livelihood. According to this ideal, leisure, instead merely of a golden hour or two snatched out of the toiling and sleeping twenty-four, should claim them all with the exception of one or two devoted to labour. . . . The condition of the civilized working classes of the future, as fondly sketched in them (that is, in modern theories), whilst exempting youth and age from all labour, shall impose upon the adults only a mere modicum of it, and enable them to devote the greater portion of their time to ennobling pursuits." The late William Hoyle estimated that the total amount of labour needed to provide for the wants of a human being would be as follows: "Food, half an hour's labour daily; clothing, fifteen minutes daily; houses, &c.,

half an hour's labour;" that is an hour and a quarter's labour per day all told. The estimate proceeds upon the assumption that every member of the community will do his or her share towards producing food, clothing, and dwellings. Such an assumption vitiates the entire proposition and makes it little better than farcical. There has never been a civilized community in which every man and woman did his or her share towards producing the things mentioned; and there never will be such a community. One of the distinctive marks of a civilized society, which perhaps more than anything else differentiates and distinguishes it from a barbarous community, is that it possesses a large number of what political economists call "unproductive labourers," that is, of people who, instead of growing food, spinning clothing, or building houses, are engaged in ministering to the higher needs of civilized man. Clergymen, lawyers, doctors, artists, musicians, authors, actors and such like persons are not in the conventional sense productive abourers, that is to say, their labour is not bestowed upon producing wealth in the shape of provisions, clothing, machinery, &c. Nevertheless, they perform functions which are in the highest degree important, and they minister to the needs and to the enjoyment of civilised society in ways which make them simply invaluable. Most of the fault which is found by Socialistic and semi-Socialistic "reformers" with the existing condition of things relates, not to the production of wealth, but to its distribution. The mere production of food is a simple matter; the distribution of it would be almost as simple in a community where all the members were manual labourers and nothing more. In a barbarous society all might be in the strict economical sense productive labourers; in a civilized society they never can be. To demand, therefore, that every person shall be in this sense a productive labourer is practically to demand that civilization itself should be abolished. While man remains what he is, and the principles of civilization remain what they are, unproductive labourers will remain with us, and political economists will have to reckon with them.

It may be worth while, however, to point out that the so-called unproductive labourers are really the only true producers in the community. What is commonly called production is not strictly production at all. The men who are engaged in producing food, clothing, houses, machinery, etc., do not really create anything whatever; they merely change the form and change the place of the things which they handle. Change of form and change of place are the ends of all ordinary human labour; the former being effected by manufacturing processes, and the latter by commercial. "Man cannot create material things. When he is said to produce things he really only produces utilities. In the mental and moral world, indeed, he may produce new ideas. But in the physical world all that he can do is to either re-arrange matter so as to make it more useful, as when he makes a log of wood into a table; or to put it in the way of being made more useful by Nature, as when he puts seed where the forces of Nature will make it burst out into life." It will be seen, therefore, that the very class who are despised and derided by political economists as non-producers are really the only true producers among us. The poet is the real "maker." The man who writes a great book, giving to the world new ideas, has actually produced something which did not exist before, which is more than can be said of the work of the farmer, the labourer, or the artisan. Yet political economy has arbitrarily distinguished the latter classes as productive labourers and the other classes as unproductive labourers. But political economy is essentially a materialistic science.

Let us now see how matters stand as regards the number of hours which are actually worked by our people. The hours of labour in our factories are fifty-six and a half per week; among artisans, fifty-one hours per week; so that even our factory operatives possess twenty-one hours of

<sup>\*</sup> Professor Marshall, "Principles of Economics," page 116.

leisure per week, besides the Sunday, and in addition to about a fortnight's holiday per year. Probably this is as much leisure as they know how to spend wisely; that is, with profit to themselves and to the community. At all events nobody can say that these hours of labour are excessive. During the last twenty-five years the hours of labour of the working classes have been shortened by at least twenty per cent., and their wages have increased by about one hundred per cent., whilst the purchasing power of money remains pretty much the same, so that their condition has improved enormously. This fact is clearly brought out by a Parliamentary Return on the hours of labour which was issued in March, 1891. This Return shows that in most occupations the hours of labour have been steadily decreasing, and that nine hours seems to be about the average day except in collieries, where it is much less. In 1850 the London painters and decorators worked sixty hours per week, now they work fifty-two and a half; cabinet-makers' hours have been reduced from seventy-two per week to fifty-six and a half; bakers from seventy-two to fifty-four; tailors seventy-two to fifty-six and a half; brickmakers from sixty-four in summer to fifty-four, and from fortyfive in winter to thirty-eight; dock labourers from fifty-nine in summer to fifty-three and a half, and from fifty-three in winter to forty-eight and a half. These facts prove that matters are going on most satisfactorily for the working classes, whose hours of labours are being gradually reduced by the action of educational, social, and moral causes, and that there is not the slightest necessity to interfere in the matter by law, or, in the striking words of Mr. John Morley, to "thrust an Act of Parliament like a ramrod into all the delicate and complex machinery of British industry." Of course there are occupations in which the hours of labour are still too long. Many railway servants, omnibus and tram-car drivers, cabmen, shop assistants, barmen and barmaids, and other classes work several hours per day more than they ought to do. But probably there will never be a time when somebody will not have to work longer than

they ought. Indeed, there are some occupations, such as domestic servants for example, where from the nature of the case the hours of labour must always be long.

How are the hours to be reduced in those cases where they are now excessive? Is the matter to be left to the gradual but certain operation of economic laws, or is it to be dealt with in an arbitrary and violent manner by Parliament? That is the question which has to be decided. The bulk of the Trade Unionists, impelled by the Socialistic element among them, are clamouring for the interference of law. Yet the Durham miners, without any such law, have got an Eight Hours day; in fact they do not work eight hours a day, and their latest demand is that they should not spend more than seven hours a day in the pit. If the Durham miners have secured this without the assistance of Parliament why cannot the other miners of the country do the same? What necessity is there for Mr. Pickard, or any other miners' representative, to bring in an Eight Hours Bill? The London Omnibus men, as we have seen, recently secured a reduction of their hours of labour from sixteen to twelve without any assistance from law. It is true they struck before they obtained reduced hours; it is equally true that the concession of a twelve hours' day was granted to them almost before the strike commenced. There is no real need for any legislation at all upon the matter. Education, reformation, elevation—these are the things required and not legislation; in other words, the means to be used for securing a reduction in the hours of labour where they are now excessive should be moral, and not political. The Socialistic Trade Unionists, however, are not content to seek a reduction of hours merely in those occupations where they are still too long; they demand a reduction of hours to eight per day in all trades, although, as we have seen, the hours are moderate and reasonable in nearly all our great industries. That is to say, the Eight Hours agitation is being used by the Socialists as an instrument for accomplishing their ulterior aims.

An Eight Hours law, such as is indicated by the

utterances of those who advocate it, would be a piece of odious and intolerable tyranny, Mr. Watson, Secretary of the Railway Workers' Union, stated before a Select Committee of the House of Commons a little time ago, that no man should be allowed to earn any money after he had completed his eight hours labour, however much he might wish to do so, and that if such a man spent any of his leisure time in making shoes for a shop he ought to be punished. Mr. Henry Tait, the General Secretary of the Scottish Railway Servants, and now a member of the Labour Commission, said: "I would say that however anxious a man might be to work more than the allotted time he ought not to be allowed to do it. I do not see that a man is to be entitled to work longer than the Act of Parliament fixes." Mr. Harford, Secretary of the Amalgamated Railway Servants of England, has expressed similar views, and holds that penalties should be inflicted upon men who worked more than eight hours. Much more evidence to the same effect has been given before this Committee and the Labour Commission. If an Eight Hours law could be carried in accordance with the views of such men as these the condition of the working man in this country would be absolute slavery. To talk of his liberty under conditions which would not permit him to earn a penny for himself or his family after his legal eight hours were over, and which would hale him before the magistrates to be fined and imprisoned if he did so work, would be a bitter mockery. Lord Norton said in a letter to The Times of May 7, 1892, that—" No labourer has ever made a fortune without the use of extra hours of labour," and this is an important truth. Thousands of working men who have been impoverished and forced into debt by reason of illness or misfortune have been able subsequently to retrieve their position by working overtime, which they would not be allowed to do under the tyranny which would impose upon them an Eight Hours day. If such men had not been free to make the best of their time and energies when they had the chance to work

and the power to work they could never have recovered themselves, and would have fallen to the lowest social stratum. Moreover, the light of Nature and of Reason is sufficient to show a man that he should "make hav while the sun shines;" that he should work longer hours when he is young and strong, so that he may have the advantage of shorter hours when he is old and weak; that he should make the best of his opportunities while health is given him so that he may have somewhat to depend upon in sickness; that although he may take things easily in winter, when frost and snow and rain and fog prevent him from building or ploughing, he should make up for this lost time during the golden days of summer; that, in a word, he should work hard and long when the crop is ripe and rich opportunity invites him to an ample reward for his labour. But where political blindness and folly are in the ascendant these rational and common-sense views are thrust into the background.\*

During the Session of 1892 an Eight Hours Bill was introduced by Mr. Conybeare and Mr. Cunninghame Graham, which provided that on and after January 1st, 1893, no person should work, or cause or suffer any other person to work, on sea or land, in any capacity for more than eight

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Henry Parkes, the Australian statesman, referring to the question of the Eight Hours day in his autobiography, says: "Can the legislature determine the number of hours of labour for a free citizen who is in the possession of his health and strength, and all his rights and privileges, and the mental capacity to direct his own movements, without a flagrant innovation of his individual freedom? The question is not one of eight hours, or of nine, or of seven hours; but it is whether the law shall interfere with the free man in the exercise of his right to labour in his own way according to his own will and sense of duty. If one man is protected in his rights of property, shall not the man who has no property be protected in his rights of labour? And is a free legislature morally justified in exercising this species of tyranny over the subjects of a free country? . . . The legislature cannot fix the hours of labour because there is no finality in its decision; in extending an acquiescence to the fixing of the hours to eight we only acknowledge the competency of the legislature to fix the hours, it may be eight or it may be eighteen, according to the legislative will for the time being." This touches the core of the question. Sir Henry Parkes believes that eight hours is enough for a man to work, but he holds that the length of the working day should be settled, as other matters are settled, between employers and employed themselves without the interference of the legislature.

hours in any one day of twenty-four hours, or for more than forty-eight hours in any one week, except when, on the application of a majority as ascertained by a ballot vote of the workers in any trade or occupation, the Secretary of State should by order exempt such trade or occupation from so much of the Act as prohibits working longer than eight hours in each twenty-four or forty-eight hours in each week. It was also provided that any employer, manager, or other person who should knowingly cause or suffer any person subject to his or her authority or commands or in his or her employment to work more than eight hours in any one day of twenty-four hours or for more than forty-eight hours in any week, should, on conviction, be liable to a penalty of not less than f.10 nor more than f.100 for every such offence.\* Mr. Leake introduced an Eight Hours Bill for miners, the second reading of which he moved on March 23rd, the numbers being 160 for and 272 against the measure, a majority of 112. The significance of the figures lies in the fact that 160 members of the House of Commons should have voted for a Bill of this character. A still more significant fact is that Mr. Chamberlain, the leader of the Liberal Unionist Party in the House of Commons, supported the measure both by voice and vote. He has since argued in favour of an Eight Hours Bill for miners in his article on "The Labour Question" which appeared in the Nincteenth Century and which has already been adverted to. In this article Mr. Chamberlain

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Gladstone pointed out in a speech at Gorebridge on July 5, 1892, that all the Eight Hours Bills he had seen placed the penalty of breaking the law in all cases and exclusively upon the employer, and added: "I must hesitate before I can subscribe to that principle. Are the miners a body of independent men or are they not? If these miners are in servitude then it would be very hard to inflict upon them any portion of the penalty of the breach of the law, but if they are independent men, and if the law is broken, they may have had just as much, they may have had more, to do with the breach of the law than the employer. I frankly own to you that it is to me a matter on which I must reserve my entire liberty whether it would or would not be fair in the adoption of an Eight Hours Bill for miners to lay the entire penalty for breach of the law upon the employer only—that is, upon one of the two parties to the breach."

treats the question of regulating the hours of labour by legislation, as indeed he treats every similar question, from the standpoint of expediency. On the principle involved he is absolutely silent. That the State should interfere in these matters, and legislate for grown men as if they were children, is apparently accepted by him as a necessary and a wholesome political development, though it is contrary to all our traditions and experience, and introduces into our legislation a new principle of a most pernicious character. He endeavours, indeed, to show that this would not be an innovation in our laws, inasmuch as we have already certain Acts of Parliament, which he names, notably the Irish Land Acts, "all of which directly or indirectly have limited free contract in the alleged interests of the community." That all these Acts may have been unsound and dangerous is a point which is wholly ignored. All that we are told is that as we have limited free contract by adopting these Acts we might as well limit it still further by adopting other Acts even more extreme. The important point, however, is that there is really no analogy betwixt the Acts which Mr. Chamberlain enumerates and the one which he is urging us to adopt, as there is not one of them which prescribes that adult men shall work only so many hours per day, or per week, and which imposes penalties and punishments upon them if they work longer hours than those prescribed. Mr. Chamberlain's position is, not that the legislative enforcement of a general Eight Hours day is wrong in principle, but that it is impracticable as a matter of policy. On this ground, and on this ground alone, he flings it aside as a matter which is for the present outside the range of practical politics. He says that—"It would be waste of time to consider so vast a proposition at the present moment"; and that "there is absolutely no evidence that the workers in the majority of trades would accept such an arrangement." If the majority of the working classes were to say that they desired such an arrangement, why, then, Mr. Chamberlain would give it to them. As on grounds of expediency Mr. Chamberlain is

against an Eight Hours day for all workmen, so on the same grounds he is in favour of something being done in the direction of the hours of labour being regulated by the legislature. This something is that an Eight Hours day should be established for miners. He urges that the miners have a very strong case, and asserts that "their employment is admittedly dangerous, disagreeable, and unusually laborious." Speaking at Rugeley on July 17, 1892, Mr. Chamberlain said: "My view is that eight hours' work is as much as is good for anyone—except a member of Parliament—as much as is good for anyone in laborious and in continuous employment. . . . But in the case of such hard work, such laborious work, and such disagreeable work as mining, I have come to the conclusion—and as I am a shareholder in mines I have some right to speak on the subject—that eight hours is as much work as a man can do well. Now, that being the case, it is a good object to seek to reduce labour in mines, at all events to a maximum of eight hours, and I for one see no objection in principle whatever if the majority in any district desire to restrict the labour to eight hours to give to their decision a legal sanction."

With regard to the notion that the miners' occupation is specially dangerous to health and life, on which notion Mr. Chamberlain bases his demand for exceptional legislation for miners, it is simply unfounded. All the evidence that can be obtained on the matter goes to show that miners as a class are more healthy and long lived than many other classes of workmen. It would be possible to enumerate several other occupations which make larger demands upon the physical and nervous energy than that of the miner, and which consequently lead to a more rapid impairment of health and to a premature grave. Dr. Ârlidge, in his newly published work entitled "The Hygiene, Diseases, and Mortality of Occupations," says upon this point: "Additional reasons why coal and iron and stone miners enjoy considerable immunity from phthisis compared with

men in other industries are to be found in the general conditions of life surrounding them. They escape the evils of sedentary work; their hours of labour are shorter than many indoor occupations; the circumstances of their employment place a bar to riotous living except the opportunities they make for it when work is ceased; and statistics show in fact that their mortality from alcoholism and contingent diseases is low. Add to these considerations that they are preserved to a great extent from the inclemencies of the weather, enjoy a more equable climate than out-door workers, and that they are a well-nourished body of men at least they should all be so were their wages properly applied. They awaken public sympathy largely because of their work underground; for aversion to darkness is ingrained in human nature. Still, there are no decisive facts to prove that work in the dark, per se, is a distinct injury to human beings. The horses in pits, which remain for months and even years underground, are fat and flourishing; and miners are seldom underground above eight hours at a stretch, and not that every day in the week. Besides, we have yet to learn that the six months darkness falling to the lot of dwellers near the Pole is productive of serious bodily harm. It might be a subject for discussion whether a collier in his pit—of almost uniform temperature—is not better off than the farm labourer, who is compelled to work long hours and in all weathers, and frequently in operations equally laborious with those of miners, if not more so. Certainly his physical surroundings are superior to those of mill hands and of most people occupied in trades."\* In view of such evidence as this, which anybody who has lived in a mining district (as the writer has done) knows to be in accordance with experience and fact, what becomes of the

<sup>\*</sup> In a paper read before the Section of Economical Science at the British Association on Aug. 25, 1891, Dr. Arlidge said: "Were the evidence of the production of a high death rate to be accepted as the criterion for curtailing working hours mining would not challenge the first place, but would be surpassed by several other occupations, and especially by the manufacture of cutlery and of pottery."

pretentious superstructure which Mr. Chamberlain and others have erected upon this shaky foundation? They have based their demand for an Eight Hours day for miners upon shifting sands. Their one great argument for such an Eight Hours day is demonstrated to be false. If they wish to convince common-sense people that the cause they are advocating is a safe and a sound one they will have to adopt very different tactics.

Mr. Chamberlain treats in a very jaunty fashion the grave objections which exist against an Eight Hours day being conceded to miners. He thinks "it is not at all certain that the change would increase the cost of production," as the miners by working harder while they were at it might make up for shorter hours; and if they did not and the price of coal were to rise in consequence, why, then, the increased cost would fall upon the consumer and not upon the workman or his employer. Poor consumer! Who cares one jot about him? But these short-sighted advocates of the Eight Hours day and other Socialistic nostrums persistently overlook the fact that the working classes themselves constitute the largest body of consumers in the country, and that therefore any increase in the price of coal, or other commodities, will injure them more than anybody else.

In spite of all Mr. Chamberlain may say, however, it is certain that an Eight Hours day for miners would increase the cost of production. Old collieries, which are much more expensive to work than new ones, can only just be kept open under present conditions, and the margin of profit earned by them is so small that, if an Eight Hours day were to be adopted, they would at once have to be closed. The closing of these pits would greatly diminish the output of coal, and a diminished output would mean an increased price for all coal that was raised. It would also mean that all the miners now employed in these older pits would be thrown out of work. Mr. George Coldwell, ex-President of the South Lancashire and Cheshire Coalminers'

Association, stated before the Labour Commission that a legal Eight Hours day would lessen the output very considerably, and materially increase the cost of production, and in times of depression lead to the closing of a good many collieries. He added that he would be very glad if the men would work eight hours daily, or forty-eight per week. Mr. G. W. Macalpine, a colliery proprietor, said that a reduction of the hours of work would undoubtedly reduce the output, and increase the cost of production; and that even if the men were to hew as much coal in seven and a half hours as in eight hours the output would be reduced, because of the limitation of the hours of winding coal. Mr. A. Sopwith, Vice-President of the Cannock Chase Coal Owners' Association, thought that an Eight Hours day would reduce the drawing of the collieries of his district by one hour. Mr. W. Fairley, mineral agent to the Marquis of Anglesey, affirmed that a compulsory Eight Hours day would reduce the output, and also the miners' wages, by at least twelve per cent. where they were on piece-work. Mr. F. Parker Rhodes, Secretary to the South Yorkshire Coal Owners' Association, declared that a compulsory Eight Hours day would lessen the drawing power of the pit, and necessarily reduce the output; and he added that a very small restriction in the output of coal would have a serious effect on the trade. Mr. A. M. Chambers, colliery proprietor, stated that in his collieries a compulsory Eight Hours day would lead to a reduction in the output of from 20 to 25 per cent., and that the men could not possibly increase their output per hour if their time was reduced. Mr. Edward Jones, a former President of the Monmouthshire and South Wales Coal Owners' Association, stated that a certain colliery during the year 1891 worked for twenty-five weeks fifty-four hours from bank to bank, and for twenty-seven weeks only fortytwo hours from bank to bank; and that the increased cost in the twenty-seven weeks of short time, as compared with the twenty-five weeks of full time, was od. per ton. Mr. George Wilkinson, manager of several large collieries in

Wales, said that an Eight Hours day would reduce the output of a large colliery by 100 tons a day and would increase the cost 1s. per ton. Other witnesses stated that an Eight Hours day would mean not more than five hours actual work at the face, and that a compulsory reduction of the miners' time would make them so anxious to earn as much as possible within the time that they would neglect those precautions which are essential to their safety, and that the number of mining accidents would consequently very largely increase.

Professor C. M. Percy, of the School of Mines, Wigan, writing in The Times of Aug. 24, said: "An Eight Hours day in mines would either reduce wages or increase cost; I believe it would do both. At present we probably have an average eight hours actual working day representing from nine to ten hours from bank to bank. The proposed legislation would give us about six hours actual work. We cannot put up prices at will, because we have no monopoly in our industries. America runs us very close. There is quite a possibility that before long America will send coals to England. Here in England our coal lies very deep and is expensive to work; in America the coal lies near the surface and is worked so cheaply that coal equal to anything in England is put in barges and in railway waggons at 3s. a ton. Even now coal is sent from Australia and used in Liverpool. Miners ask for an Eight Hours day believing that the hours of labour can be reduced and the rate of wages maintained. That could only be done by increasing the selling price, and I have just shewn that we cannot control the selling price. The price of coal is fixed by what those who consume it in manufactures can afford to pay." The Professor further stated that out of the 200,000,000 tons of coal produced each year in this country more than half is consumed in manufactures, the bulk of which have to compete in foreign markets with foreign goods. He added: "At the present time the iron and steel and cotton industries of the United Kingdom are very depressed, and an increased price for coal would ruin them. . . . I am satisfied that the inevitable result of an eight hours bank to bank day for miners brought about by Parliamentary interference will be to reduce miners' wages, increase the dangers of mining, raise the cost of production, and seriously injure mining as an industry and all other industries associated with it."

Mr. John Nixon, a colliery proprietor, who states that he has had over fifty years' experience in the practical working and general management of collieries in the North of England and in the deep pits of South Wales, said, in The Times of December 8, 1891: "With the keen competition of Australian coal for use in our steamers on their return voyages as far back as Suez, Assam coal at Calcutta. and on the Eastern part of India, Nagasaki coal used in steamers trading with Japan, China, and San Francisco, and our English steamers using Pocahontas coal for their return voyages from America, the colliery owners of this country, instead of being in a position to bear the extra cost which, it must be known to all acquainted with colliery operations, is necessarily involved in a reduction of the working hours, will require the co-operation of their workmen more than ever in producing the coal at a reasonable cost, which certainly, from my experience, cannot be done without regular work from day to day for at least fifty-four hours per week, or by the introduction of the double shift. by which the maximum output is obtained with the least possible number of men exposed to the risk of accident at any one time." Mr. Nixon also stated that French and German coals were competing successfully with British coal in markets which were formerly exclusively supplied by this country; that the greater the output obtained at a colliery during the twenty-four hours the more regularly could the colliery be kept at work, and the better able would colliery owners be to give good wages to their workmen and at the same time to compete successfully in foreign markets and supply our own manufacturers with fuel at reasonable

prices; that during prosperous times the colliers worked intermittently and thus reduced the output, thereby increasing the cost of getting the coal, sometimes to the extent of doubling the costs of the colliery proprietor; and finally that the mining legislation of the last twenty years, which has done so much to improve the condition of underground workmen, has been carried out entirely at the expense of the colliery owner. Such evidence as this, which might be multiplied a hundred-fold, coming as it does from men who have a practical knowledge of the mining industry, and whose whole interests are bound up with it, is worth a thousand times more than all the declamation and sophistry of politicians, and in any common-sense condition of affairs it would be deemed absolutely conclusive, and would at once knock this agitation for an Eight Hours day for miners upon the head.

To those who say that the miners can obtain what they want by voluntary effort, Mr. Chamberlain says, firstly, that past experience shows the difficulty of combination for such a purpose to be so great that it is insuperable; and secondly, "that the alternative to legislation is the pressure put upon recalcitrant employers and workmen by means of strikes and of the boycott; and it seems unwise to resort to what are barbarous means of commercial warfare in order to enforce the views of the majority, when legislation offers an effective, economical, and powerful way of securing the same result." The answer to all this is that if miners or any other class of workmen are not sufficiently in earnest about reducing their hours of labour to be able to combine for the purpose of securing that reduction, they have no right to expect other people to do for them what they might do for themselves if they were united and resolute; and that "barbarous means of commercial warfare," when confined within proper limits, are by no means so terrible as they are represented to be, and have done pretty good service in the past-besides which they are a necessity while human nature remains what it is. Mr. Chamberlain fondly imagines that he

perceives indications of a change of opinion among the miners of the North, who have hitherto stoutly resisted legislative interference with the hours of labour; but since Mr. Chamberlain's article was written the result of the ballot which has been taken among the Durham miners upon the Eight Hours question, has been published, and the figures show 12,684 for an Eight Hours Act and 28,217 against it, being a majority of 15,533 against the measure. This does not seem to indicate any probability of agreement among the miners themselves on this subject.

The want of unanimity among miners on the question of the Eight Hours day has led Mr. Chamberlain to propose that the principle of Local Option should be applied to the matter, so that the miners of any district who desire to adopt an Eight Hours day may be empowered to adopt it irrespective of the action of miners of other districts. Enamoured as he is of this principle, however, Mr. Chamberlain's utterances upon it are of the most vague and inconclusive character. By what machinery he would apply the principle he does not tell us, and until he gives us more definite proposals on this point there is nothing to criticise or to answer. Mr. Gladstone, whose course upon the Eight Hours question has been most eccentric, and has exposed him to the severe criticism of Mr. Chamberlain and others, has gone out of his way to express his approval of the principle of Local Option. Speaking at Gorebridge on July 5th, 1892, he said: "Would it be possible to introduce into the mining business, for the purpose of imposing legally an Eight Hours limit, that which is called in the case of the liquor laws Local Option? I do not presume to give you a positive opinion. All I can say is that until universal unanimity has prevailed, and in cases where local unanimity exists, I should be very glad indeed to see that principle of Local Option made available to avoid the difficulty of violent interference with the individual freedom of bodies of men that are unwilling to give it up, and on the other hand to give full

scope to the honourable and legitimate aspirations of the miners of a district like this, who value the Eight Hours for high social and moral purposes, and who are unanimous in their desire to attain it." On July 8th, 1892, speaking at West Calder, Mr. Gladstone said: "Possibly it might be worth consideration whether this difficulty can be met, and the local desires of different mining communities respected and conciliated, by introducing into the law of mining labour something like that good plan which has been proposed for the regulation of the liquor traffic—I mean what is known by the name of Local Option. . . . I think it well worth your consideration whether the plan of Local Option can be so framed as to allow the limitation to be imposed where it is desired and to be dispensed with where it is not desired. That, you know, is the plan proposed for the liquor traffic, that the country shall be divided for the purpose into small and well-chosen districts, and that there the control, and in some points conclusive control, shall be given to the people themselves of the liquor laws of the district. . . . I think it will be a great public advantage gained, and I do not despair of it if that principle of Local Option is made the instrument for the solution of this most important, but not altogether easy, problem." Again, speaking at Penicuik, on July 11, 1892, the same right hon. gentleman said: "I think it will be a real advance if by some harmonious measure, some measure not likely to set the mining class at variance with itself, we can make some progress towards allowing limitation of the hours of work in the nature of a local limitation according to the views and convictions which might prevail. I object, at least I feel it difficult, to accept local limitations whenever there is no unanimity among those on behalf of whom they are asked, and I think it will be a very great gain, if we should find it practicable, to deal with this question of mining labour—I leave other and more difficult subjects at present aside—to deal with this question of mining labour on the principle on which the advocates of temperance are seeking and desiring to deal with restrictive laws—namely, on the principle of Local Option, and according to the local sense of the people."

Mr. W. Mather, M.P., alone among our legislators, so far as is known to the writer, has had the courage to formulate a scheme by which this principle of Local Option could be applied and enforced. Mr. Chamberlain is no doubt acquainted with Mr. Mather's proposals, but he does not say whether he is in favour of them or not. Mr. Gladstone, however, has been at pains to commend Mr. Mather's scheme, which is one of the most irrational and unjust that was ever brought forward by a sober-minded legislator. The salient features of the scheme are these: That the Miners' Unions of the United Kingdom are to be constituted by Act of Parliament corporate bodies, and empowered to determine by a resolution of the majority of their members what number of hours shall constitute a working day for miners; that under this Act, if passed, the employers of the miners would be excluded from any share in deciding the question as to how long their paid workmen are to work daily for the wages which they (the employers) have to pay, the employers merely receiving an intimation that such a resolution is intended to be passed, together with a statement of the miners' reasons for altering the hours of the working day, and also an invitation to confer with the Miners' Unions as to the best method of carrying out the proposed change; that at the expiration of the said notice the Miners' Union would be entitled to pass a resolution forthwith fixing the hours of labour at eight per day, or seven, or six, or even four (for no restriction is proposed to be placed upon the discretion of the Miners' Unions as regards this point), and the employers would be then bound to accept it as a rule of the trade until altered or repealed by the Union which originally passed it.

The extraordinary fact is that Mr. Mather is himself an employer of labour, and that he professes to have treated the subject from the point of view of an employer. It is beyond doubt that he was actuated by the most excellent

motives in propounding this scheme; but it is a melancholy fact that good men with excellent intentions have often done more harm in the world than men whose motives were obviously of the basest character. Mr. Mather appears to have been moved to take this action by the conviction that "the early imposition of some restriction in the direction indicated is inevitable," and to have made this proposal as a conscientious man under a due sense of his responsibility as the representative of an important constituency in Parliament, and with an honest belief that it would, if carried out, be beneficent in its effects in relation to both employers and employed. It is stated that a large number of members of Parliament regard his proposals "as a satisfactory solution of the Eight Hours difficulty so far as underground labour is concerned."

Mr. Mather's scheme, it will be observed, would impose upon the employers of coal miners restrictions and disabilities of a character hitherto unheard of in British legislation; for it would compel those employers to stand aside, speechless and powerless, while the Union to which their men belong settles the length of the working day, and in so settling may decide that these employers shall pay a given amount of wages for a much smaller amount of labour than they have been accustomed to receive for the same amount of wages in the past. In other words, the scheme would allow the workmen to bind their employers hand and foot whilst they proceeded to appropriate the property of these employers for themselves. In any domain but that of politics this would be called highway robbery with violence; but politics have a singular power to change the moral qualities of conduct, at all events in the eyes of men whose views of morality have been perverted by political bias or expediency. This scheme would cripple the employers of miners by denuding them of all power to defend or control their property, and then afterwards insult them by politely inviting them to confer with their workmen, who have already made up their minds to despoil them. That an employer should himself propose that a whole class of other employers should be subjected to such indignities and impositions as this scheme would place upon the coal owners, and that all this should be proposed to be done in the name of political progress and under the pretence of doing justice, is an astounding fact even for these topsyturvy times, and it is more melancholy than it is astounding. Mr. Mather intimates that the plan he would immediately apply to mines and miners might in the dim and distant future be also applied to all other industries, for he says: "Believing as I do that no principle should be applied in legislation to one special industry which would not be equally applicable to all others as occasion arose, I hold that my plan is as capable of being applied to all industries where trade combinations exist of sufficient magnitude to merit recognition on the part of the legislature as being authoritative and representative of the general interests of their trades."

Mr. Mather expounds and defends his scheme with all the fervid enthusiasm of a fanatic. He says: "I am prepared to justify and defend the placing of this power in the hands of the Miners' Unions at once on the ground that their industry is of a nature to command the assent of all to the shortening of the hours to the lowest limit consistent with its prosperity and further development." But, as we have seen, men who are entitled to be regarded as authorities on the mining industry (which Mr. Mather is not) declare that hours have already been shortened to the lowest limit consistent with the maintenance of the industry at its present limits, to say nothing of its further development. As to the statement that the occupation of the miner is of such a nature as to command the assent of all to a further shortening of hours, it is a gross exaggeration. The proposal to further restrict the hours of miners does not command the assent of all the miners themselves, and perhaps not of a very considerable majority among them; whilst outside the ranks of the miners the majority is certainly the other way.

As to the idea that the occupation of the miner is exceptionally unhealthy and dangerous, which evidently underlies the words of Mr. Mather just quoted, we have seen that it is an utter fallacy.

To Mr. Mather has been reserved the distinction of proposing to give Trade Unions, who act purely from interested and selfish motives, absolute power to decide how long men are to work daily without any regard whatever to the interests of those who employ these men. Parliament, and even the London County Council, are supposed to act in the interest of the community as a whole; but nobody supposes a Trade Union to do other than act in the interests of its own members. It is a narrow, prejudiced. selfish clique. Such a clique would, by Mr. Mather's scheme, be armed with power over employers such as even Parliament itself could not exercise without imperilling the commercial interests of the nation. Mr. Mather has evidently unbounded faith in the wisdom and self-control of Miners' Unions; for he proposes to place in their hands powers of such magnitude and at the same time of such delicacy as to be without a parallel. These Unions, which are managed and manipulated by a few officials, would be able to ride rough-shod over non-unionist workmen and employers; in other words, the liberty of the free workman and the property of the colliery proprietor would be absolutely at their mercy. What right have Unionist miners, that is to say virtually the few officials who speak and act in their name, to decide what number of hours non-unionists are to work? Mr. Mather, and those who think with him, apparently hold the opinion that the wishes and the interests of non-unionist miners are not worthy of being taken into account; but it would puzzle them to prove that the desires and the welfare of these men are not just as sacred as those of the unionists. Look at the character of the men to whom they would entrust these enormous powers. they in the main reasonable and intelligent men, who act with moderation and with a just regard to the rights of others? Are they actuated by a desire to live at peace with their employers, and to promote the interests of those employers in every way that is possible to them? The conduct of the Durham miners, the very class of men who would exercise these powers, during their recent strike, will supply the answer. What did these men do? They refused to accept a moderate reduction of wages which the state of trade had rendered necessary if the pits were to be kept open, and they made this refusal in the face of the fact that their wages had been increased during a comparatively recent period by something like 50 per cent., and they struck work, thus laying idle one of the most busy and prosperous districts in England. Nobody questions their right to do this, though everybody may well question their wisdom in doing it. But did they stop here? By no means. They went far beyond this point, and assaulted other workmen, destroyed the property of their masters, and even refused to allow the pumps of the collieries to be worked in order that the collieries might be preserved from destruction, the result being that several of them came nigh to being rendered useless and valueless. If ever men were actuated by enmity towards their masters, by a malignant desire to injure those masters, these men were. At some of their meetings they passed resolutions that no vote should be given to a coal owner at any election. To these men and to their like Mr. Mather would give power over employers and their property which would be virtually absolute.

For, essentially, Mr. Mather's proposal is that the capital of the coal owners shall be placed absolutely at the mercy of the labour which they employ to work their mines, and which never could be employed but for their money. Of course it is not stated in so many words that this is the object of the proposal; indeed, Mr. Mather is careful to point out that he would strictly limit his proposal to determining the hours of labour. But, then, no man shows better than he that the question of wages is inseparably bound up with the hours of labour. If you propose to pay a

man the same amount of money for working eight hours as he formerly received for working ten, then you increase his wages although you give him actually no more money. supplies less labour for the same wages, and therefore what labour he does supply costs more to the man who purchases it. If Mr. Mather's scheme were put into operation, and every Miners' Union throughout the country passed a resolution to the effect that no miner should work more than six hours a day, the effect would be that the employers of these miners would receive less labour for the same expenditure than they received before; in other words, they would receive less coal to sell than they did before, and consequently their gross receipts would be proportionately reduced. The capital value of their mines would in this way be depreciated, which is the same thing as if a given sum of money were taken out of their pockets and put into the pockets of the men whom they employ. These mines have been made what they are by the brains and the money of the men who own them; but they would be virtually taken out of the hands of these men and handed over to another body of men who, although they have had a share in the creation of this property, have no vested rights in it; for although workmen have been employed in the mines all along, their share of the product of the mines has been paid to them week by week or month by month, so that they have no accumulated property in the mines themselves.

Let us look at the case fairly. Here is a gigantic industry in which an enormous amount of capital has been sunk. The value of the coal produced in the United Kingdom during 1891 was seventy-four millions sterling, and this will enable us to form some idea of the immense value of our coal beds, and of the fixed capital which is engaged in working them. In the working of these mines Capital has entered into partnership with Labour, the necessary condition of the partnership being that Labour should be paid its share of the profits at once, while Capital waits for its share until the product can be realised. The whole value of this

capital is virtually dependent upon the proper conduct of Labour, upon the reasonableness, the sobriety, the justice, and the industry of working miners. The partnership was entered into on the ground of freedom of contract, or in other words on the principle of allowing the two parties to the bargain to make their own terms. This principle would be completely upset if Mr. Mather's proposal were carried into practice, and Labour would be placed in possession of absolute power over Capital, even to the extent of depriving Capital of all share in that which is its own property, and exclusively its own property; for it is demonstrable that if the hours of labour were shortened many of our collieries, especially the older ones, could not be kept open. If they were closed through the adoption of shortened hours of labour, whose property would be sacrificed? The property of Labour? No; for the labourer could go elsewhere, and take with him all the property he ever owned. The property that would be thus sacrificed would belong to Capital; the money loss would fall entirely on the employer. Under Mr. Mather's plan there is nothing to prevent miners from voting for a six hours day, or even a four hours day, if they so wished. It is not only the hours of the men that are involved in this question, although the matter is treated as if nothing else were at issue; but it is also the property of the employers which is at stake. Can any precedent be quoted for placing the property of a whole class of employers at the mercy of Trade Unions?

It may be said that this way of putting the case is strong; that it is exaggerated; that the labour of working men is their property, which they have a right to sell upon what terms they choose, and that if a majority of them in a given district resolved that four hours labour shall be sold at the same price as nine hours labour has hitherto been sold for, they are perfectly within their right. This is true in one sense, but not in another. It would be strictly true where the workman approached the employer as an individual, and where the employer was able to deal with his

workmen one by one. It is not true where the workmen have entered into a combination against the employer, and where circumstances exist which virtually coerce the employer either into granting the demands of the men or shutting up his works. Suppose for example, that Mr. Mather's scheme is passed into law, and that under this law the miners of the county of Durham passed a resolution declaring that they would not work in the pits longer than four hours per day, and that this resolution was presented at the employers like a pistol to their heads. What are they to do? A huge labour combination has been formed against them, which combination is armed by Parliament with powers of life and death over them. They have but two alternatives; they must either concede the demands of the Miners' Unions, or they must close their pits. Probably they would elect to do the latter at once, as they would know very well that they would have to do it ultimately even if they granted the men's demands. By closing their pits they are losers in two ways: in the first place, the whole of the money sunk in their pits, that is, their capital value, has disappeared, for collieries which are allowed to remain idle soon become valueless; in the second place, the profits which they have been accustomed to earn from the working of their capital in their business, or their annual income, has also disappeared. They have lost everything except what they may happen to have invested in some other enterprise than coal mining. Now in the presence of a case like this it is not enough to say that the miners in passing the resolution to work only four hours were merely dealing with their own property—their labour, and that they were quite within their rights in acting as they did. Even supposing that they were within their rights politically, were they so morally? It may be said that such a case as is here supposed could never happen. A few years ago it would have been thought impossible and preposterous that a scheme so irrational and so unjust as that of Mr. Mather could ever have been deliberately and soberly proposed by a reputable and estimable member of Parliament. theless, it has been proposed. The only consolation about the matter is that a scheme so inherently absurd carries with it its own defeat. At the very moment of its birth the seeds are implanted within it which will sooner or later seal its doom. It is self-destructive. The powers of a majority are after all very feeble and limited; there are some things, and these the most vital and fundamental, which a majority cannot do. For example, a majority cannot say that 2 + 2 = 5; or that stealing is not a crime; or that fornication and adultery are not sins; or that sugar which is worth only 3d. per lb. shall be sold at 2s. a lb. in the market; or that a workman whose labour is worth only 2s 6d. per day shall be paid 10s. a day for it; or that Christianity is a huge imposture. These questions, and many others like them, cannot be settled by vote. It is conceivable that a majority might vote that two and two should make five (which is no whit more foolish than many things that majorities have done), but it is not conceivable that such a vote could in any way effect the true relations of these arithmetical factors. Whatever majorities may say or do, two and two will always make four, and will never make anything else; crime will always be crime and sin always sin, and never anything different; and the value of commodities, of which labour is one, will always be conditioned by the law of supply and demand. No Act of Parliament, no majority vote, can ever make labour cheap where it is scarce, or dear where it is plentiful. For majorities to attempt to change the nature, or reverse the action, of the great laws which the Creator has written into the constitution of things, is simply to kick against the pricks. Under this scheme a majority of miners in a given district might vote that they would work only four or six hours per day. But what would be the result? Simply that the men who employ and pay the miners would refuse to pay or employ them any longer, and that the mines would be shut up, and the workmen left without any work to do. What, then, would be the *effectual value* of their vote? Such a vote, when it comes into conflict with the realities of things, will simply be made the sport of those great forces which it has been insane enough to defy. It is proposed that a majority shall do what no majority in the world's history has ever yet been able to effect.

It seems almost a pity that Mr. Mather should have stopped where he did. Why had he not the courage of his principles? Why did he not push them to their logical conclusion? Would it not have been well, while he was about it, to say that an Act should be passed "constituting the Miners' Unions in the several mining districts of the United Kingdom corporate bodies for the purposes of this Act, and empowering them to determine by resolution of a majority of their numbers the number of hours that shall constitute a working-day in mines, and also to determine to whom the said mines belong, such resolution to have the force of law, the infraction of which would be subject to penalties provided in the Act." All the words quoted are Mr. Mather's, except those italicized, and those are not one whit more foolish than the rest. It would be quite as reasonable and just to ask the miners to declare by vote whether the mines really belong to the men who have condescended to work in them, or to the men who have merely bought and paid for them, as to ask them to thus declare how long they will work. If they should proclaim by vote, as they probably would, that the mines belong to the miners, and that they should be appropriated by them for their own use and benefit without any compensation to the reputed and the legal (though legal titles count for little with the Democracy) owners—well, the vote of a majority of Trade Unionists is an inspired and sacred deliverance which must not lightly be set at nought or even questioned. "The Voice of the People is the Voice of God!" If a million of "the People" vote that our landed proprietors have no right to their landed estates, and three-quarters-ofa million vote the other way, the voice of the million is the

Voice of God and that of the three-quarters-of-a-million the Voice of the Devil. Such are the ethics of Demos! Somehow, one cannot quite convince one's self that they are any improvement upon the principles of the old-fashioned Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which are principles of Individualism and of sanity.

Why, one may again ask, set up the barrier at the limit of hours and debar other questions? Why not include the question of wages, and treat it on the same footing as that of hours? If miners (unionist miners) may fix their hours of labour by vote, why not also the amount of their wages? One is as reasonable, as just, and, one may add, as practicable as the other, and not more so. If men may vote that they will work only eight hours per day, or six, why may they not vote that they will accept nothing less than ros. a day for doing it? It might be wise (after the wisdom of Democracy) for Mr. Mather to so amend and enlarge his proposal as to give the workmen this power. It would merely be amplifying a principle already involved; for men who can vote in combination how long they will work for a given sum virtually fix the price of their labour. Clearly it is not anticipated that the miners will vote themselves less wages when they vote themselves less work, for Mr. Mather says: "No doubt the effort will be made to get shorter hours uniformly worked throughout the trades without reduction of wages; and so long as the working men can accomplish this without causing capital to be withdrawn from manufactures or the flow of enterprise to be checked it will be a gain to capital and labour alike." Exactly; so long as they can accomplish this without these consequences following. But how long will that be? It is therefore actually proposed that the working men should have power to say that they will give less work for the same money, or in other words, power to raise their own wages. Mr. Mather's scheme thus affects wages, but covertly and indirectly. He thinks it would be a grand thing if the working classes could have the right of fixing their own hours of labour, for he says: "The right of determining the hours of labour by the working classes would lead to the solution of the problem of providing for the deserving unemployed by methods at once natural and effective." In plain English, if working men could of themselves say how short hours they would work, the men who are now employed would do so much less work, and to supply that deficiency of labour a number of other workmen would be required, for whom the employers would have to This method of providing for the unemployed is characterized as "natural and effective." Effective it would undoubtedly be—in depleting the employers' pockets. But would it not be a grander thing still if working men could be empowered to vote themselves a large wage as well as a small working day? Suppose, for example, that they voted themselves a minimum wage of ten shillings per day, and a working day of six hours, what a wonderful effect it would have in absorbing the unemployed into the ranks of the noble army (then nobler than ever) of Labour! Of course it would absorb all the employers' profits as well, and therefore all the capital upon which our industries depend, and ultimately bring about the ruin of our trade and commerce. But, then, that would not matter. None of these things is of any account as compared with the paramount importance of allowing the working man to do what he likes. Certainly these consequences never seem to enter into the calculations of those who propose such schemes as these. Parliament has tried its hand at fixing the wages of labour, and it has conspicuously and lamentably failed. London County Council rushes in where Parliaments fear to tread, and, under the inspired guidance of John Burns, it is going to teach the world how to regulate both hours and wages, despite all laws, Divine or human, legal or social, and to demonstrate how happy we shall all be when the principles of political economy have been actually banished to Saturn.

Labour is a commodity. The workman is the man who sells that commodity; the employer is the man who buys it.

Hitherto it has been supposed that the purchaser of a commodity ought to have some voice in fixing the price of it; but here we have propounded a new principle of Political Economy, viz., that the seller of an article is to have the sole right to determine its price, while the purchaser is to be compelled by Act of Parliament to pay the price which has been thus decided for him by an antagonistic party. For all this and nothing less is, as we have shown, involved in the proposal that miners should be enabled to fix their hours of labour without any respect to the wishes or interests of their employers, who are to be rendered completely powerless in the matter. If this is the superior morality, the larger freedom, and the truer justice of the much belauded new Political Economy, most of us will prefer to abide by the old. "The old is better." Truly such "Liberal" principles play sad havoc with our liberties!

Before passing to notice the effects of an Eight Hours Act upon production and industry it is necessary to say a few words with regard to the question of the early closing of shops. Shop assistants generally have not participated as fully as some other classes in the reduction of hours which, as we have seen, is gradually being brought about by social opinion. Nobody disputes that it is desirable, if it be practicable, to reduce the hours of labour of people who are engaged in retail trade of all kinds, including, of course, barmen and barmaids. The only point in dispute is as to whether this reduction of hours is to be brought about by legislation or by other means. During the Session of 1892 Mr. Provand introduced a Bill to amend the law relating to the employment of women and young persons in shops: the main objects of which were to limit the shop hours of women to seventy-four per week. Had such a measure been proposed merely for the protection of girls under the age of 18 something might have been said for it; but this measure applies to adult women of all ages. Now women are certainly as much entitled to their liberties as men are, and they are even more entitled to have access to employ-

ment made as easy for them as possible. This Bill was carried, on the second reading, by a majority of 23, the figures being 175 for and 152 against. It was pointed out during the debate that the certain effect of the measure would be to compel employers to discharge many of their female assistants and take male assistants in their places, and it is difficult to see how this can promote the interests of women who want to work. Apart altogether from this incidental effect of the Bill, the principle of the measure was radically unsound. That principle is that adult women shall be forbidden by law to work more than a certain number of hours. Surely a woman of full age is entitled to work as many hours per day as she thinks it necessary or desirable to work without let or hindrance from anybody. Of course the advocates of such measures as these always appeal to the Factory Acts in justification of their action; but Mr. Matthews, who was then Home Secretary, showed that this particular Bill went beyond even the Factory Acts. Anybody can see at a glance that there is no analogy whatever between a shop and a factory, or between the work of a factory operative and the work of a shop assistant, and therefore what may be justifiable in the case of the one is utterly unjustifiable in the case of the other. However, the Act was carried. What effects it will produce remains to be seen. It is almost certain that it will have to be repealed, or otherwise allowed to become a dead letter, within a very short time. But that such an Act should be passed by the British House of Commons opens up a vista of alarming possibilities. Mr. Sydney Buxton said during the debate, "It was true they were not proposing to legislate for men, but he was bound to say that in his opinion they would find it impossible to refrain from doing so sooner or later if they legislated for women;" and Mr. Isaacs (a Conservative!) refused to support the Bill because it did not go far enough, as it failed to deal with domestic servants, the one class which ought to receive attention. It is certain that domestic servants work longer hours than shop

assistants, and if Parliament interferes to protect the latter it is difficult to see why they should not do so in the case of the former. What happy days those will be when the cook and housemaid, having worked the hours prescribed for them by law, will be able to snap their fingers in their employers' faces and tell them to do the work themselves! Evidently this is what we are coming to. Of course the result will be that thousands of families will prefer not to have servants at all, which will lead to thousands of women who are now employed having no work to do, a state of things which would be a hardship to the women themselves and an evil to the community in general.\* Many of those long hours which they and their assistants are compelled to work advocate that a permissive power of closing the shops of a district should be placed in the hands of a majority in that district; but whether the voting power is to be placed in the hands of shopkeepers only, or of shopkeepers and their assistants, we are not told. Mr. Chamberlain is the most prominent among the public men who advocate compulsory early closing, and he is of opinion that Local Option provides the best means for securing it. In his article on the Labour Question he deals with the subject at length, but it is noteworthy that his treatment of it leaves matters in a state of vagueness and uncertainty. Perhaps when he comes to define his scheme a little more closely he will follow the example of Mr. Mather. That gentleman proposes to give the power entirely to working miners, their employers being absolutely excluded from all share in the consideration of the matter, and perhaps Mr. Chamberlain will in like manner propose that the shop assistants alone who are greatly concerned about the shop-keepers and the

<sup>\*</sup> The debate on this measure was significant as showing that some Conservatives of the type of Mr. Baumann have "advanced" a long way in the direction of Socialism, whilst Radicals like Mr. M'Laren are opposed to Socialism root and branch. Mr. Matthews made the refreshing admission that he belonged to the "exploded school of Individualism" which Mr. Baumann derided. One would scarcely have supposed, however, from Mr. Matthews' action (or inaction) during the Dock Strike that he was a pronounced Individualist.

shall have the voting power, and that the shop proprietors shall be compelled to stand aside whilst their workmen decide how long their shops are to remain open. For are not the assistants the larger body—the majority? That, for politicians of Messrs. Chamberlain and Mather's stamp, settles the question. The one thing of paramount importance in these days is that the working man should be allowed to do what he likes. It is to be regretted, however, that Mr. Chamberlain, while he was about it, did not enter into particulars. When a man of his standing undertakes to present an elaborate programme to the country, dealing with matters of the most vital moment, he ought to state explicitly what he means. It is impossible to form any judgment on the merits of his Local Option scheme for early closing until we know how and by whom the suffrage is to be exercised. Writing to a Glasgow correspondent on September 21, 1892, Mr. Chamberlain stated that "any scheme for early closing which he could approve would admit of local and trade discretion, and might include any plan which was found suitable by persons engaged in the trade." Mr. Gladstone himself could not be more diplomatic or oracular than this. What is meant by "persons engaged in the trade?" And what is "local and trade discretion?"

Mr. Chamberlain's great point in regard to the shop-keepers is that legislation in their case is an absolute necessity, because "voluntary action is impossible." And why is voluntary action impossible? "Because a minority, however insignificant, have in this case more than the usual power of coercing the majority." Pity the poor majority! They are burning with ardent desire to close their shops, and yet they cannot do it because the minority persist in keeping their shops open. A minority coercing a majority! Was ever such pitiful stuff foisted upon the British public in the name of argument by a public man of Mr. Chamberlain's rank? As a matter of fact the minority have no power at all to coerce the majority. Both classes are

simply exercising their freedom to do what they think best. The majority in some districts think it best to close their shops, and accordingly they do close them; but the minority think it better to keep their shops open, and open they are kept accordingly. But this does not suit the New Socialistic coercionists. They are so fond of liberty that they want not only their own share of it but other people's as well. Those shopkeepers who exercise their liberty to close early are not content to allow others to exercise their liberty to close late. And why? Because they are afraid that they may lose a little chance custom. And mainly for this paltry reason Mr. Chamberlain would have Parliament pass an Act which would allow these miserly tradesmen, who are afraid of losing a few shillings (or rather afraid of their neighbours gaining a few shillings), to tyrannise over their competitors.

Speaking on this subject at Birmingham, on September 14, 1892, Mr. Chamberlain said: "The only remedy is legislation. In my opinion you are simply wasting your time when you try to get these voluntary arrangements. . . My view is that, taking the majority of any trade—I do not care which, the grocers, the butchers, the drapers—I should be perfectly satisfied that if those gentlemen met, and, by a majority of two-thirds, decided that it was unnecessary to keep their shops open longer than, say, ten hours a day-I only take the figure as an example-I should be perfectly satisfied in that case that their decision should be submitted to the City Council—which would represent, mind you, not the shopkeepers alone, but the whole community—and that if they were prepared to give their opinion also that the arrangement was a reasonable one, I should be prepared to give them force and authority to give it the power of the law. And I am perfectly certain that, while, as I have said, you will do very little by any voluntary arrangement, if legislation of that kind could be carried, in a very short time all the abuses of which we complain would be entirely remedied." In his Nineteenth

Century article he virtually repeats all this in the following words: "Accordingly it is impossible to secure a reform without the aid of legislation. No general Bill or stereotyped conditions are asked for. All that is necessary is to give powers to the local authorities in each district, on the application of a majority of two-thirds or three-fourths of any trade, to approve of regulations prepared by the representatives of the trade, and dealing with holidays and the hours of closing—and after approval to enforce them by summons and fine. This plan would allow of the experiment being tried in different ways and in different places, and there would be ample opportunity of securing the public convenience and full power to prevent injustice."

So that under this plan the liberty of the individual shop-keeper would be entirely taken away; if any shop-keeper refused to obey the dictation of the majority, the local authorities would prosecute and punish him; new crimes would be created, and that which the moral law of God does not declare wrong would be pronounced wrong by the laws of man. In such a state of society liberty and justice would be impossible; to speak of them would be the merest mockery. If it is desired to bring law into contempt, to destroy all good-will among neighbours, and to throw every community in the country into a state of perpetual and barren turmoil, there is no more effectual way of doing it than by adopting Mr. Chamberlain's plan.

It will be seen that Mr. Chamberlain, in order to secure a favourable reception for his early closing scheme, proclaims the utter futility of voluntary action. Nevertheless, by voluntary action thousands of shops are actually closed early. It is nothing to the point that in the very same neighbourhood where many shops are closed at an early hour a few shops are kept open till a late hour. If some shopkeepers can thus close early, and ignore the action of their rivals who keep open late, other shopkeepers can do the same if they choose. If a shopkeeper is not competent to decide for himself how long he ought to keep open, or if

he pleads that he is unable so to decide on account of the action of his neighbours, that is his own affair. Because he is a weak man or a jealous man, that is no reason why the State should have to decide for him in these matters. the men who keep their shops open late do a large amount of business, that very fact is a proof that they are meeting a public need; if they do practically no business at all, then the men who have closed earlier have suffered no injury. At present, upon the voluntary principle, things are going on very well. Shopkeepers who wish to close their shops, and can afford to do so, do it; other shopkeepers who cannot afford to close early are at liberty to keep open. The man who closes early is not bound to follow the example of the man who closes late; the man who closes late is content to deny himself the advantages of closing early in order that he may secure chance custom, and so eke out his often scanty income. There never was a case, notwithstanding all that is said to the contrary by Mr. Chamberlain, where legislation was less needed than in regard to the early closing of shops. But, of course, what Mr. Chamberlain and the Socialistic politicians generally wish to do is to coerce every man into compliance with the wishes of the majority. So the shopkeeper is to be coerced into closing his shop by a certain hour. And then Mr. Chamberlain airily remarks that this is only applying the principle which has already been applied through the Factory Acts! Yet there never was an Act passed in this country which decreed that the owner of a factory should close it at certain hours. All that the Factory Act did was to say that certain individuals who were comparatively weak and helpless, namely, women and children, should not be employed in the factory for more than a certain number of hours per day. There is something to be said for similar laws in relation to the same classes of people who are employed in shops, and if Mr. Chamberlain would limit his proposal to the protection of women and children in shops it would be accepted with practical unanimity. But he is merely trying to throw dust

into people's eyes when he endeavours to persuade them that there is any analogy at all between the Factory Acts and such an Early Closing Act as he is now advocating. This proposed new Act would decree that a man should close his shop at a certain hour of the day, and it would, if he refused to do so, subject him to fine and perhaps imprisonment. This would be an encroachment upon both private and public liberty which is absolutely without a parallel in English legislation.

Before passing from this part of the subject, there are three general remarks which may be made: I. That such legislation as Mr. Chamberlain advocates would harass and injure the small and struggling tradesman. The large traders would be very little affected by it, for most of them do voluntarily all that they could be compelled to do by an Early Closing Act. But many a little retailer who can barely keep his shop open under present conditions would simply be crushed out of existence under the new conditions which it is sought to create. No class in the community are more deserving of consideration at the hands of our legislators than small shopkeepers. They fulfil a useful function in the community; they pay heavy rents and rates and taxes; they find employment in the aggregate for a vast multitude of young men and women; and they constitute one of the most valuable and conservative forces of the middle classes and of our society in general. Yet the one thing that our legislators seem to be anxious to do is to pile upon the shoulders of this struggling class one burden after another until their annihilation is effected. The spirit in which the shopkeeper is regarded by early closing enthusiasts was clearly illustrated in the case of Mr. Haile, the Harrow Road cheesemonger, whose case excited so much attention about a year ago. Mr. Haile agreed to close his shop at five o'clock on Thursdays, in concert with the other tradesmen of the neighbourhood. For two weeks this was done; but some of the customers complained that the early closing of the shop put them to great inconvenience,

and therefore Mr. Haile naturally declined to continue the arrangement to close early. The consequence was that his premises were beset by a crowd of shop assistants and others, who assembled opposite to his place of business in large numbers, and distributed handbills, advising people not to shop after five o'clock, and shouting out, "Down with the sweater," and, "Boycott the sweater." The "Dead March" was also played by a drum and fife band in front of the shop. As a matter of course customers were prevented from entering the shop, and police protection had to be given to Mr. Haile and his property. All this was done, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Haile engaged extra hands, so that each assistant could have an evening off once a week. These proceedings, which are quite in harmony with the spirit of Radical-Socialism, significantly illustrate the idea of liberty which is entertained by members of Trade Unions and Early Closing Associations. Happily the law proved powerful enough to protect Mr. Haile, and to punish his persecutors. But the law would soon be shorn of its power to do this if our new "reformers" could get their

2. It may be noted in the second place that, as shops are usually kept open late in working-class neighbourhoods, and therefore in order to meet the convenience and the needs of the working classes, these classes will be the chief sufferers from enforced early closing. It is said that working men, who are themselves so eager to receive shorter hours of labour, will be glad to do anything in their power to secure a similar boon for those who are engaged in shops. But, as a matter of fact, there is no evidence whatever that this is the disposition of the average working man. It is notorious that working men are, in the main, indifferent, not to say callous, where only women and children are the persons chiefly concerned. The greatest opponents of the Factory Acts were the working men who profited from the enslavement of their wives and children. It is morally certain that Lord Shaftesbury would have found it absolutely impossible to

carry the Factory Acts if Household Suffrage had then existed. One of the reproaches of Trade Unionism is that it has attempted little or nothing to improve the conditions of labour for women and children. The working-man enthusiast for Eight Hours is as exacting a tyrant as ever existed in regard to those who are his servants, and he would be mad with indignation if his wife or children were to turn round, when they had done eight hours work in the day, and tell him that he had no further claim upon their services until to morrow.\* Apart from all this, there is the fact that the working man himself has very little to do with shopping, a part of the household economy which devolves upon the working man's wife. Working men's wives are not, like ladies, able to do their shopping when they please; they must do it when they can. There would be a revolt amongst the women of the working classes immediately, if shops were prohibited from being open more than ten or twelve hours per day; and if ever these women got the Franchise an Act so obnoxious to them would speedily be repealed.

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Alexander Wylie, of Glasgow, says in his work, "Labour, Leisure, and Luxury:" "In our own works we have the wives and daughters of riveters and others employed in the ship-building works of Dumbarton (restricted by their Trade Unions to 51 hours labour per week, and earning during this time £2 to £10) sent without scruple by their luxurious lords and masters to do their 56½ hours, the wages which they earn being often swallowed up along with the larger gains of the men in their weekly debauch, which often curtails their very limited appointed hours of weekly labour by 18 or 27." Mr. Wylie adds: "I say to the working men of Great Britain—to those who do not work more than 56½ hours per week—before they seek further to abridge their own hours of labour and seek for what in many cases is only time for more unxurious ease and debauchery, let them devote themselves to the maniler, nobler, more chivalric task of better educating their children and enfranchising their wives and children with that leisure which would tend so much to the comfort, refinement, and happiness of their homes; and though, for nothing else, they should not seek to lessen by one iota their present moderate hours of labour."

A lady who signs herself Georgiana Kingscote wrote to *The Times* on August 30, 1892, and related the following incident, which she declares to be perfectly true:—A Kent labourer returned to his house a few weeks previously at about five o'clock, and was asked by his wife where he had been. "To a meeting about the Eight Hours," he answered, "and we'll get our eight hours too. Now then, woman, make haste and get my tea." "Go and get it yourself," said the wife; "my eight hours are over."

3. The third remark is in regard to Local Option. Of late years some of our politicians have developed quite a mania for this principle. Not so long ago it was thought absurd even that the liquor traffic should be regulated on permissive principles, although it is conceivable that some sort of a case might be made out in favour of allowing a majority of electors to control a traffic of so peculiar and dangerous a character as the liquor traffic. Now opinion is in danger of swinging round to the other extremity, and men who formerly ridiculed the idea of applying Local Option even to the liquor traffic are themselves in favour of applying it to the regulation of workmen's hours, to the closing of shops, and so on. In the opinion of these people the matter is exceedingly simple, and Local Option is simply one form of honouring and applying the sacred principle of Democracy, that the majority ought to rule. Politicians, like barbarians, have their forms of fetish worship. The fetish which is worshipped by the ruck of our politicians is The Majority. The god Majority must be worshipped under all circumstances and at all costs. Christian men find it difficult to imagine how debased heathen can worship such hideous monstrosities as heathen idols often are; enlightened and rational citizens find it almost as hard to comprehend how their rulers and law makers can bend the knee, stifle the conscience, and deaden the intellect before an ignorant and tyrannical majority.\*

Reverting to the subject of an Eight Hours law, there are two or three points which still remain to be dealt with.

<sup>\*</sup> Sir John Lubbock, writing to the promoters of the Half Holiday movement for shop assistants at Chester, early in February, 1873, said: "The excessive and unnecessarily long hours of labour of shop keepers and shop assistants seems to me the most pressing subject at the present moment, and I believe nothing short of legislation will suffice, as it is now always possible that the reasonable wishes of the minority should be defeated by a small selfish majority." He also stated that he and others would do their utmost to bring the question before Parliament this session.

It may here be noted that Mr. Provand (whose Shop Assistants Bill, which has already been referred to, was carried last Session) introduced a Bill as soon as Parliament opened this year to amend his Act of last year. Thus are tradesmen harassed and subjected to perpetual worry and suspense.

One fact which is too much overlooked is that the Eight Hours movement is a strategem of the Socialists, an instrument by which they mean, if possible, to make some advance toward their final aim, which is to nationalize land. capital, and all other means of production. During the discussion which took place at the Trade Union Congress, on September 8, 1892, upon the question of an international reduction in the hours of labour, Mr. C. Fenwick, M.P., the Secretary of the Congress, read a letter which had been addressed to that body by Charles Gurkly, President of the Organization Committee of the International Working Men's Congress for 1893. That letter contained the following sentences: "If nothing else had grown out of recent International Congresses than the great legal Eight Hours movement, their existence would have been justified. You in Great Britain and Ireland, whose immense demonstrations in favour of the legal Eight Hours day in 1890, 1891 and 1892, did so much to force this question to the front, do not need to be told that these International Eight Hours demonstrations grew out of the International Paris Congress of 1889." The significance of this declaration is very great. One might almost affirm it to be obvious, were it not that so much that is significant in relation to other questions appears to be utterly lost upon our politicians, whose aptitude for closing their eyes to unwelcome facts, and ignoring the real drift and trend of the forces with which they dally, is astounding. It is well, however, to have it placed upon record that the Eight Hours agitation which at present disturbs, and in the near future may dislocate, British industry is in no sense of British origin; that, therefore, it is not in the nature of a remedy which British workmen have been forced to devise for themselves in consequence of any grievances or ills from which they suffer; but that it is purely the outgrowth of international Socialism, which is a fanatical and violent revolutionary movement, aiming at the confiscation of all property, and the suppression of all liberty, and which is essentially

opposed to the temper and the institutions of the English people. The Eight Hours movement is simply one of the instruments which Continental Socialism proposes to use in the accomplishment of its aims; by which the workman is to be deprived of his liberty on the one hand and the capitalist of his property on the other hand. Because, in seeking to attain these ends, the Socialists profess that they are going to employ what they call legitimate and constitutional means, the ends themselves are not one whit more virtuous, though many people delude themselves into the belief that they are. It is just as wicked to rob a man through the collective action of his enemies acting in concert at the ballot box as it is for one of those enemies to knock him down on the highway and rifle his pockets. The former course is, if anything, the more wicked of the two, as it is certainly the more cowardly; inasmuch as it does not leave the person attacked so good a chance of defending himself as the latter course would.

The most prominent advocates of the Eight Hours day in this country, Mr. H. H. Champion, Mr. Tom Mann, and Mr. Sydney Webb, are all pronounced Socialists. amount of frothy and fanatical rubbish which they write and talk upon the subject is portentous and amazing. There is only one thing more astonishing, and that is that newspaper and review editors, the organizers of Radical meetings, and even the Labour Commission, all seem anxious to provide these propagandists of Socialism with opportunities for flooding the public mind with their pernicious nonsense. One of the pet ideas of these men is that the adoption of an Eight Hours day will somehow result in work being found for all who are now unemployed. Mr. Tom Mann said before the Labour Commission, on November 15, 1892: "The effect of their hours being reduced would be to cause wages to rise, so that in a short time more wages would be obtained for the short hours than were formerly obtained for the long hours. This advance of wages would not necessarily reduce profits; if the factor of increased efficiency

entered, it would not only increase the output per man, but in conjunction with other factors would increase the capacity and opportunity to consume, and so extend the market." If Mr. Mann understands this he is probably the only person in the country who does so. Even he did not condescend to explain it, and he certainly could not prove the truth of it to save his life. Yet he is one of those who are for ever telling us that all wealth comes from labour—that is, from mere manual labour, apart altogether from the action of those elements of brain and money which are equally factors in production. But why does not Mr. Mann, in the hypothesis that all wealth is produced by labour, show us how the diminution of labour can result in an increase of wealth? Common-sense people would suppose that if labour produces wealth, then the more labour we have the more wealth we shall have, and that, consequently, what we want is not that labourers should work as little as possible, but as much as possible.

Whilst Mr. Mann assures us that short hours would lead to an increase of production, and also to an increase of wages and profits, Mr. Champion assures us that the opposite result would follow, that is, that the cost of production would be increased, and therefore the amount of it lessened. Mr. Champion has no patience with the view "that the Eight Hours day simply means that the worker will get his present wages and earn them in the shorter time by increased intensity of application to his work"; and he further says, and rightly, that "if this were the result expected by workmen there would have been no Eight Hours demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday, and if this were expected by employers they would have no objection to a change which would alter neither the cost of production nor their power over their own hands." Mr. Champion is at least honest. He says, "The workman has no intention, if hours be reduced from twelve to eight, to take one-third less wages or of working 50 per cent. harder. He looks to the employment of 50 per cent. more men to do the

same amount of work, and further anticipates that the consequent depletion of the surplus in the market by lessening the competition for employment will enable the greater number then employed to obtain more, rather than less, for the eight hours work than the smaller number now employed do for the twelve hours work. In a word, the working man's aim is not merely to get more leisure, but mainly to drive up the price of labour (the only commodity he has to sell) by a RESTRICTION OF ITS SUPPLY. Thus the Eight Hours movement, if it means anything at all, means a higher cost of production due to a higher wage bill." A higher cost of production would, of course, mean higher cost of commodities, and this would hit the working class harder than any other class, though Mr. Champion thinks that it would inflict most loss upon the non-producing consumers, while the working classes would be more than compensated for the smaller producing power of their shillings by the fact that they would have many more of them. Mr. Champion admits that if shorter hours were adopted, and steps were taken to prevent the flooding of the labour market by poorly-paid foreign labour, and a general rise in wages followed, "many industrial establishments would be closed in a few weeks;" that "industries already severely pressed by foreign competition would be destroyed unless measures were taken to protect them from the poorly-paid labour of other races;" and that "industries that depend on their export trade would have to be abandoned in many cases or supported by bounties."\* He

<sup>\*</sup> These quotations are taken from a letter of Mr. Champion's in The Times

of May 3, 1892. Mr. G. C. Trewbly, Chief Engineer of the Gas Light and Coke Co., stated before the Labour Commission, in June, 1892, that: "The Eight Hours system introduced at the request of the workmen had increased the general expenditure on wages by more than ten per cent. Shortly after the system came into operation they found that they did not get the same return from the coal, and

operation they found that they did not get the same return from the coal, and that the men did not do their work so well; but things had improved, and the men were doing their work in a satisfactory manner."

In August, 1892, an Act was passed in the United States which enacted an Fight Hours day for workmen who were directly or indirectly employed in the American public service, or in carrying out public works of any kind for the Government. Intentional violation of the provisions of the Act is deemed a misdemeanor, and every such violation may be punished by a

thinks, however, that home industries which are protected from foreign competition would not be injured by the rise in wages, as all employers in these industries would compensate themselves for the higher wages by demanding higher prices. One characteristic of men of the type we are now considering is that they care nothing about that part of our industry and commerce which is engaged in supplying the needs of foreign countries; in other words they are quite ready to see the whole of our export trade taken from us. Mr. Tom Mann said before the Labour Commission, on November 15, 1892: "He did not think it desirable that England should continue to be the workshop of the world; therefore he was not desirous of seeing England keep the largest possible proportion of the world's trade. He was quite prepared to see Frenchmen, Germans, Americans, and the people of every other country producing what they required for their own sustenance and development, and his own country doing the same, and not more than that." Yet it is certain that if we lost our export trade at least half our factories, workshops and warehouses would have to be closed, and the people employed in them turned adrift. And such men as Mr. Mann are supposed to be the "friends of labour" par excellence! Of course all arguments which go to show that an Eight Hours day would lead to the loss of our trade in foreign markets are lost upon men of this type.\*

fine not exceeding 1,000 dollars or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the Court. Mr. Hyndman wrote to The Times of August 19th exulting over the passing of this Act. It might be well, however, for advocates of such legislation to restrain their elation until it is seen how the Act works. If there is any country in the world where Acts of Parliament are passed without any intention of carrying them into effect it is the United States. It was announced on December 11 that the American estimates for the present year already showed that the Eight Hours law had increased the cost of working various public departments from 10 to 25 per cent.

\* Mr. Walker, who is engaged in the Dundee jute trade, stated before the Labour Commission that this particular industry was increasing on the Continent and in America far more rapidly than it is here, and he added these striking remarks: "If the hours of labour were reduced half-an-hour a week that is from 56 to 55\frac{1}{3} hours, supposing wages to remain the same, there would be a loss of £10,000 per annum to the spinners of Dundee. If the hours were reduced from 56 to 48 per week there would be a loss of £275,000 per annum. The more heavy standing charges would remain the same though the hours

There never was a more preposterous idea than that want of employment and the poverty caused thereby can be remedied by the adoption of an Eight Hours day, or in other words that more men can be employed by providing less employment. The proposition carries on its very face evidence of its monstrous absurdity. Let us suppose that the Eight Hours day were adopted to-morrow, and that in consequence of its adoption all unemployed men who are able and willing to work were set to work, and that matters are so nicely adjusted that all working men are actually able to work eight hours per day. How long will it be before the equilibrium is disturbed? In the course of a few years those who are now boys will have become men, and a new army of labourers will demand admission into the field of labour. It is evident that during the same time some of the old labourers will have died; but it is certain that there will still be a large excess of workmen over the number required to fill these places. How is work to be found for these new men? Clearly by still further reducing the hours. As Mr. Tom Mann puts it: "If as machinery developed, as the means of production proved more perfect, and as society made progress, a surplus population were again created, the hours of labour would again have to be readjusted, revised, and reduced to the extent necessary to enable everyone to be employed."\* So we should have to adopt a six hours day in order to prevent another class of unemployed being created. But as population would continue to increase the same difficulty would recur in a few years, and to meet it the hours of labour must be reduced to four. Still population would increase, and the same difficulty would again have to be dealt with in the course of a few more years. Then the hours of labour would be reduced to two. Population would still grow and new labourers continue to be produced, and the old difficulty would once more have to be faced. Then the

were reduced. An Eight Hours day would ruin the trade, and, for his own part, he would at once remove his works to India."

<sup>\*</sup> Evidence before the Labour Commission, November 15, 1892.

hours of labour would have to be reduced to one per day, and finally to no work at all, and thus we are landed in an absurdity, which nevertheless logically follows from the position of those who assume that the adoption of an Eight Hours day would get rid of scarcity of employment and the poverty consequent upon it. We are asked to believe that the country in which least labour is performed will be the wealthiest; that the country in which no labour was performed at all would be a paradise! But there never yet was a country in which man has not lived in obedience to the law that he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, that he shall live by his labour; and whatever elevation may await the race by reason of the higher development of civilization there never will be such a country on this earth.

How would an Eight Hours day affect wages? Either wages would remain the same, or they would be reduced, or they would be increased. If they were reduced the workman would bear his fair share of the cost of making the change; but it is abundantly clear that the workman has no intention of doing anything of this sort. His fixed idea is that he can, and that he will, get the same wages for eight hours' work as he now gets for ten or twelve. Professor Percy says he does not believe that one miner in a hundred would ask for an Eight Hours day if he believed it meant a reduction in wages, and the same is undoubtedly true of other classes of workmen. But then the workman does not believe this; he is taught not to believe it. If wages were either to remain the same under an Eight Hours law as they are now, or were to be increased, that would mean that somebody had either to pay the same wages for less work or more wages for less work. Who would have to pay this? Clearly the intention is that the employer should pay it. Even Mr. Tom Mann says: "He would grant that the gain of the worker would come from the employer's profits; "\* and Mr. Champion intimates that it is "the

<sup>\*</sup> Evidence before the Labour Commission, November 16, 1892.

almost universal belief of the workman that the trade of this country will stand this increase of wages." On what this universal belief is based it is difficult to imagine; for all the facts in the case go to prove that the margin of profit in all industries is so small that a very slight increase in the cost of production would destroy it and lead to these industries being stopped altogether. According to Mr. Giffen, less than one-third of the total wealth produced in the country goes to the capitalist. This is certainly not an exorbitant share, and according to the report of every railway and steamship company, and indeed of almost every other commercial enterprise, the above is constantly being lessened.\* Mr. Bradlaugh, in his debate with Mr. Hyndman on the Eight Hours question, proved from the Northumberland and Durham arbitrations for December, 1875, that in consequence of a voluntary reduction of the hours of labour, the cost of production, taken as if at the same rate of wages, had been increased by 21 per cent. Where the cost of production is increased the tendency is to prevent capital being invested or retained in businesses where the margin of profit is already very small, whilst it would be simply fatal to those industries which are struggling for life against keen foreign competition. Among these industries are the textile trades, the cotton trade of Lancashire and the woollen trade of Yorkshire, which are now beginning to agitate for Eight Hours. In these trades profits are low, because the competition of the whole world has to be faced. If the cost of production were largely increased by the adoption of shorter hours and the maintenance of the same rate of wages these great national industries would dwindle

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;It is, however, right to point out that, while the share of the aggregate wealth produced in the country which now falls to labour is larger than it was twenty years ago, a corresponding diminution has taken place in the share which falls to capital; in other words, that while wages have risen, profits have fallen; and that this is obviously a process which cannot be continued beyond a certain point. This point has, we think, been very nearly, if not quite, attained already. A time may therefore come when capital will lose all inducement to lend itself to the work of production, and if the employer is driven out of the field, the labourer will necessarily suffer with him."—Rebort of Commissioners on Depression of Trade. Clause 83.

away. This might give satisfaction to Mr. Tom Mann and a few others like him, but what would become of the hundreds of thousands of persons employed in these industries? It will be seen, therefore, that an Eight Hours law, if enacted, would seriously injure our national industries, whilst at the same time the results anticipated from it by the enthusiasts who are striving to force it upon the country could never be realised. A common-sense view of the matter shows at a glance that shorter hours of labour would mean less work; less work would mean less production; less production would mean less wealth; less wealth would mean less capital; less capital would mean less demand for labour. How can such a state of things benefit anybody? It would not benefit anybody, least of all the working man, who besides having his work and his wages reduced, would be subjected to coercion and espionage which would be intolerable.\* To the employer in thousands of cases, an Eight Hours Bill would be simply fatal. And what compensating advantages would be gained? The idea that the increased leisure acquired by the working classes under an Eight Hours law would be devoted to intellectual pursuits is a beautiful illusion. Nothing is more certain than that under the conditions which now prevail among the working

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Bradlaugh, referring to the fact that work is often taken home, asked: "Are you going to allow the police spies to come into your home and say how long you shall work?" Mr. Hyndman's answer was that the espionage would be exercised by a system of fines imposed on the employers, not on the employed; but his own Bill contemplated informers to be rewarded by half the fine. Under such a system the country would be over-run and cursed with spies and informers.

As illustrations of the fanaticism of the advocates of the Eight Hours law the following facts should be noted: Mr. James Evans, of the Neath and Swansea Miners' Association, was asked before the Labour Commission what he would do if it were proved that a compulsory Eight Hours day would result in lessening production and injuring British trade. His answer was: "I would insist upon an Eight Hours day being adopted in the coal trade all over England." "Even if a large section of those employed disagreed?" he was asked. "Yes," was his reply. Mr. Tom Mann stated before the Labour Commission, on November 16, 1892, that—"He would allow the employers a voice in saying whether a change should be brought about, but he did not think they should be taken as having an equal voice with the workmen, because the numbers of the workmen were so much more numerous." This is, of course, Mr. Mather's doctrine.

classes as a whole this leisure would be mainly spent in ways that are harmful both to these classes themselves and to the community at large. The time may come, we all hope it will come, when working men will have been so far raised by intellectual and moral means above the position which they now occupy that they will be able to use increased leisure for the advantage of themselves and of everybody else. But that time is not yet.

Violent interference on the part of Parliament with the natural relations which exist between Labour and Capital, and with the normal operations of economic laws, would disturb and dislocate trade, impair credit, and shake the security of capital to a degree that is almost incalculable; and Parliament, were it to arbitrarily enact an Eight Hours law, would be interfering with natural economic laws and relations, and such interference would probably have the immediate effect of destroying the margin of profit, already greatly reduced, which alone enables our industries to exist. The employer would, if the Socialists who are clamouring for the Eight Hours day got their way, be hit in two ways, as the returns from his fixed capital, his plant, etc., would be decreased, although the charges on this fixed capital remained the same, and he would also have to pay more wages for less work. Under these circumstances the margin of profit would be destroyed and capital would betake itself elsewhere. Factories would be closed; manufactures would diminish; and the supremacy of England as the first industrial nation in the world would pass to some other people more worthy of it. No law can compel capital to remain where it is unable to earn any profit; even if a law could be conceived which would have the effect of retaining capital here under the circumstances supposed, its vitality could not be preserved from decay. Capital which ceases to work profitably soon ceases to be. There is a spiritual element in capital-credit, confidence, an atmosphere in which men breathe comfortably—an environment which gives them a guarantee of security. Once let this

spirit—intangible but actual, undefinable but realisable—be affrighted by the rude violence of ignorant politicians, and it will silently and imperceptibly vanish. When it is gone men of business will be conscious that the foundation upon which they have built has been taken from underneath their feet.

If there is any branch of industrial operations where Individualism as opposed to Socialism ought to have full sway it is in regard to the regulation of the hours of labour. Adam Smith says: "The statesman who should attempt to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capital would not only load himself with a most unnecessary attention but assume an authority which could safely be trusted not only to no single person but to no council or senate whatever, and which would nowhere be so dangerous as in the hands of a man who had folly and presumption enough to fancy himself fit to exercise it." These be wise words. Our statesmen would do well to lay them to heart. Alas! We not only have among us numerous individuals who have folly and presumption enough to think themselves fit to exercise such power as this, but we have also public bodies, the London County Council for example, who exhibit the same folly and presumption. The House of Commons itself is not free from this dangerous spirit. Parliament never manifested such an almost ungovernable tendency to thrust its hands into the private affairs of the citizens as it does now; at the same time we have never had a Parliament so ill qualified to deal discreetly with these delicate and complicated matters as the Parliament which the Democracy was pleased to give us at the General Election of 1892.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. R. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, gave some valuable evidence on the Eight Hours day before the Labour Commission at its closing sittings at the end of January, 1893. Referring to the diminution in the hours of labour which has taken place during the last twenty years in textile trades, in railway employment, and in the building trades and mining, he said that something approaching to an Eight Hours day was coming of itself. "The effect of this would be a reduction of production, which would necessarily mean a reduction of the wages of those producing; there would be no increase of remuneration, and he doubted whether there would be any provision of employment for those who are unemployed." Whilst admitting that in some employments, such as railways, mining, chemical works, etc., which were attended with danger to life, there were reasons for restricting the hours of labour even for adults, he stated that "in these cases legislation should be on public grounds and not on grounds of Local Option. The public should decide that there was a sufficient reason for regulating the hours in particular trades."

## CHAPTER IV.

THE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES OF LEGAL INTERFERENCE WITH CONTRACTS, ACCUMULATIONS, AND EXCHANGES.

N O branch of human knowledge is more interesting or instructive than that which relates to the commonest things around us—to the Wants of Man and the Means of satisfying them; which classifies and explains the laws which govern the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of those articles which are essential to the subsistence and the comfort of the human race, those articles of Utility which are commonly called Wealth; which exhibits the natural operation of the principles which govern the production and distribution of all exchangeable properties and commodities. This science is called Political Economy. It is no part of the object of this work to expound the principles of that science, though in a subsequent chapter some explanation of these principles, and of the modifications which they have recently undergone, will be attempted. Political Economy has gained a bad reputation among the sciences; it is stigmatised as "the dismal science;" and the fashion just now is to depreciate and contemn it. For this, Professors of Political Economy are themselves largely to blame. They have darkened counsel by words without knowledge, and they have overlaid the few great and simple principles of the science with such mountains of technical and irrelevant matter in the shape of exposition and commentary that they have made it almost impossible for plain men to dig out their meaning, and consequently have discouraged them from giving any serious attention to the science. Nothing more forbidding to intelligent readers could well be imagined than some laboured and abstruse works on Political

Economy which might be named. A business man of average capacity would have to read them ten times over and study them for ten years before he could make out their drift and purpose. Such works, however valuable they may be to students, are of no use whatever to the ordinary man of the world. Yet this is the man who most needs to be educated in regard to these matters. If any class in the community needs to be instructed as to the nature and the working of those great principles with which Political Economy deals, it is the class which lives by its labour, or in other words those who are commonly called "working men:" and this instruction is more necessary than it was even in former times, simply because these men have now been placed in possession of political powers which make them virtually the masters of our industry and commerce as well as of our Government. These men are sellers of labour; their industry is a purchaseable or exchangeable commodity; and it is regulated by the same laws as every other exchangeable property. What working men most need to be instructed in, therefore, is the application of the universal laws which govern all exchanges to the direction of that particular exchange which they are most interested in carrying forward rapidly, certainly, and uninterruptedly the exchange of Labour for Capital. Such instruction would save them from most of the errors and dangers into which they are now liable to fall, into which indeed multitudes of them have fallen, to their own great loss and to the detriment of the community.

If Political Economy teaches one thing more clearly than another it is that violent interference with the natural laws which govern the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities, either arbitrarily on the part of a despotic Government or more indirectly and insidiously on the part of a tyrannical Democracy, must be injurious to the true interests of society.

Let us first of all consider the significance of the terms just used. In doing so it will be necessary to go back to first principles. There are three conditions which are absolutely necessary for the production of Utility, which term includes everything that is essential to the support and the comfort, the refinement and the enjoyment, of human life. These three conditions are:—

I. That there shall be Labour;

2. That there shall be Accumulations of former labour, or what is called Capital;

3. That there shall be Exchanges.

Of these three Labour is undoubtedly the first in the order of time, as it is the parent of all wealth. When the first man was placed upon the earth he had a future beyond him, but no past behind him. There were no storehouses for him to draw from which had been filled by the experience and the labour of men who had lived before him; he stood in the great universe, solitary and naked. It is difficult for us to imagine the absolute helplessness of a human being placed in such a position. We may, however, form some conception of his condition by reflecting upon the state of a man who should be cast upon a desert island without clothes or fire or tools. It is obvious that such a man would be reduced to the most abject and pitiable impotence. Even if he had obtained a high degree of knowledge and skill in a civilized land before he was cast upon this island, it is evident that in his present circumstances this skill and knowledge would not only be of no use to him but would be much worse than useless, because they would compel him to chafe under and kick against the hard necessities of his present condition. His desert island might have a genial climate, be free from ferocious animals, and spontaneously produce fruits of the earth in great abundance. In spite of all this he would be doomed to unremitting toil in order to maintain a bare and miserable existence. Before he could eat a mouthful of food or drink a mouthful of water he must procure them for himself; before he could wear any garment he must make it; before he could have a hut to dwell in he must build it; before he could have a couch to lie upon, any utensils to use, or any furniture, however rude, he must provide them all for himself. If for a day he neglected his labour, or were unable to perform it through illness, he would hunger; if for a few days he would die of starvation. What would be the main cause of this man's helplessness? Clearly this that he would not be able to take advantage of accumulations of former labour; and without this his own labour could not be put to a profitable use. In such a case as that here imagined the power of labour would be seen in its lowest, that is, in its least productive, condition. It has been said that a man has greater natural wants and fewer natural means than any other animal. Certainly it is true that he has greater natural wants, but it is taking a low view of his nature to suppose that he has fewer natural means, simply because the reason and understanding which distinguish him from the brute creation constitute the natural means by which Providence designed that he should have dominion over the earth, the sea, and the animal creation. Nevertheless, a man in such a condition as we have supposed, utterly destitute of the means which human reason and intelligence have accumulated around every individual in the social and civilized state, would be much more helpless than even a brute of the forest. Labour, therefore, in itself and of itself, is but a feeble creature; it is not until it calls Capital to its aid that its real strength and greatness are attained. As it has been well put: "In the very outset of the journey Labour doubtless took the lead. In the dim morning of society Labour was up and stirring before Capital was awake. Labour did not then ride; he travelled very slowly on foot through very dirty ways. Capital at length as slowly travelled after through the same mire, but at a humble distance from his parent. But when Capital grew into strength he saw there were other and more agreeable modes of travelling for both than Labour had found out. He procured that fleet and untiring horse Exchange; and when he proposed to Labour that they should mount

together he claimed the right, and kept it, for their mutual benefit, of taking the direction of the horse. For this reason, as it appears to us, we are called upon to assign to one of the companions, according to the practice of the old Knights Templars, the privilege of sitting before the other holding the reins indeed, but in all respects having a community of interests, and an equality of duties as well as rights, with his fellow traveller." The old proverb says: "When two men ride on one horse one man must ride behind," In the case we are considering Capital and Labour are riding on the one horse Exchange. Formerly they were content with their respective positions, Capital sitting in front and holding the reins; but lately they have been in perpetual dispute as to which should take the first place. Such disputes are vain, for the simple reason that they can never change the nature of things, and it is in the nature of things that Capital should ride in front, determine what road should be taken, supply eyes and brains for the enterprise, and provide sustenance for the journey. From this position Capital can never be deposed. It is well that it cannot, for were it otherwise Labour would be the first to suffer. Capital and Labour are destined to journey together to the end of time, and their journey will be made all the easier and pleasanter if both parties understand and recognise that the first place belongs of right and of necessity to Capital.

Labour, apart from Capital, is, as has been intimated, helplessness itself. In its very lowest condition, without the assistance of any accumulations from former industry, it is scarcely possible for it to exist at all, and instances of its existence in this condition are therefore very rare. Ross Cox, a Hudson's Bay trader, got lost in the woods of the North-West of the United States during the early part of the present century. Having fallen asleep in the woods, he missed all traces of the large party with which he was travelling. As the weather was very hot, he had left all his clothes with his horse when he had rambled from his friends.

He had nothing to defend himself against the wolves and serpents but a stick; he had nothing of which to make his bed but long grass and rushes; he had nothing to eat but hips and wild cherries. He would undoubtedly have perished if he had not fallen in with some Indians. The condition of this man during this time illustrates the absolute impotence of Labour apart from accumulations of former Labour. The man was strong and healthy, able to work, and indeed possessed of a knowledge of the acquirements of civilized life; but all this availed him nothing in a position where he was not able to avail himself of the aid of Capital.

Peter, the wild boy, who was discovered in Germany about 150 years ago, and afterwards brought to this country, and the Savage of Aveyron, who was discovered about ninety years since in France, were also illustrations of Labour in its lowest condition. But as they were in no sense civilized they could not be conscious of the needs of the civilized man, as Ross Cox would necessarily be; their wants and desires were not raised above those of the brutes. They supplied their wants after the fashion of brutes. Peter, who was enticed from the woods by the sight of two apples, did not like bread, but he eagerly peeled green sticks and chewed the rind. After he had been in this country some years he was apprehended in Norfolk as a suspicious character and put into prison; the prison by some means took fire, and Peter was found in a corner enjoying the warmth of the flames without any fear. The Savage of Avevron could use his hands for no other purpose than that of gripping, and his sense of touch was so defective that he could not distinguish a raised surface from a smooth one, or a carving from a painting. These are extraordinary instances. It is hardly possible to find even among savages a human being reduced so low as to be unable to avail himself of the aid of Capital, or the accumulations of former labour.

When a man is able to avail himself of such accumulalations his condition, however helpless it may be as

compared with the condition of a man in the civilised and social state, is immensely better than it would be were he absolutely without the assistance of former accumulations. A Moskito Indian, who was left by accident on the island of Juan Fernandez, in the year 1681, illustrates the condition of the man who is left upon a desert island without any direct social aid, but who has some help to his labour in consequence of a small accumulation from former industry. This man had nothing with him but his gun and his knife, with a small horn of powder and a few shot. When he had spent his powder he made his knife into a rude saw by notching it, and with this he cut the barrel of his gun into small pieces, with which he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long-bladed knife, having first of all procured a fire by means of his gun flint and a piece of the gun barrel. Before he made these instruments he was obliged to live upon seal's flesh, but after he had got them he refused to eat seal any longer because he was able to kill goats and catch fish. He built himself a little house, lined with goats' skins, and lived in a tolerable degree of rude comfort, although he was left alone on an uninhabited island. He had a constant supply of goat's flesh and fish, which he was able to cook; he had a house lined with goats' skins, and bedding of the same material; and he had clothing also made from the skins of animals. He had no helper, and was totally unable to avail himself of those advantages which surround even the poorest individual in the civilized and social state; yet he had these slight accumulations of former labour, in the shape of the gun, the knife, and the flint which he chanced to have with him when he was left behind, and these, simple as they were, made a marvellous difference in his condition. They enabled him to give to his labour a profitable direction; or, in other words, to give to his natural supplies a utility and a value which they never could have possessed apart from these instruments. No human being could well have less about him in the shape of accumulations from former labour; yet even with

these he was able in a very real sense to subdue the powers of nature to himself. To man, if he is to labour profitably, instruments of labour are absolutely essential, simply because he is not provided with natural instruments for securing food as the inferior animals are; in other words his natural powers must be aided by accumulations from former labour, that is by Capital. This accumulation in some slight degree the Moskito Indian had, and it enabled him to maintain existence in tolerable comfort even amid the severe conditions in which he found himself. Still, the condition of the Moskito Indian was only one degree removed from the lowest and least productive state of labour. It is not enough for a man to labour, or even to labour with the aid of former accumulations; he must go forward to a higher condition still, and become an exchanger as well as a labourer.

This brings us to consider for a moment or two the principle of Exchange. Archbishop Whately has defined man to be "an animal that makes exchanges." No other animal does this. Whatever power of instinct or of reason an insect or a quadruped may possess (and some of them possess such powers in a perfectly marvellous degree), not one of them has any idea of exchanging with his fellow something which it does not want for some other thing which it desires to possess. Even barbarous human beings have very imperfect ideas with regard to Exchange, though all but the very lowest of them have some idea of it. The principle of Exchange can operate fully only where civilization has attained considerable development; for this principle is the beginning and the end of all civilization on its material side, and indeed may almost be said itself to constitute civilization. Without it, however much the members of a community might labour, and whatever advantages they might possess by reason of accumulations from former labour, they would always be poor and miserable. Labour is profitable and accumulations valuable only where the principle of Exchange is in free and full operation; in other words where every labourer can be sure of exchanging the surplus of what he produces for those things which are essential to the sustenance and the enjoyment of his life. Labour is practically useless apart from Capital; both Capital and Labour are practically useless apart from Exchange. Without Exchange man would be doomed to constant labour, and yet his accumulations would be so small that he could never rise above a condition of wretchedness; with Exchange he is certain of securing for himself the results of his own labour, and of thus making the best possible provision for his own wants; in short, this principle of Exchange makes man the ruler both of himself and of the creation of which he is the head.

Society, whether rude or refined, is a system of exchanges. Every man in it, unless he be an idler, is an exchanger; that is to say, he exchanges the surplus of any commodity which he may produce or possess for some other commodity which he desires. In a rude state of society the exchange is carried on by barter; in a refined state of society the value of the exchange is represented by money. Where money is used the exchange, although not so direct, is incomparably more rapid. Under this system of exchange two persons are benefited, simply because each obtains what he wants through the store possessed by others of what they do not want. Now, of course, an exchange is in the nature of an agreement, and the very foundation of that agreement is the security of individual property. Where the principle of individual appropriation is not acted upon there can be no exchange; and where there is no exchange there can be no production. No man would labour to cultivate or to manufacture anything beyond what he needed to eat and use for himself if the value of what he produced was not secured to him. Before a man can be in a position to exchange he must be in a position to accumulate, and before he can be in a position to accumulate he must be assured of the secure ownership of what he produces. Where this assurance of security was lacking the

strongest would obtain the largest share of everything going, and the prevailing sense of insecurity would inevitably prevent or destroy all accumulation. But where the principle of appropriation is fully acted upon, in other words where every man's property is secured to him against all the world, and where he can be assured of exchanging his surplus commodities for the things which he desires, there production and accumulation will go rapidly forward. Accumulations and exchanges are absolutely dependent upon the principle that there shall be private property and that private property shall be inviolable. No security, no exchange; no exchange, no accumulations; no accumulations, no capital; no capital, no labour; no labour, no production; no production, and the earth would be a desert and a marsh, and mankind a race of savages. Where the principle of appropriation is universally acted upon there will be unlimited exchange; where there is unlimited exchange there will be large accumulations; where there are large accumulations there will be profitable labour; where there is profitable labour there will be large production; where there is large production there will be a social and civilized community; and in such a community, where large accumulations have been stored, the poorest man has a greater certainty of supplying all his wants, and of supplying them with much more ease, than has the richest man in a community which is unsocial and uncivilized, simply because the greater the store the greater is the certainty that the poor man's labour, or in other words his power of adding to that store, will obtain a fair share of what has been gathered together by previous labour.\* It is the great principle of Exchange which supplies the motive for production and accumulation. Alexander Selkirk, when he was on his desert island, never thought of providing any store beyond what was needed to supply his own personal necessities. He

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;It is a great misfortune to be poor; but it is a much greater misfortune for the poor man to be surrounded only with other poor like himself."—
M. Say.

had no motive for such a thought, simply because there were no human beings within his reach with whom he might exchange his surplus commodities for theirs. So would it be even with a man who lived in a populous country if he were not allowed to securely possess and to freely exchange the surplus of what he produced for the surplus of some other producer. It is easy to see, therefore, that in order to throw back the civilized world into a state of barbarism it is only necessary to abolish private property and freedom of exchange.

The principle of appropriation applies to land in the same way and to the same extent as to other kinds of property, and where there is no appropriation of land to individual owners there can never be anything but imperfect production and partial accumulation. Man never advances from the nomadic or the hunting state into the pastoral and agricultural state until the land of the country has been appropriated to individuals. Indian tribes, even though they have recognised the security of individual property, and also the principle of exchange which rests upon the security of property, have nevertheless remained poor and wretched because the principles of appropriation and exchange operated imperfectly and irregularly, and did not apply to the land. It has been estimated that each Indian required a thousand acres for his maintenance. The supplies of food among them were so scanty that if a large number of them assembled together on hunting expeditions they soon had to disperse in consequence of the failure of food supplies. The land required to maintain one person where it was unenclosed and unappropriated would maintain hundreds after it was enclosed and appropriated. The fact that these Indians laboured without appropriation in this respect prevented their labour from being profitable. They depended upon the spontaneous and chance productions of the soil, instead of cultivating the soil and compelling it to produce; they did not so cultivate and compel it because there was no appropriation of the soil, which is the most efficient natural instrument of production. If they had utilised and directed the productive power of the earth to the growth of food they would have become rich. But they could not have done this without previously appropriating the soil. had learned the wisdom and necessity of appropriating the spontaneous products of the soil after they had bestowed labour upon obtaining them; but this last step towards making their soil productive, namely, the appropriation of that soil, was not taken. Therefore they remained poor. Where there is no property in land there will be no cultivation; where there is no cultivation there will be no wealth. Some of the Indians carried the principle of appropriation almost to a division of land, for each tribe, and sometimes each individual had an allotted hunting ground, which had been appropriated, imperfectly perhaps, by the first comer, whose right had often been contested with violence by later comers; but still this was enough to show that they had approached the limit which divides the savage from the civilized state. There is no principle which differentiates civilization from barbarism more markedly than that great principle which considers all capital and all land as appropriated. Where such appropriation does not exist there is no security for individual property; where there is no security for individual property there is no social improvement; the principle of exchange cannot operate, and each man must make everything he requires for himself, instead of confining his attention to one thing and exchanging the surplus of that one thing for such other commodities as he requires; where there is no exchange there is no motive for accumulation, and consequently abject poverty prevails. Under such conditions Labour will always be unproductive. One of the greatest blessings of the civilized state is that it immeasureably increases the power of production. who would abolish private property in land, and make its ownership national or municipal instead of individual, would, if they could succeed in carrying out their purpose, effectually put an end to profitable production. Any change

in the ownership of land, any holding of it in a common stock or a co-operative partnership, which did not secure to every man his fair share of what the partnership produced, would not last a week. Even under such a plan the cultivators of the land would be exchangers amongst themselves, and the principle of individual ownership would still have to be recognised. Every man would have to be guaranteed in the possession of his individual share of the fruits of the enterprise. If this guarantee were withheld he would not produce or accumulate anything beyond what he needed to consume himself. Whatever devices may be resorted to by politicians in dealing with the land the great principles which we have been discussing will assert themselves. No man will cultivate the land unless the fruits of his labour are assured to him; he can have no assurance that he will gather these fruits unless the land is appropriated. What is everybody's business is nobody's business; land which everybody owns will get nobody to cultivate it. To apply the principle of appropriation to other forms of property and to withhold it as regards land would be absurd. Where appropriation is thus limited exchange will be imperfect; where exchange is imperfect accumulations will be small; where accumulations are small labour will be unproductive. Credit, which plays so large a part in the transactions of daily life among civilized men, which indeed may be said to be the very foundation of commerce and prosperity, could not exist at all apart from the principle of appropriation. Those tribes which do not desire to "replenish the earth" by cultivation, but seek only to appropriate the means of existence which the earth has spontaneously produced, may labour and exchange, but they will labour and exchange in a way that will not promote the accumulation of wealth, and will therefore remain poor and miserable. "Imperfect appropriation—that is, an appropriation which respects personal wealth, such as the tools and conveniences of an individual, and even secures to him the fruits of the earth when he has gathered them, but which has not reached the last step of a division of land—imperfect appropriation such as this raises up the same invincible obstacles to the production of utility, because with this original defect there must necessarily be unprofitable labour, small accumulation, unlimited exchange."

The great truth which it is desired to enforce in this chapter is that Labour, Accumulation, and Exchange must be allowed to work in harmony with their natural relations and laws, and that attempts to interfere with their normal operations either by legislation or by illegal violence will certainly recoil upon the head of society, and bring in their train a series of heavy misfortunes and disasters. On this point we are not left without experience to guide us; for unfortunately rulers of nations in the past, acting either from ignorance or from selfishness, have been but too ready to try experiments in this direction. It is a melancholy reflection that the calamitous results of this experience do not seem to have produced the impression which might have been expected upon the minds of men in the present generation. No doubt this is largely owing to ignorance, and it may be hoped therefore that in proportion as this ignorance is dissipated men will see it to be both wise and safe to act in harmony with economical laws.

In these times we have nothing to fear from the arbitrary action of monarchs. For the Crown does not now conceive it to be its duty or its interest, as it once did, to make war upon capital. The House of Commons has no need now to complain, as it did in the time of King Henry, that the monarch seized upon whatever suited his royal pleasure—food, implements, horses, or anything else in the shape of accumulated labour. In the reign of Henry the Third a statute was passed to remedy excessive distresses, from which it appears that the King's officers were in the habit of seizing farmers' oxen while they were ploughing, and restoring them only after enormous exaction. Lord Bacon tells us that it was a practice of the King's purveyors to extort large sums of money by threatening to cut down favourite

trees which grew near mansion houses. Before the Charter of the Forest no man could dig a marl pit on his own ground, lest the king's horses should fall into it when he was hunting. Despotism of this kind would depopulate any country, however fertile, by rendering capital insecure and consequently unproductive. Mr. Fraser, an English traveller, writing of the desolation of some parts of Persia, owing to the exactions of tyrannical rulers, says: "Such is the character of their rulers that the only measure of their demands is the power to extort on the one hand and the ability to give or retain on the other." Labour will never exert itself when it is to be robbed of its accumulated results. Montesquieu lays it down as a maxim that lands are not cultivated in proportion to their fertility but in proportion to their freedom. In the dark ages of England's history the king plundered the capitalists, the capitalists plundered the labourers, and the labourers in turn plundered the capitalists again. Harrison, an old historical writer, tells us that during the single reign of Henry the Eighth 72,000 thieves were hanged in England. What a lurid light this one fact throws upon the misery of those times! As the whole of the kingdom did not at that time contain half a million of grown up men one man in ten must have been "devoured and eaten up by the gallows." Amid such universal plunder as then prevailed the insecurity of property was so great that accumulation was rendered almost impossible, and consequently there was little or no production. The laws which were passed in those times of ignorance were as unjust in their effects upon industry and capital as were the arbitrary exactions of the king and his nobles. These laws which, as we have already seen, attempted to regulate everything in connection with labour, food, etc., effectually destroyed the freedom of labour and the security of property, and thus prevented Capital and Labour from cordially uniting their energies in the process of production. It has been said that Louis XIV. of France wasted as much capital and labour by perpetually interfering with the freedom of trade as he did by his ruinous wars. Unquestionably our own Government might, by framing one law which should unsettle the relation subsisting between Capital and Labour, create among capitalists a universal sense of insecurity, and thus do infinitely more mischief than would be done by a war upon the largest scale, however wanton and wicked that war might be. Once convince Capital that it can no longer work with security and the result will be that the productive energy of the country will instantly slacken and begin to decay; the fields will become barren; the towns will lose their inhabitants; the roads grow impassable through neglect; the canals would be choked, the railways would be deserted, the rivers would break down their banks, and the sea would make inroads upon the land. England may conceivably become what it was 2,000 years ago, a universal marsh, and London may again become what it once was, namely, a wilderness for howling wolves; and all because the assurance which every man now possesses that he will be allowed to enjoy his own property has been destroyed. For everything which has gone to the raising of England out of the slough in which she existed 2,000 years ago, and to the making her what she is to-day, has been built upon the security of property and the consequent productiveness of Labour. The whole fabric rests upon that simple principle. Destroy that principle, and the fabric will be dissolved in a twentieth part of the time which it has taken to build it.

The despotism of monarchs is a thing of the past in this country. What we have now to fear, as has already been pointed out, is the more terrible despotism of mobs. The pendulum has now swung to the opposite extreme. Parliament is no longer the creature of the monarch, subservient to his imperious will; but it is the creature of the Democracy, and it is subservient to the more imperious will of "the people." Tyranny which is hydra-headed and million-handed is much more difficult to deal with than

tyranny which can use only one head and one pair of hands. A monarch who mis-used his power might be deposed from his throne and beheaded; but no such summary measures can be adopted in the case of a tyrannous Democracy. Let us not beguile ourselves with the delusion that because the absolutism of monarchy is over we have therefore nothing to fear as regards the invasion of our liberties and our rights by despotic power; that we are in no danger of suffering from arbitrary and unjust enactments on the part of Parliament. It cannot be too often repeated that the new tyranny is worse than the old; that the tyranny of Collectivism in its various forms of Socialism, Trade Unionism, and overlegislation, is much more to be dreaded than the tyranny of kings and nobles, inasmuch as it is more omnipresent, gripping with its clammy fingers every department and almost every detail of the citizen's life. Despotism of the old order was of a rough and ready character, and was compatible with the enjoyment of a large liberty on the part of a majority of the people, simply because it was impossible that its oppressiveness could be extended to everybody; but despotism of the new style, which uses to accomplish its purpose Acts of Parliament which apply to every citizen in the country, is much more difficult to escape. It were more tolerable for the men who lived under the Henrys and the Charleses than for those who in the near future will (unless things greatly alter) live under the Socialistic demagogue and the Trade Union Boss.

In view of what Parliament has done in relation to Ireland during the last few years it will not do for us to lull ourselves into a false security. No more foolish or iniquitous laws were passed by the British House of Commons in the Middle Ages than the Irish Land Acts which it has passed recently. These Acts not only violated contracts which had been voluntarily entered into by both parties, but they also interfered with the natural relations which existed in Ireland between landlord and tenant, between property and industry, and they virtually condemned that individual

appropriation of land which lies at the foundation of all wealth, civilization, and progress. For individual ownership they have substituted dual ownership. Really it would be just as sensible for Parliament to decree that every horse in Ireland should have two owners as that every piece of agricultural land shall have two owners. What are the results of these Land Acts in Ireland? That the tenant's industry and the landlord's property are placed in antagonism; that the motive which the landlord formerly had for improving his land has been destroyed, whilst no similar motive has been created in the mind of the tenant; that the free sale of land in Ireland has been rendered impossible, and that a sense of insecurity has been created which frightens capital away from the shores of that country: in short, that things have been turned upside down. Nobody has gained from this legislation, for whilst the landlords have been impoverished the tenants are not one whit better off than they were before. Indeed, the state of things prevailing in Ireland ought to operate as a solemn warning to our rulers not to repeat the experiments which they have been trying in that unfortunate country, even if it does not induce them to undo their evil work. There can be no doubt that this work will have to be undone before Ireland can really enjoy the prosperity to which her natural advantages entitle her. The principle of individual ownership of land will have to be again reverted to, and it is perhaps the greatest recommendation of Land Purchase Acts that they tend to re-establish this principle. So infatuated, however, are many of our statesmen with this innovating and destructive legislation that Mr. Chamberlain exultingly points to the fact that Acts of Parliament have been passed to limit freedom of contract between landlord and tenant in Ireland, and eagerly urges that we ought therefore to proceed to pass further Acts of Parliament to limit freedom of contract between the capitalist and the labourer.

In addition to these Irish Land Acts Parliament has interfered during the last few years between Capital and

Labour in all sorts of ways. We have already noticed the resolution which was adopted by the House of Commons requiring all Government contractors to pay what the Trade Unions are pleased to require as "fair" wages. In adopting such a resolution Parliament has trespassed beyond its proper functions. All that it is entitled to claim from those who contract to do its work is that they will do that work soundly and thoroughly. What arrangements these contractors make with their workmen is no concern of Parliament or anybody else. The workmen are perfectly well able to take care of themselves, and that fact is the surest safeguard against any improper advantage being taken of them by the employer. No Parliament can compel employers to pay their men higher wages than they deserve, or than the conditions of their business will warrant, for any length of time. By improperly interfering in these matters Parliament will harass the employers and make it very difficult for them to conduct their business, and it will also add to the cost of the public work, but this is about all it will be able to do. Lord George Hamilton boasts that, as First Lord of the Admiralty, he had the placing of contracts to the value of something like forty millions of pounds, and that he gave these contracts only "to those who were in the habit of paying fair wages to workmen"; in other words he permitted one of the great spending departments of the Government to be conducted in obedience to the behests of the Trade Unions. It is difficult to see what a Cabinet Minister, who is the servant of the whole nation and not simply of Trade Unions, can find to be proud of in such a fact as this. Owing to the action which has been taken by Government and Parliament in this matter the pretentiousness and selfimportance of Trade Unions have been swelled to a dangerous degree. It is not at all an uncommon thing for the secretary of some obscure Trade Union to write to a Cabinet Minister, and to take him to task because the Government has given contracts to tradesmen against whom the Trade Unionists of the district happen to have a

grudge.\* Such trumpery proceedings as have occurred frequently of late are altogether beneath the dignity of the British Parliament. Surely if there is any public body in the country which ought to conduct its business on commonsense principles it is the House of Commons!

When Millbank Prison was sold a few months ago by the Government it was offered for sale on the special condition that the purchasers would be compelled to pay a minimum wage of  $6\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour to all the men whom they employed, and the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings stated that they would enforce this by putting into operation, if necessary, a clause forfeiting

Mr. C. J. Drummond, Secretary of the London Society of Compositors, in August, 1891, endeavoured to induce the Marylebone Vestry to give their printing work to a firm which paid the Trade Union rate of wages. The Vestry declined to take any action in the matter, or to receive a deputation of

ratepayers on the subject.

A meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, on December 18, 1892, by the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, "for the purpose of protesting against the London County Council giving its clothing contracts to firms that do not pay Trade Union rates of wages." The following resolutions were passed: (1) "That this meeting, while condemning the action of the London County Council in refusing to adhere to their Trade Union rate of wages resolution in the giving out of their contracts for clothing, strongly urges that and other municipal bodies to undertake the manufacture of all future clothing contracts without the intervention of a middleman or a contractor;" (2) "That this mass meeting of working men and women pledges itself to organise at once in their various Trade Unions, as the best means of checking the rapacious greed of Capitalism, and further pledges itself to educate and agitate for the overthrow of the present competitive system of monopoly, and for the establishment of a system wherein the means of life shall be in the hands of the producer."

On August 5, 1891, the Leeds Town Council resolved by 16 to 13 to require contractors with the Corporation to observe the recognised rates of wages and hours of labour, and to forbid sub-letting.

<sup>\*</sup> On April 5, 1892, a memorial which had been addressed to the Corporation of London by the Bermondsey Vestry was considered at a meeting of the City Commission of Sewers. The memorial protested against the low wages of the City scavengers and street sweepers, and expressed regret that the City, with all its wealth, which rightly belonged to the whole of London, did not treat the men which it employed well, or pay them the Trade Union rate of wages. Mr. Alderman Treloar, the chairman, characterized the memorial as "presumptuous and impudent," and Mr. Graham King said he never remembered "a more impudent communication." Mr. B. Turner, Chairman of the Streets Committee, said a considerable number of persons were employed out of charity, as they were physically incapable of doing much work, and that if the Vestry and other agitators persisted in this annoyance these persons would be dismissed, and would thus lose the wages they were receiving.

deposit money and all right to the buildings bought. What was the result? That when the first portion of the buildings, which originally cost £10,000 in materials alone, was put up for sale, only £600 could be obtained for it. If the Government had not insisted upon such an absurd condition as the one just noticed no doubt the price realised would have been four times as large. Thus is the public made to suffer in order to gratify the whims of politicians and the arrogance of Trade Unions. The Trade Union Congress of 1892 passed resolutions calling upon the Government not to buy its lead pencils for the Civil Service from Bavaria, to exclude foreign pauper labour, and "to prohibit blacklegs from being imported from abroad during strikes and lockouts; and to stamp all goods produced by trade unionists, so that public-spirited persons may not knowingly purchase commodities produced under unfair conditions." But why does the Government buy its pencils from Germany? Simply because they can get a better article for the price than they could obtain in this country. Whose fault is that? It is the fault of the British workman.\* If he wants to remedy this state of things let him produce better goods for the same money than the German workman can produce. That would be the

<sup>\*</sup> English artisans are constantly complaining that work which they ought to do is given to workmen abroad, but they fail to realise that this is mainly owing to their own conduct. The London Society of Lithographic Printers passed a resolution some time ago expressing regret at "the tendency of the proprietors of illustrated journals to have their chromo-lithographed supplements executed abroad," and urging workmen to "patronise only those journals which are produced in this country." It seems that there are about 8,000 skilled workmen engaged in this industry in Great Britain, besides 16,000 lads. Out of 800 members of the London Society 16 per cent. were then out of employment.

In September, 1892, it was stated that the previous three months had been the worst that English printers had known for many years, as a large amount of book and other work had been sent into the country, the result being that many London compositors were out of work, whilst London firms had run their composing rooms at a serious loss. The litho and colour printing trade was declared to be in a still worse state, loud complaints being made by the men that benevolent and other institutions sent large orders to the continent, where labour is so much cheaper. Even our provincial firms, though their wages are much lower than in London, are finding it impossible to compete with Germany and Holland.

common-sense course. But the only idea of the British workman nowadays seems to be that he should be protected at every point by Parliament. Trade Unionists of the new type are the most arrant Protectionists among us where competition with their labour is concerned, although they are most extreme Free Traders where foreign competition with the British producer is concerned. If the unionist workman chooses to strike, he thinks that Parliament should not only allow him the privilege of striking but should also, in order to protect him, deny to his employer the right of engaging other workmen, and deny to other workmen the right of taking the work which he leaves. He has also evidently got the idea into his head that Parliament ought to prohibit the manufacture, or sale, or use of any articles that do not bear the Trade Union stamp, for clearly this is what is indicated by the third of the resolutions to which we have just adverted.\*

This perpetual interference on the part of Parliament in matters affecting labour at the instigation of Socialistic Trade Unionists has done nobody a particle of good, least of all the people in whose interests the action is supposed to have been taken. Mrs. Fawcett felt herself compelled some time ago to protest against schemes of social legislation which, though designed to protect women from overwork, were likely to result in depriving them of their employment altogether. If it be true that the work of many

<sup>\*</sup> John Burns, speaking in the London County Council on Nov. 25, 1892, said that—"When it proved in the interest of the community he admitted that he was a Protectionist, and when Free Trade was unobjectionable he would be a Free Trader" Referring to some remarks which had been made respecting Scotch firms, he said that "too frequently Scotchmen were a nation of blacklegs, who indulged in some of the worst forms of sweating. He was one of those who believed that Scotchmen had had quite enough out of London in the past, and he was not anxious that they should have any more. In his opinion London men ought to have the preference, especially in times of great distress. Mr. Torrance had said that 30 per cent. of the shipwrights on the Clyde were out of work, but they ought to remember that 45 per cent. of the shipwrights in London were at present unemployed." It did not occur to Mr. Burns to explain why so many London shipwrights were unemployed. The fact is largely due to the action of himself and a few other Socialistic agitators.

women is underpaid, it is equally true that it is better for these women to work for low wages than not to be able to work at all. Women are the first to suffer from the schemes of the Trade Unionists, who in their secret hearts look upon women as their rivals, and wish to drive them out of the field. Fear of female competition has much more to do with their "humanitarian" devices than anxiety to prevent women from being over-worked. Women can afford to work for less wages than men, because they do not spend a large proportion of their wages in drinking, smoking, and gambling. A deputation of women nail and chain makers waited on Mr. Matthews when he was at the Home Office to protest against Parliamentary interference with their labour, their contention being that such interference with the labour of adult women would narrow the field of employment for women. They specially objected to a provision in Lord Dunraven's Bill that no girl should work at the nail and chain trade until she was 16, on the ground that this would virtually be driving women out of the trade, as the necessary dexterity in the handicraft must be acquired whilst young.

The principal dangers which threaten us in these times, so far as the security of property and the freedom of labour are concerned, arise from Socialism and the Labour movement, which are so intimately related that they may for all practical purposes be regarded as one and the same. This Socialistic spirit is manifesting itself in three forms: first, as Socialism pure and simple; secondly, in the Socialistic developments of the Labour movement; and thirdly, in the Socialistic action of municipal bodies.

As to Socialism pure and simple, but little need be said in regard to it here, as it will be fully discussed in subsequent chapters. Such Socialism, however, boldly enunciates the principle that accumulation is in itself an evil, a position so preposterous that it is hardly worth while to spend a moment's labour in refuting it. Individual Socialists are not at all averse to accumulating on their own behalf, and it would be possible to name several Socialistic leaders who have a large balance at their bankers. They regard accuinulations as an evil only when they are in the possession of others, and they certainly do not show any eagerness to divide their own accumulations with other people. Rousseau advises Governments not to secure property to its possessors, but to deprive them of all means of accumulating; and the same writer advocated the savage state, in which there should be no property, in preference to the social state which is founded on appropriation. Herein he was consistent, for Socialism would really be a return to barbarism, to the brutality and misery of savagery. Among the brutes each labours to obtain what it desires from sources which are accessible to all, and when it can it plunders the sources of others. Socialism would throw back the race into its primitive degradation, and reduce man almost to the level of the beasts of the forest.

The second form of Socialism, or that which is manifesting itself in and through the Labour movement, is really the most serious danger which confronts us to-day. working man in this country is, as has already been pointed out, in the condition of a free exchange. The law guarantees to him the absolute possession of his property, that is his labour. In the eye of the law he is on a perfect equality with the capitalist. He is able to work under the stimulus of the assurance that he can exchange his labour for the money of the capitalist on terms of perfect equality, as the capitalist has no advantage, so far as law is concerned, over the labourer, and thus the exchange is made beneficial to both parties so far as laws and institutions can give it this character. The English working man is no longer a slave; he is a free labourer; no labour is forced upon him or from him, and no rate of payment for that labour is prescribed for him by law; he is free to work when he pleases, and be idle when he pleases—provided he breaks no contract by remaining idle; he is free to obtain the highest wages that he can possibly get, and even to unite

with his fellows in obtaining these wages, on the condition that he does not by this union destroy that freedom of industry which belongs to others no less than to himself, and without which he could not have taken one step towards improving his own condition. Natural justice can demand no more than this. The working man is in the possession of all the rights to which he can be entitled as an exchanger. The most fundamental of those rights is that he shall not be compelled by arbitrary enactments to part with his property without having the fullest equivalent which the general laws of exchange will afford him. Having attained this position the English working man ought to be content. Actually, however, he is more discontented than he ever was, and his discontent is mainly due to the action of politicians and demagogues, who wish to use him for their own ends, and whose wiles he is not acute enough to see through. Doctrines are now being taught to working men by Socialistic agitators which are of the most delusive and dangerous character. They are not new doctrines by any means: they have been taught for centuries past, and they have been exploded over and over again; yet they are being taught to-day with more energy than ever. Take one such doctrine as an example. It is taught by the Socialistic leaders of the New Trades Unionism that the labour of the workman shall not yield any profit to the capitalist, or in other words that all the results of labour should be appropriated by the labourer himself. What does this amount to? Simply this—that if the capitalist is not to be allowed a profit upon his capital he is virtually deprived of his property; he is to lend or give his capital to the labourer without a profit or without the freedom to withhold his capital if no profit could be obtained upon it. This doctrine was taught by a lecturer on Political Economy in the early part of this century, who complained that "the labourer is not allowed to work, unless, in addition to replacing whatever he uses or consumes, and comfortably subsisting himself, his labour also gives a profit to the capitalist on all the capital which he uses or consumes while engaged in producing."\* This principle is called by the writer "a principle of slavery." This is the contention of the New Unionism, the advocates of which are always speaking of the "slavery" of wage earners. As this is a vital point it will be well to probe it to the bottom. It is contended that the capitalist should not receive a profit upon the employment of his capital. But if he did not do so it would remain unemployed, it would be useless. According to this doctrine, capital, which is the accumulation of former labour, ought to be the property of the present labourers; for obviously if it is not to be allowed to return a profit to the capitalist he may as well give up the trouble and anxiety of taking care of it. Suppose, then, that the working men of 1803 were to divide their employers' capital amongst them, and were to work more advantageously to themselves with the profits of the capital which they had thus appropriated. Ten years from now a new class of labourers would rise up to claim their share in the spoil. According to the original doctrine upon which the labourers of 1893 acted, the labourers of 1003 would have a better title to the money than the labourers of 1893, who would have become capitalists; because those of 1903, not being capitalists, contribute more labour to procure some of the capital by exchange. Consequently they would dispossess the labourers of 1893; and these having once more become noncapitalists would acquire a new title to the capital, and would again dispossess the labourers of 1903! This is the absurd consequence in which we are landed by the doctrine that the accumulation of former labour belongs to the present labourers, and that the best title to the accumulation is to have added nothing towards it, but only to be willing to add. Strabo mentions a priest whose right to the priesthood was acquired by having murdered his predecessor; similarly our Socialistic Trade Unionists teach working men that their right to the possession of the property of the capitalist is to be acquired by dispossessing him.

<sup>\*</sup> Hodgskin's "Popular Political Economy."

Put in another form the case may be stated thus: Capital is the old labour stored up for exchange with new labour; persons who attach exclusive value to the new labour as against the old labour say that the new production should be stimulated by the old production, without allowing the old production to be exchanged against the new; that is that the old production should be an instrument for the reward of new labour, but not a profitable instrument to its possessor. "The doctrine, therefore, amounts to this; that Labour shall exchange with Labour, but not with the products of Labour, or that there shall be no exchange whatever; for if the present labourers are to have the sole benefit of the capital the principle of exchange, in which both exchangers benefit, is destroyed. There must be an end of all exchanges when the things to be exchanged are not equally desired by both parties. If the capitalist is to lend or to give the capital to the labourer without a profit, or without a perfect freedom which would entitle him to withhold it if no profit could be obtained, the balance is destroyed between capital and labour. Accumulation is then at an end; because the security of the thing accumulated to the accumulator is at an end. The security is at an end, because, if the new labour is to have the advantage of the old labour without compensation or exchange, the new labour must take the old labour by force or fraud; for the new cannot proceed without the old; Labour cannot stir without Capital. Accumulation, therefore, being at an end, labour for an object beyond the wants of the hour is at an end. Society resolves itself into its first elements. We return to the powerless condition, first of the North American Indians; and thence, having overturned the security of property which they respect, we go backward to the state of man in the lowest depth of brute degradation, such as scarcely exists amongst the rudest tribes."

The contention of the new labour among ourselves today is that it ought to have the advantage of the old labour, or capital, without paying for it; and in order to get possession of this old labour, or the accumulations of the past, it is endeavouring to induce Parliament to pass all sorts of laws for the protection of the new labour to the disadvantage of the old labour. Trades Unionists are asking for Eight Hours Acts, for the abolition of the Common Law of Conspiracy, for the abolition of the doctrine of common employment, and other similar enactments, because if these laws were passed they would, as we have already pointed out, be able to form such powerful combinations against employers that the employers would be absolutely at their mercy. In other words they would be able to take from their employers their capital by a gradual process, and to transfer it to their own possession. This is the purpose which lies at the bottom of all the schemes of Socialistic Trade Unionism.

The time has come to tell English working men, and to tell them with no uncertain voice, that as they have been raised to the position of free exchangers and placed upon a perfect equality with the capitalist, they are morally bound to use their power in harmony with those laws by which exchanges are governed. Once let working men imagine that they can obtain some of the capital of the employer, or all of it, without giving an equivalent in exchange for it, and let them make but one attempt to carry this idea into practice, and the stores which they desire to plunder would vanish as if by magic. They might once divide among themselves the property of the capitalists, but they would never be able to repeat the process, for the simple reason that the capital would never again be produced while this feeling of insecurity existed. The accumulation of property depends upon the principle that property shall be secure; let the security be destroyed and the accumulation will cease. If the idea now so prevalent among working men, that the capital of the employer can be seized or used without a fair exchange of labour being given in return for it, could be carried into practice the principle of exchange would be destroyed; because it is of the essence of that

principle that both exchangers should benefit, whereas in the case supposed the labourer alone would benefit. This would bring all exchanges to an end. Exchange at an end, accumulation would be at an end, because the accumulator would have no security that what he had accumulated would be assured to him. Accumulation being at an end, all labour would be at an end, except what was necessary to provide for the present hour. Society would then and thus be resolved into its primary elements.

The third danger to which we are exposed in these times by reason of Socialism lies in the tendency of public bodies to act in the interests of Trade Unionists at the expense of all other classes. This disposition has been more flagrantly manifested by the London County Council than by any other public body, though some other municipalities have gone a long way in the same direction. Much has already been said upon the general policy of the London County Council, but it is impossible to avoid making a few comments at this stage on its treatment of labour questions and its method of dealing with contracts and public works. On May 17, 1892, Mr. John Burns moved in the Council: "That all the contractors be compelled to sign a declaration that they pay the Trade Union rate of wages, and observe the hours of labour and conditions recognised by the London Trades Unions, and that the hours and wages be inserted in and form part of the contracts by way of schedule, and that penalties be enforced for any breach of agreement." Mr. Beachcroft truly said that the real meaning of this motion was to make the Council the mouthpiece of the Trade Unions, and to compel Trade Unions throughout the country to raise wages to the level of the London rate. He urged the Council not to commit itself blindly to so grave a principle without further consideration. Mr. Roberts moved as an amendment: "That a special committee be appointed to consider in what manner the Council can require its contractors to pay all employed on work for the Council the standard rate of wages." The amendment was

rejected by a majority of 3, the numbers being 52 for it and 55 against it. On May 25 the discussion of the matter was resumed, when Mr. Costello moved as an amendment: "After the first word 'That' to insert the words, 'except as regards work intended by the Council to be done outside London." Mr. Sydney Webb seconded this, but after a long discussion it was rejected by 73 votes against 32. On May 27 the matter was further considered, and Sir Thomas Farrer moved the following amendment: "To omit the word 'London' in the second line, and insert after the words 'Trades Unions' the words 'in the place or places where the contract is to be executed." The object of this amendment was to allow country contractors and country workmen to do London work at country prices; whereas the object of Mr. Burns's motion was to apply London prices and rules to the country contracts, and thus prevent Londoners getting the benefit of the cheaper labour of the country. The amendment was carried by 60 against 50, and Mr. Burns's resolution, thus amended, was adopted. It will be seen that Mr. Burns's object was to set London workmen free from the competition of their fellows in the country, and thus to protect the interests of the London workman at the expense of the London ratepayer. Even as it stands, however, the resolution declares that the rate of wages and the hours of work are to be such as Trade Unions approve, and this has been accepted as the principle to which all future contracts are to be subject. Henceforth any contractor who wishes to work for the London County Council must be prepared to state what wages he pays, and the number of hours worked by his men, in his contract, and he must be prepared to submit to penalties if they are not adhered to. One member of the Council suggested that a clause should be inserted in every contract providing that if any contractor does not pay his hands the full wages he has undertaken to pay he shall have double the deficit deducted from the amount due to him under the contract, and that the Council should be at liberty to use the money

to make up to the workmen the wage which they ought to have received; and he further suggested that every contractor should be bound to keep time books and wage books open to inspection by the Council, and that, whenever asked, he is to make and deliver a declaration that his practice has been in agreement with his books.\* Such resolutions could

\* The Special Committee of the Council to which the "fair wages" question was submitted reported in December, 1892, that they had recommended the Council to adopt this second suggestion, namely, that the "Contractors should keep proper time books and wages books in connection with the contract work, and such books shall at all times be open to the inspection of such person or persons as may be appointed by the Council for this purpose, and the Contractors shall, under a penalty, be bound to make and deliver to the Council, whenever required, a declaration that the hours and wages set out in the time and wages books are correct, and that he has paid the several sums charged therein." The Committee further reported that it did not think it desirable to recommend the Council to adopt the first proposal, as it might be somewhat difficult to apply.

It may be well to give the Standing Orders which were adopted by the Council in December, 1892, in regard to fair wages, and therefore we append

them:-

"I. There shall be kept at the County-hall a list of the rates of wages and the hours of labour to be paid and observed by the Council in works which are in the nature of construction or manufacture, and which the Council may resolve to carry out without the intervention of a contractor. The list shall be settled by the Council on the recommendation of the Works and Stores Committee, and shall be based on the rates of wages and hours of labour recognized by the various Trade Unions in London, and shall form part of the standing orders of the Council. The list shall at all times be open to public inspection.

"2. In inviting tenders for work to be executed within 20 miles of Charing Cross the advertisements and instructions for tender shall state that, in the case of all workmen to be employed by the contractor, he will be required to pay wages at rates not less, and observe hours of labour not greater, than the rates and hours set out in the Council's list, and that such rates of wages and hours of labour will be inserted in a schedule and will form part of the

contract, and penalties shall be enforced for any breach thereof.

"3. When the contractor in connection with the works contracted for intends to employ labour at a greater distance than 20 miles from Charing Cross he shall be required, in addition to the above, to insert in the said schedule the names of the various classes of labour which he intends to employ, together with the places where such labour will be employed, and the rates of wages and hours of labour to be paid and observed in respect to each class of labour, and no tender shall be accepted unless the rates of wages and hours of labour inserted in such schedule be proved to be the rates and hours recognized at the date of the tender by the Trade Unions of the district where the work is to be done, and such schedule will be added to and will form part of the contract, and penalties shall be enforced for any breach thereof.

"4. In all contracts for the supply of any raw material or manufactured articles, other than clothing, a condition shall be inserted that, with regard to all materials or articles produced or manufactured or supplied by the contractor, the contractor will in the production or manufacture or supply thereof (as the case may be) pay and observe the following rates of wages and

have but one effect, namely, to deter contractors from taking work under the Council subject to such oppressive conditions. Reputable tradesmen would, of course, decline to have anything to do with a body which required them to keep open books and to make declarations as frequently as any fussy member of the Council might require them. One result of this action very soon appeared. The contractors, thus insulted and repelled, declined to have any further dealings with the Council, and the result was that the Council was compelled to take a further downward step, and resolved to establish a new Works Department for the purpose of carrying out building and other operations, which had previously been entrusted to contractors. Mr. Arthur Arnold (a Progressive) said in the Council on Nov. 22, 1892: "Why was it that they were obliged to consider this matter? It was in consequence of the policy of the Council in the past with regard to fair wages and the fair wages clause. They had placed themselves in such a dilemma towards contractors in London and elsewhere that practically for their own advantage and interest they were bound to establish this department so that they might keep the contractors in order." How this experiment will work remains to be seen. One thing only is certain, and that is that it will impose a heavy burden upon the ratepayers. This Works Department will be compelled by the Radical-Socialistic majority of the Council to undertake vast enterprises on conditions which no sensible contractor would consider for a moment, and the result will be reckless mismanagement and gross extravagance. But as the members of the Council will not have to pay for the consequences of their mistakes, as a private contractor would, they will undertake these tremendous responsibilities with a light heart.

hours of labour, viz.:—(a) Where the production, or manufacture, or supply thereof is carried on within 20 miles of Charing Cross, the rates of wages and hours of labour appearing in the Council's list. (b) Where the production or manufacture or supply thereof is carried on at a greater distance than 20 miles of Charing Cross, the rates of wages and hours of labour recognized by the Trade Unions of the district where it is carried on. Provided that this standing order shall not apply to the production or manufacture of articles not produced or manufactured by the contractor."

It has already been pointed out that the London County Council is the creature of Radical-Socialists and Trade Unionists. A majority of its members were returned by these classes, and were returned by them for the purpose of carrying out their ideas and aims with regard to labour. It must at least be admitted in justice to these persons that they have made no secret of their intentions; that on the contrary they have declared all along that if they did get a majority on the Council they would use their power to promote the interests of Trade Union workmen and of the Socialistic Labour Movement generally. Men like Mr. John Burns, Mr. Ben Tillett, Mr. Steadman, and others, were placed on the Council by working men's votes, and they are there to carry out the working men's mandate. The adoption of these resolutions with regard to fair wages, contractors, etc., is an earnest of what has yet to come. If the London ratepayers generally should suffer in consequence of the imposition of an additional burden of taxation it must be admitted that the ratepayers generally deserve so to suffer; for by their apathy they allowed the Progressives to capture the County Council, and to thus secure the opportunity of using it as an instrument for the advancement of Socialism. The evil example of the London County Council has affected the London School Board and Municipal Corporations throughout the country.\*

Sir Thomas Farrer, who is himself one of the Progres-

<sup>\*</sup> One incidental result of such action as that of the London County Council is that certain philanthopists have been encouraged to make experiments in Economics with funds which were contributed by charitable persons. Mr. William Booth, for example, has started a match factory, in which the match girls are said to be paid above the market rate. This is not fair competition. If Mr. Booth's enterprise should fail he has simply to shut up his factory without personally losing a penny. It is very easy to make these experiments at the cost of the charitable public, but men who have to do business on business principles and show a return to proprietors for their money must be just before they are generous. Match girls even at Bryant and May's earn on the average more than the agricultural labourer does, and Bryant and May by establishing their factory in East London have conferred immense benefits upon that district.

sive members of the Council, has felt himself constrained to oppose its action in relation to these labour questions. Before the Labour Commission on Jan. 27, 1893, he said that "the action of the Council on the labour question had caused many to doubt the wisdom of transferring to it public undertakings, and had considerably damped his own ardour with regard to the acquisition of the water supply, so that he was almost inclined to think with Sir John Lubbock that the water should remain in the hands of the companies." He stated that the Council had raised the wages of the men employed in the parks and open spaces to 6d, an hour, and thus increased the labour bill by £6,000 a year, and that this action instead of producing contentment among the men had done precisely the opposite; and that the effect of the action of the Council in favour of Trade Union wages would be to exclude all men who were not of full strength from the service of the Council, or else it would lead to men who are not capable of doing a full day's work receiving the same pay as is given to those who are thus capable. In answer to the Duke of Devonshire, Sir Thomas Farrer said that the indisposition of the Council to properly pay brain work was as significant as its disposition to over-pay muscle work, and that it led to even greater waste. He stated that the Council had been driven to execute its own work instead of employing contractors "by its own previous dealings with contractors' wages, which had made it impossible for contractors to tender except at an exorbitant price." As to the question of municipalities directly employing workmen Sir Thomas Farrer said, speaking from experience of many years in the public service, that it was almost impossible for a public body to induce the men it employed to rise to their best level, and that the evil most to be feared from municipal employment was the slackening of endeavour, though the increase of wages was also to be feared. Finally Sir Thomas Farrer stated that the dealings of the London County Council in connection with labour showed that it "acted very hastily, and embarked on enterprises which were imperfectly understood by it."\*

Sir Thomas Farrer also issued a pamphlet in which he subjected the policy of the Council with regard to labour questions to severe criticism, and pointed out that its ulterior effects would be disastrous in the extreme. In the pamphlet Sir Thomas declares that—"No dream, and no fiat of a democratic assembly, can increase the funds out of which wages are paid, or make the remuneration of labour greater than the product of labour." He also says: "There is a notion abroad that there is some unlimited fund called capital out of which all wages may be indefinitely raised if only the workmen will combine to raise them. . . . No dream can be more baseless. . . There is no such thing as an inexhaustible fund out of which to pay wages. The fund out of which wages as well as profits are paid is the constantly accruing produce of industry, and it is only by increasing this produce that wages can be increased all round. Further, any excessive demand on this fund by any one class of work or workmen must diminish the share of it which the other classes would otherwise get, either by making the produce of their own labour dearer, and thus lowering real wages; or by exhausting the fund, and thus

<sup>\*</sup> With all its anxiety to please Trade Unionist Workmen, the County Council has not succeeded, one reason being that it sends much of its work out of London. In October, 1892, a Committee of the Council recommended that the contract for clothing for its park keepers and other servants for 1893 should be given to a Bristol firm, whose tender was about 25 per cent. lower than the tender of two London firms. The difference was, of course, due to the difference in wages and rents and not in the price of materials. The London sempstresses were therefore deprived of this work in winter, when trade was slack, whilst the park keepers of the Council (who are voters) were receiving £6,000 a year in the shape of extra wages.

receiving £6,000 a year in the shape of extra wages.

The Amalgamated Society of Chippers, Drillers, and Ship Fitters of London complained in August, 1892, that whilst many of their members were walking the streets the County Council had sent to the Barrow Ship Building Company for six new sluice boats, although this Company had at that time contracts for sixteen vessels on hand, while ship-building on the Thames was almost at a standstill. They also complained that Palmer's, of Jarrow, got 39,000 tons of Government work in one year while the London workman had next to nothing to do; that the London and Clacton Steam Boat Company got its steamers from Denny, of Dumbarton; and that the London and Victoria Steam Boat Company sent to the Clyde for new ships.

lowering money wages as well; or by both processes." These are elementary truths, but the majority of Sir Thomas Farrer's colleagues on the London County Council

are evidently in need of such primary instruction.\*

The one broad and palpable result of this intermeddling on the part of Parliament and of municipal bodies between employers and their workmen is that confidence has been shaken. When this takes place, from whatever cause, the immediate effect is that a chill is sent to the very heart of our commercial system, that its vitality is impaired, and that its energies are enfeebled and its activities slackened. "The instant that any circumstances take place which weaken the general confidence in the security of property, credit is withdrawn. The plant remains—the tools and warehouses stand—the shops are open; but production languishes, labour is suspended. The stocks of consumable commodities for the maintenance of labour may still in part exist, but they do not reach the labourer through the usual channels. Then men say, and say truly, confidence is shaken; the usual relations of society are disturbed. Capital fences itself round with prudence -hesitates to go on accumulating-refuses to put its

<sup>\*</sup> The Earl of Rosebery has gone out of his way to commend the action of the London County Council in abolishing contractors. He said in Exeter Hall, on December 15, 1892, that the Council had done "what no other municipality has done to the same extent—that they are determined to raise, elevate, and benefit the working men who serve under them. And now they are about to proceed in the direction of experiment. They are about to try and do away with the intervention of contractors. And I hope they will succeed. . . . I say that this is a great gain—that we have a Council willing and bold enough to make these great experiments, and I doubt not that we shall reap the benefit of it in the end."

Mr. Gladstone, speaking at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. on May 31, 1892, said: "The London County Council has given great attention to the treatment of the labour which they employ; but if they have occasion to give orders they have to look to the conditions under which those orders are to be executed. This is undoubtedly opening the door highly favourable to the wants and wishes of the labouring community. . . It appears to me that it is sound in principle, and there is no reason why it should not gradually find acceptance among the municipal bodies and other elected bodies of the country." Mr. Gladstone was careful to point out, however, that he did not believe it would be wise for the Government departments to imitate the example of the London County Council.

existence in peril, withdraws in great part from production—

'Spreads its light wings, and in a moment flies.'"

When despotism prevailed in the dark ages of our country's history and rendered property insecure, confidence was shaken, and therefore productive energy was suspended, and the people were poor and wretched. If confidence should be again shaken, though by the foolish and arbitrary actions of elected bodies instead of monarchs, the same results will ensue. A sense of insecurity will again lead to a suspension of productive energy, to the cessation of accumulations, to the migration of capital to other countries, and in the end to the idleness and impoverishment of our working classes. Already these results have begun to show themselves in consequence of the treatment to which capital has been subjected in recent years. The Marquis of Salisbury, speaking in the House of Lords on January 31, 1893, used these remarkable words: "I believe if it were possible to ensure a large application of capital to the land very many of the effects of agricultural depression might be averted. But in respect of that and of other depression I only entreat your lordships to beware of remedies which affect to deal with depression, and only do so by shaking the belief of men in the sanctity of contracts and the security of property. What we really suffer under is want of confidence. I do not say that most of it comes from political causes; it comes from causes of great variety; but one of the elements, and one which I fear will last the longest, is the apprehensions which are being caused in the minds of the owners of capital and the owners of property, partly by legislation which has been already adopted, AND VERY MUCH MORE FROM THE DOCTRINES WHICH ARE FREELY PUBLISHED BY ARTISANS AND THOSE WHO HAVE RULE IN THIS COUNTRY AT THIS TIME. THERE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHERE PRO-PERTY IS NOW SO INSECURE AGAINST LEGISLATIVE ATTACK AS IT IS IN ENGLAND;

and depend upon it, you will feel the evil results of such a state of things in a gradual diminution of confidence, and in a gradual withdrawal of capital, producing an aggravation of the depression under which we labour." If all our statesmen would act upon the principles here enunciated we might look to the future with greater confidence than we can do at present. When Colbert, Prime Minister to Louis XV. of France, asked a committee of merchants what measures Government could adopt to promote the interests of commerce he was answered in these words: "Let us ALONE, PERMIT US QUIETLY TO MANAGE OUR OWN BUSI-NESS." Lao-tse, the Eastern sage, says: "The real art of Government consists, so far as possible, in doing nothing: all the people want (apart from the punishment of crime), and what is best for them too, IS TO BE LET ALONE." To thus let men alone, at all events where such questions as land and capital and labour are concerned, is the beginning and the end of political wisdom.\*

If the British working man is not content with his position as a free exchanger, and with a position of absolute equality with the capitalist before the law; if he is not willing to exchange his labour with the capitalist according to the ordinary laws of exchange, by which both parties are to

In August, 1891, the Small Farm and Labourer's Company announced that it was unable to declare a dividend, and the experiment seemed likely to end in total failure. If a Company cannot make small holdings pay, how is the individual land-owner likely to do it, much less the poor labourer? In theory petite culture is very attractive; but it does not seem likely to turn out well in

practice—at all events in England.

<sup>\*</sup> The impossibility of resisting or reversing the operation of economical laws is forcibly illustrated by the following facts. On April 8, 1891, the shareholders of the Work-Women's Co-operative Association, Limited, was held under the presidency of Mr. Francis Peek. It was stated that no profit had been made on the year's working; that money had been lost in the endeavour to better the condition of the women employed in making shirts, and that as the directors realised that their endeavours were hopeless they would discontinue the work; that it was impossible to pay the shirtmakers a living wage and make a profit at the same time. Mr. Peek stated that he was, in favour of giving up the experiment altogether. Mr. John Hall stated that, while the association had paid its women workers only 14s. 5d. per week, the large tailoring firms of East London paid 18s. per week. Mr. David Schloss said he hoped the experiment of paying good wages to the unskilled would yet prove a success.

benefit; if he should make vain attempts to secure the property of the capitalist without giving a proper equivalent for it, in other words by force or fraud, and to that end should use his political power in combination with his fellows in order to check or suspend the natural laws of exchange, and thereby render the use of capital unprofitable to the capitalist—then England's progress will be stayed, she will at once begin to fall backwards, and the glowing hopes of her noblest sons will be doomed to extinction amid the darkness and ruin which must inevitably follow upon the destruction of the security of property, which is the first right, as it is also the first interest, of industry.\*

<sup>\*</sup> During a debate in the House of Lords on the Welsh Land Question on February 16th, 1893, Lord Salisbury said: "I demur ab initio to the claim "that Parliament has a right to interfere, if it does interfere, between the "contracts of landlord and tenant, or has a right to say how much rent the "tenant shall offer or a landlord receive. These are Questions with "which Parliament has no right to interfere. If it threatens to "interfere it will strike a fatal blow at confidence, and will "disorganise, not only the industry of agriculture, but all the "industries which depend for their existence upon the maintenance" of private rights and the stability of the Law."

### CHAPTER V.

Manhood, not Law, the Great Desideratum.

HEN Napoleon was asked by a lady what was the greatest need of France, his reply was—"Mothers, Madam." If a wise man were asked what is the greatest need of England to-day, his reply would be—"Men." The worst blight that can afflict a nation is the decay of its manhood. This blight is now falling upon our country.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

If these oft-quoted lines were meant to convey the idea that the decay of man is a necessary consequence of the accumulation of wealth they are palpably absurd. Men decay, in the sense that their number decreases, not where wealth accumulates but where wealth cannot accumulate; or in other words where production cannot be profitably carried forward by reason of the tyranny of the monarch or the defective administration of the rulers, or where unwise and unjust laws render property insecure. In the case of Ireland we have before our own eyes an example of a nation where men are decaying. They are decaying in the sense that their number is being seriously diminished, so seriously in fact that if the process goes on that country will be depopulated. Ireland could never have been thus depopulated, however, unless Irish manhood had first of all degenerated. The char-Decay of manhood preceded the decay of men. acter of the Irish people is such that any man whose property or business is dependent upon them for a profitable return can have no assurance that he will ever get that return. The instability of the Irish character creates the insecurity of Irish property. To make matters werse in that country, laws have been passed which, as we have already pointed out, have unsettled all the relations which exist between landlord and tenant, between parties who voluntarily entered into contracts, each for his own advantage, and which have loudly proclaimed to capitalists: "Do not invest your money in Irish land, or even in Irish securities of any kind, for recent legislation proves that you have no guarantee against violent hands being laid upon it any day, either by the populace, or by the Government, or by both." Where such a state of things exists as we now see in Ireland wealth never can accumulate to any very large extent, and men must inevitably decay. The great law is that where property is secure it will grow and fructify, and will produce thirty, sixty, or a hundred-fold; that where it is insecure it cannot grow at all, but must cease to be. Ireland, so far as its Celtic population is concerned, is a nation destitute of the more robust and exalted attributes of manhood, and therefore a continual curse rests upon the country, making it a trouble both to itself and to its neighbours.

In Great Britain we observe a very different state of things. Wealth is accumulating at a rate so vast that nothing like it has ever been seen in the world. In 1870 real and personal property in the United Kingdom was valued at six thousand millions of pounds; while the total income of the United Kingdom was estimated in 1884 to be £1,342,129,500. These figures are so vast that it is almost impossible for the mind to grasp them. No such totals were ever before known in the history of mankind. Alongside of this increase of wealth, and as a necessary consequence of it, we see that the population instead of decreasing is increasing at the rate of 1,000 per day. Industry is organized on so gigantic a scale, and at the same time with such perfect skill and efficiency, that it constitutes one of

the wonders of the world. Our commerce penetrates to the ends of the earth; our ships traverse every sea; our merchants are in touch with every people that inhabits the globe, savage or civilized. Never since the world began was there a nation which has conducted such vast industries, or which has created wealth at so rapid and so prodigious a rate: which has possessed such a contented and thriving population; or which has carried Christian and civilized enterprise to such perfection. Great Britain indeed exhibits every sign of material prosperity except one, and that is that her land is not being cultivated with the thoroughness and efficiency which ought to characterize a really prosperous nation. Agriculture is the first industry, and the mother of all other industries; it is also the most fundamental and essential of all industries, since it can never be superseded by any other even in the most advanced state of civilization; for all peoples live from the earth as well as upon it. Great as are our other industries, agriculture is greater still. It employs more men and more capital than any other of our industries to-day. It is the master source of all the nation's wealth. Yet while other industries flourish, agriculture droops; while the towns are being filled to repletion the rural districts are being depopulated. The causes which have produced this lamentable state of affairs. and the means which should be employed to remedy it, constitute a problem of the most vital and urgent nature. It is a thousand pities that we have no statesman, no political party, courageous enough to grasp the problem and to grapple with it until it is solved. We are making a fatal mistake in regard to this matter, and the consequences of it, which must be reaped sooner or later, will be disastrous and ruinous.

Even in Great Britain, however, signs of decay are beginning to manifest themselves. Our wealth is vaster, and our population larger than they ever were before; but is the average Briton as strong, as robust, as resourceful as he used to be? Our commerce is greater, but our men are

smaller. We have more people, but each one counts for less than was the case in the old time. We have greater institutions than we ever had before; but home, the first and greatest institution of all, is not the grand training school that it was formerly. Even our physical development as a race is by our vices being checked, and there is a danger of our becoming a stunted and dwarfed people. All this, serious as it is, counts for little in comparison with the graver fact that the intellect of the average citizen is deteriorating, and that his moral fibre is weakening. Rare indeed is it nowadays to meet a man-a true, self-reliant, vigorous and independent man; a man who knows his duty and means to do it, though a legion of devils oppose him: a man with Intellect, Will, Conscience all finely developed. alert and strong, and attuned to the deepest harmonies of God's universe. Soon we shall have to say with the prophet: "Run ye to and thro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if you can find a man, if there be any that exerciseth justice, that seeketh the truth (or 'good faith'): and I will pardon it." Like Diogenes, the Cynic, we shall have to take a lantern and search our highways for a perfect specimen of manhood. When Sir Humphrey Davy was congratulated on the brilliance and splendour of some of his chemical discoveries he replied: "My greatest discovery was a man." He found Faraday. It is to be feared that the chances of making such discoveries, notwithstanding the veneer and polish given to our modern life by superficial education, will become fewer and fewer. The Englishman of the grand old type is likely to become as extinct as the Dodo.

This enfeeblement of the individual man is partly due to civilization itself. In a civilized community men come to depend more and more upon each other, and less and less upon themselves. What a man would naturally do for himself if he lived apart he almost as naturally expects the community to do for him when he lives in association.

In the course of generations this habit tends to produce a condition of helplessness. Civilization is as fatal to the robuster qualities of manhood as barbarism—perhaps more so. Civilization in excess tends to become self-destructive. It is only when it is balanced and restrained by great moral principles that it can be preserved in purity and vigour. Civilized man lives in the social state; he depends upon associated action; he has found out the power of mutual help and of combination. This power, used within its legitimate sphere, adds to the power of the individual as well as of the community; but when pushed beyond that sphere it becomes a weakness and a danger to both. The standing temptation of the civilized man is to depend upon the State, or the government which represents the State, for everything; for what it cannot do as well as for what it can do; and the result is that the individual neglects to do what he ought to do for himself, and that as the State cannot do it for him it does not get done at all. We seem to have reached a condition somewhat like this just now. If there is one stream of tendency which is stronger among us than another at the present time it is this disposition to trust in the law and in the State in relation to matters which neither the State nor the law can properly deal with.

It may be thought that the view here taken is too pessimistic. It may be well, therefore, to descend into a little further detail. That the gregariousness of man may be the ruin of the individual is made sufficiently obvious by the recent achievements of Trade Unionism. What have we witnessed during the past two or three years? We have seen hundreds of thousands of British workmen turning against their employers, throwing up their work, and subjecting themselves and their families to suffering and privation amounting almost to starvation, and producing general disturbance and unsettlement in the industrial world. And why? Because they were bidden to do these things by agitators who have constituted themselves their "leaders." No sensible man can for a moment believe that

everyone of these men was convinced in his reason and his judgment that the course he was taking was right; that he was acting as an intelligent, rational, and responsible being ought to act. As a matter of fact we know that thousands of the men who acted in this way did it against their better judgment. Why, then, did they do it at all? Because they had not the manliness and the courage to act upon their own convictions of duty; they were afraid to oppose the wishes and commands of their fellows, though they knew them to be wrong; they lacked moral strength, and therefore they played the coward. It is well-known that soldiers who are over-trained become abjectly and absurdly incapable when deprived of their officers, and it would appear that working-men may be so over-organized that the individual workman may become incapable of standing alone. This is not manhood; it is baby-hood. It seems probable that our Trade Unions will before long be able to announce that they have annihilated the race of working men and have substituted for them a race of working babies. The desire which is now so prevalent among the working classes for external aid, their groping after and their reliance upon the arm of the State, and their consequent failure to use their own brains and their own right hands, is really a form of weakness which is as pitiable as it is perilous.\* Hitherto in this country we have proceeded upon the principle that adult men can take care of themselves, and that they will both prosper better themselves, and better promote the prosperity of the community, when they are left to do so, and this principle has proved to be a safe and a sound one. Consequently it ought not to be departed from unless the most conclusive reasons can be adduced in favour of that course. No such reasons have been adduced, nor can they be. That is certainly a peculiar kind of progress which would coddle grown-up men as though they were babies,

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;No one knows what I want as well as I do myself, and I am sure that no one will take one-tenth part of the pains that I should take to get it for me."—Lord Branwell.

and which assumes that they are incapable of managing the most elementary matters pertaining to their occupations and their interests. Both Parliament and Trade Unions are doing their best to put our workmen into swaddling clothes, and to feed them with legislative pap, instead of allowing them to grow and strengthen in the bracing atmosphere of freedom. It was not in this way that Englishmen were made great in the past; nor can they in this way be made great in the present or the future. This Socialistic sentimentalism, this weak-headed and weak-kneed collectivism, is belittling and enfeebling the individual man. Even the Trade Unionists come cringing to Parliament, and begging it to settle for them how many hours they are to work, thus confessing their own impotency; or in the words of Mr. Mather, M.P., they ask Parliament to "deprive them of some portion of their free will and independence!" \* Surely a system which has degraded men to such humiliating weakness is unworthy of the encomiums which are passed upon it by politicians who flatter and fawn upon the electors of the working classes.

What can be more contemptible than to see millions of sane grown-up men asking the State to educate them, to save them from drink, to protect them against over-work; or in other words confessing that of themselves they are incapable of attaining knowledge, of exercising temperance and self-control, or of settling with their employers the

<sup>\*</sup> The Times, commenting on Sir Henry James' address at Bury on factory legislation, on June 5, 1892, expressed some surprise at the implied advice which Sir Henry gave to his hearers to rely more and more on direct legislative help—"It is a little strange that such help should be needed to the extent to which his remarks show that it is needed. In most matters the working classes have a way of their own of insisting on what they deem their rights.

It seems, however, that in matters bearing directly on their health, or comfort, or safety as workers they can do nothing to help themselves. The workshop may be insanitary; the machinery may be unfenced; the information to which they have a claim may be refused them, but they go on quietly working all the same under conditions contrary alike to law and to natural justice. Their only hope is in the inspector, and if this functionary is not at hand, or if he is too busy or too negligent to attend to them, the mischief is beyond cure. We note the fact, but we can give no adequate explanation of it."

conditions of their daily labour.\* The hypochondriac who has persuaded himself that he cannot walk is just as helpless as though he were paralyzed, although his legs are really as good as they ever were. Working men who have persuaded themselves that their condition can never be improved except by State aid, and who therefore neglect to use those powers of self-help with which they are endowed by Providence, are in a condition of helplessness as abject as that of the hypochondriac. In both cases the helplessness is imaginary, not real, and yet it is the more real for being only imaginary. It is certainly more difficult to cure than any actual malady whatever. The inevitable result of this helplessness is despair. The man has omitted to do what he ought to have done to help himself, he thinks that the State cannot help him, and the result is desperation. In September, 1891, a labourer named Henry Bruce broke two of the plate glass windows of Mr. Benson, the jeweller, on Ludgate Hill. When Bruce was brought before the Recorder of London charged with the offence he stated that he was out of employment through no fault of his own, and that he denied the right of the law or the State to dictate to him and say that he should not commit crimes, while at the same time it deprived him of the opportunity of doing work. "He believed in collective ownership and equal distribution. He was the victim of a system of which he had no control. He knew he could not claim the right to force an employer to give him work, but he claimed the right to have the work provided for him, so that he might get the necessities of life. The County Council ought to provide municipal workshops. He believed only in the law of Nature, which was the only law he recognised. The classes received eightpence out of every shilling the workman earned, and in return they

<sup>\*</sup> The Spectator said about a couple of years ago: "The working class in all countries are seeking some external help, some magical drug, some scientific go-cart, which will give them the strength to do what they ought to do, and in the end must do, in reliance on themselves alone. The signs of this disastrous change are thickening on all sides."

gave him nothing. He denied the right of any law or State to deny him work, or to make it a crime when he was driven to acts of desperation. He did not break the window for the purpose of bringing forward public or international questions; he did it from the necessity of the time; from the circumstance of his being poor and unable to get work; owing to the state of the law he was driven to an act of desperation." All this nonsense was lost upon the Recorder, who very properly said that—" Nothing could be more mischievous to persons of the labouring class than anything which imperilled the safety of property, because almost every one was possessed of some kind of property," and he sent Bruce to six months' hard labour. Now in this man we have a perfect illustration of the effects of Socialistic teaching; he may be regarded as the finished product which is turned out by such men as John Burns, Tom Mann, and Ben Tillett. The man's allegation that society was really responsible for the crime which he had committed because it had not done for him what it ought to have done, and his attempt to justify his action on this ground, significantly illustrates the despair which is born of this imaginary helplessness. What could be more contemptible than to see a man like this Henry Bruce, a not unintelligent workman, smashing the windows of a man who had done him no harm, simply because he imagined that he had a grievance against society? This was the act not merely of an unreflective and irresponsible child, but of a maniac. If this temper should take possession of thousands and tens of thousands of our working men, the results will be calamitous indeed.\* And this Bruce is a type of multitudes who inhabit our large cities.

<sup>\*</sup> Tom Mann told a fashionable meeting at the Mansion House on May 12, 1891, that parental brutality was only one development of generations of faulty economics; that the state of things which produced parental neglect and cruelty is the outcome of bad social conditions. In other words Mann teaches that in the main parents who starve and torture and murder their children are not themselves responsible for doing these things, but that the responsibility lies upon society. This is only one illustration of a tendency which is manifest in the speeches and writings of men of this class, who are

The scheme for providing pensions by means of State aid for all workmen when they reach old age, which is being promoted by Mr. Chamberlain and other well-intentioned men, and the favour with which that scheme has been received in certain quarters, are also signs of the decadence of manhood among us. It is no part of the duty of the State to make any such provision for either workmen or professional men, except such provision as it already makes through the Poor law. It has already been shown that if a man is to have a pension when he reaches a certain age he can only have it because property has been accumulated on his behalf, upon the returns of which he can live when he is no longer able to work, and that it is the man's own duty, and not the duty of any other being or body, to accumulate this property. It has also been shown that thousands of working men do thus accumulate property and thereby support themselves in their old age, and that hundreds of thousands of working men might do this if they really wished to do it. With the spread of education and the growth of habits of thrift there is reason to hope that the number of workmen who thus accumulate property will increase every year. But such slow and natural progress as this is too gradual for our go-ahead "reformers." They want to pass a law enacting that the State shall provide every working man (by-the-bye, why working men only?-why not professional men as well?) with a pension in his old age. What would be the result if they could get their law passed? Simply this—that those working men who are now provident would become improvident (for why should they save their money when the State is going to provide for them?); and that those who are now improvident would become more recklessly prodigal than ever. This Socialistic remedy would be worse than the disease which it is meant to cure;

persistently instilling into the minds of the worthless and criminal classes the idea that society has made them what they are; and that therefore they are not responsible for being what they are nor for doing what they do; but that this responsibility rests upon society. A more false and dangerous doctrine it would be impossible to conceive.

our last state would be worse than the first. It is a hopeful sign that the leaders of the Friendly Societies which have done so much to promote provident habits among the working classes are strongly opposed to this scheme of State pensions. The Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows, which contains 750,000 members, and whose receipts amount to £1,000,000 a year, are strongly opposed to State pensions. The Grand Master, Councillor Bytheway, speaking at Atherston, on August 24, 1891, said: "None of them wanted State interference or control. He did not consider it the duty of the Government to do for the industrial classes what they could accomplish for themselves. They were much obliged to Mr. Chamberlain, but would rather that he did not interfere, his proposal being little better than parish relief, of which the great majority desire to be independent." He added: "We have won our position for ourselves; let us maintain it for ourselves. Let no promise of rate-aided subsidy, which would doubly tax the thrifty, prove the excuse for Government interference with the internal working of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows." Grand Master Campkin said at Salisbury, in May, 1891: "The suggestion of State interference and the general adoption of the Post Office system would remove the social and individual effort which had done so much to secure that universal interest which is taken by all members of Friendly Societies, and which has acted as a great educational power in planting the principles of self-government, self-help, and self-dependence. They resented such interference in their affairs, which they felt would necessarily be a result of any State subsidy." Mr. G. J. Broadley, the High Chief Ranger of the Order of Foresters, said in an address at the annual High Court, on August 3, 1891, that —" determined opposition should be offered to preference or patronage being given through any State fund, for such a course must obviously be more or less destructive of our work," and further that "the stimulating atmosphere of independence should not be exchanged for an enervating

system of mechanical obedience to State management and control, the certain sequel to State subsidy." The Executive Council of this Order stated in their report of January, 1893, that in their opinion the policy of complete freedom from any financial association with the State as regards old age pensions is the only safe policy, and that the acceptance of the extension of the system of State pensions would deal a heavy blow at the very principles which their Order had been working for sixty years to extend and perpetuate. Self-respect, self-reliance, and self-dependence had been potent factors in the improvement of the condition of the workers in the past, and they were convinced that they were the true factors for the successful solution of the problem of help in old age in the future.\*

The arguments in favour of individual and against State aid with regard to pensions apply with even greater force to the subject of improved dwellings for the working classes. Such dwellings we all desire to see, but it is no part of the business of the Government to provide or to assist in providing them at the public expense. In fact, the Government could not actually do anything effective in this matter, however much it might be disposed to do so, until the mass of the people had made a great advance intellectually and morally, and then there would be no need for the State to do these things for the people, inasmuch as they would do them for themselves. Mr. Chamberlain, and other politicians like him, in supposing that the condition of the people would be improved by turning the State into a huge building society, imagine a vain thing.

<sup>\*</sup> Sir William Harcourt, speaking at a meeting of Odd Fellows, at Derby, on September 29, 1891, said: "It was a great satisfaction to feel that men by their own industry and by their own good management had placed themselves in possession of such magnificent accumulated resources as those to which the Secretary had referred. There was no other country in Europe, he ventured to think, in which such a statement could be made. They had grown to be what they were by self-government—first of all in the Government of the State, and secondly in their local self-government. In his opinion the man who set aside one shilling or five shillings out of his own thrift or self-denial was more to be commended than the man who set aside £10 under the compulsion of some external power."

There is one other great fact, or rather series of facts, which illustrate the decay of British manhood, namely the ease with which modern workmen are coerced and intimidated by those who are bent on evil courses. Perhaps the most astonishing feature in connection with recent strikes is that working men, instead of resisting such coercion and intimidation, have yielded to it without an effort. Over and over again we have heard of bodies of men leaving their work at the dictation of gangs of low ruffians, and protesting all the time that they had no fault to find with their employers or their wages, and that they wished to continue their work. Why did they not continue it? Why did they not stand up in defence of their own rights, even to the extent of engaging in a pitched battle if necessary? Why? Because the spirit which animated their fathers has largely died out of them. They have become ignoble, pusillanimous, and craven-hearted. They are no longer men; they are slaves to agitators, Unions, Federations, and all the rest of the evil brood. When thousands of men work or cease to work according to the orders they receive from some demagogue, where is their manhood? Such action would well become a slave plantation, but it is an anomaly and a curse in civilized society. Mr. C. M. Norwood, commenting on the lessons of the Dock Strike, on October 3, 1889, remarked on the absence of courage exhibited by all classes during the crisis. He did not think it very strange that the poor labourer should succomb to the brutal violence of the strikers, though even in his case it seemed strange that masses of men had not the spirit nor the power of combination to set the pickets at defiance. "Stranger still was the manner in which City merchants submitted day by day without remonstrance to main avenues of commerce being invaded by processions of men headed by a few agitators, by which vehicular traffic was for the time entirely suspended, and that in the immediate neighbourhood of an important railway station. Indeed, of the many communications and suggestions which I received during the strike the greater

part were either anonymous or made under strict conditions of secrecy, even in the case of gentlemen of undoubted wealth and holding positions of great influence."\*

If our working men (and other men) are content to subject themselves to this new slavery no power on earth can save them. Men who can manifest so abject a spirit are incapable, as they are unworthy, of being saved. They are fit only to degenerate, decay, and perish.

"That strong men, whose fate is their own will, With all the high attainment in their scope That noblest dreams of good can picture forth—That these should choose a willing slavery Near proves them fools unworthy to be free. For what avails it that the world is fair With visions of the glory that might be, If men love blindness rather than the light Of skies grown golden with a promised dawn"?

In the times of the Anglo-Saxons slavery existed in this country. It has been conjectured that the Normans conquered England so easily, and oppressed it so grievously, mainly because the bulk of the English people were slaves. William the Conqueror depopulated the entire country between the Humber and the Tees, swept away 100,000 inhabitants, and converted the district into a dreary desert sixty miles long, which for years remained without houses

<sup>\*</sup> The St. James' Gazette of September 19, 1889, said: "It is little to the credit of Englishmen that they should allow themselves to be frightened out of doing their duty by mob violence, and we should be slow to believe that such a change has come over the national character. It must be admitted that the least pleasant aspect of the strike has been the way in which its leaders have traded on cowardice and dread of personal inconvenience. The spectacle of men turning out, not because they had any real grievance but for fear of being molested, was not a very edifying one; and the success which attended the operations of the wandering mobs of strikers justifies the belief that they have only got to menace and intimidate sufficiently to drive orderly labourers from their work. The fact is, Londoners have had so little experience of anything like riot, and have been accustomed to trust so completely to the police for protection, that they seem to have lost the art of self-defence. . . Division of labour is an admirable thing; but because we have an excellent police force we must not assume that the duty of self-protection is at an end. . . . It is on this excessive dependence on the public authorities, and this nervous dread of anything at all like violence, that people like Mr. Burns, and the Trafalgar Square agitators, and the bullies of the docks are able to trade."

or inhabitants. How came he to be able to do this? Because the people were slaves. In the reign of Henry II. the slaves of England were exported in large numbers to Ireland. The civilization of ancient Rome was based upon slavery, and consequently it was unable to withstand the attacks of barbarous invaders. Rome itself, even in its palmiest days, was surrounded by so many thieves that during the insurrection of Catiline they formed a large and important acquisition to his army. Poland is one of the richest corn-growing countries in Europe, and yet it is one of the poorest. Over and over again it has been partitioned by its conquerors. Poland is said to have fallen "without a crime." But it has also been said, and with truth, that the "crime" of Poland was that she allowed her labourers to be enslaved. If Englishmen should allow themselves to be enslaved England will become an easy prey to some mightier nation. Slavery takes many forms, but whatever guise it assumes it is the same in its essence. Its effects are deadly and ruinous. If our working men become the slaves of demagogues, and of the political machines which demagogues know so well how to manipulate, the effects upon our industry and our wealth will be as calamitous as were the effects of slavery in the United States or in our own colonies.

Men, whose boast it is that ye Come of fathers brave and free, If there breathe on earth a slave Are ye truly free and brave? If ye do not feel the chain When it works a brother's pain Are ye not base slaves indeed—Slaves unworthy to be freed?

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

The Duke of Wellington said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. A significant saying! Similarly one may say that the great battle which has to be fought out in the near future between the forces of Socialism and Spoliation on the one hand and the forces of Individualism and Justice on the other hand, will be won in the homes, the schools, and the workshops of our land. It behoves all who have to do with the training of the young to endeavour to imbue their minds with sound and wholesome truths as to the sacredness of individual liberty and the security of individual property.

Lord Brassey said, in moving the address in the House of Lords on January 31, 1893: "It would be fatal to the interests of labour to do anything by meddlesome legislation to weaken the spirit of self-reliance which was a characteristic virtue of the British workman" It has been made abundantly clear in the course of this work that this vital mistake has been made by our rulers, and that "meddlesome legislation" has already done much, and threatens to do much more, to deprive the British working man of this "characteristic virtue." Until this tendency towards over legislation is checked, and until our workmen revert to the steady self-reliance and the manly independence which have made them what they are, there is not much room for hope as regards the future. It is not more laws that we require but more manhood.

These words of Frederick W. Robertson have an especial application to the point under consideration: "There is a cowardice in this age which is not Christian. We shrink from the consequences of truth. We look round and cling dependently. We ask what men will think—what others will say—whether they will not stare in astonishment. Perhaps they will; but he who is calculating that will accomplish nothing in this life. The Father—the Father who is with us and in us—what does He think? God's work cannot be done without a spirit of independence. A man has got some way in the Christian life when he

has learned to say, humbly and yet majestically, 'I DARE TO BE ALONE.'"

"NEVER BE IT OURS

To see the sun how brightly it will shine,
And know that noble feelings, manly powers,
Instead of gathering strength, must droop and pine;
And Earth, with all her pleasant fruits and flowers,
Fade, and participate in man's decline."

### AUTHOR'S NOTE IN CONCLUSION.

It will be observed from the Synopsis of this work that, as originally planned, it was to consist of twenty chapters in four Books; it will also be perceived that only ten of those chapters, in two Books, appear in the present volume. This fact requires explanation. The author, soon after commencing the preparation of the work, found that the territory which he had mapped out was so extensive, and that the mass of materials which he had to deal with was so great, that the 600 pages allotted to the work were not more than half sufficient if the ground was to be fairly covered and the subject treated with anything like thoroughness. Moreover, a series of misfortunes, the details of which need not be stated here, led to the suspension of all work on the book for about six months. During this time events were marching rapidly and adding to the already large mass of material which demanded treatment in a work like this. The result was that the author found himself at the end of the 600 pages which he had allotted to the work before

he had concluded the tenth chapter. Under the circumstances it became a matter of some difficulty to decide what had better be done. Three courses presented themselves: first, the whole twenty chapters might have been compressed into the 600 pages; secondly, the book might have been swollen to double the size which had been estimated for; and thirdly, the book might be issued in an incomplete form, leaving the remaining portion to be dealt with afterwards. On the whole the latter alternative seemed to be preferable to either of the others; for the author would not have cared, either for the sake of his own reputation or in the interests of his important subject, to have issued a skimpy and fragmentary work; whilst the enlargement of the book to 1,000 or 1,200 pages, besides making it unwieldy, would have added considerably to the financial responsibilities, already sufficiently heavy, which he had undertaken. He therefore decided to issue the book as the reader now sees it, in which, he believes, the first half of the subject is treated with sufficient breadth and amplitude. If this volume should meet with a cordial reception at the hands of those who are chiefly interested in questions affecting Capital and Labour means will no doubt be found for

completing the work by the issue of the second volume. The desire, and indeed the purpose, of the author is to thus complete the work. In the second volume the two concluding Books of the work, namely-" Proposed Revolutionary and Socialistic Solutions of Labour Problems; or the Relation of Democracy to Liberty and Property," and—"The True Solution of Labour Problems Economical and Moral; or the Wisdom of Profiting by Past Experience," will be comprehensively dealt with; whilst in the Appendices a "Diurnal of Events" in connection with the Scottish railway strike, the Durham miners' strike, and other labour disputes, will be given. In the second part of the work Socialism in its various forms will be fully discussed, and likewise Trade Unionism, and the New Political Economy. This second volume, if the way were made clear, might be issued in three or four months.

The author is greatly disappointed that he has not been able to carry the work to completion in one volume as he intended. He can only plead that during the preparation of the work matters connected with Capital and Labour, Socialism, etc., have developed so rapidly as to make it difficult to keep pace with them; and also that

the inherent importance of the subject is so great that any expenditure of time, energy, or money is worth while if it be directed to enlightening and directing the public mind upon those most vital problems which are involved in it. He trusts that this will be a sufficient justification for the course which he has taken in the eyes of those who understand the gravity and realise the urgency of these subjects; what may be thought of his action by people who are ignorant of, or indifferent to, these stupendously important matters is wholly immaterial.

# DIURNAL OF EVENTS DURING THE RECENT STRIKES.

### APPENDIX A .- THE DOCK STRIKE.

Tuesday, August 13th, 1889.—Dock Strike commenced in South West India Dock among 300 casual labourers, who quarrelled as to the division of the "plus," and refused to work.

Friday, August 16th.—Announced that 10,000 men were on strike. After holding meetings, 2,000 men marched in procession to the city, where six of them had an interview with Mr. Norwood.

Mon lay, August 19th.—The Stevedores, to the number of 1,800, though in receipt of high wages, and having no grievance of their own, joined the strike, which extended to practically the whole of the docks. Several meetings held, addressed by Burns, Tillett, and M'Carthy. A procession, said to be a mile and threequarters long, was held, and in it were carried on poles, crusts, penny loaves, bones, and vegetable refuse, to illustrate the docker's daily fare.

Tuesday, August 20th.—Strike extended to all Docks. Usual meeting and processions. At evening meeting, Burns, replying to the statement of the masters that their expenses would be increased by £100,000 a year if they granted the increase asked for by the labourers, said: "His answer to that was that the Dock Companies divided a profit of £218,000 per year, and that if they paid another £100,000 a year in wages they would still have a profit of £118,000 to share, which he thought a very good sum." He also sail that he had received telegrams from Liverpool, Glasgow, Grimsby, and Hull, stating that the dockers there approved of the London Strike, and that if freights were taken from London to these places they also would strike for the same wages as the men in London had struck for.

Mr. Toomey, of the Stevedore's Society, gave a report of the day's picketing. Delegates from Millwall, Victoria Docks, and Albert Docks reported that they had "got every man out." Delegates from Tilbury Docks stated that they had brought out 1,000 men. Companies were trying to get Coolie labour, but the Coolies refused to work under the circumstances.

Wednesday, August 21st.—Strike spread still further. Struggle kept up day and night by relays of men watching the gates, lest strangers should be got in to do the work required. Masters placarded the district with posters offering permanent employment to 1,000 men at twenty shillings per week.

Usual meetings held, followed by procession, in which 20,000 men were said to have taken part. At the Dock House they "roared and growled violently." At the evening meeting Burns boasted "that he had made a clean sweep of the Docks, and there were very few blacklegs left in now." Announced that Amalgamated Society of Engineers had sent £25 towards the strike fund, and Amalgamated Society of Painters £55; also that merchants and people along the route of the procession had helped them with money. Tillett announced that he and another man had brought out 3,500 men from the Surrey Commercial Docks, and that they had also been successful with the men at the Millwall Docks.

Dock Companies were said to have taken up a firm attitude, and they believed the strike would soon be over.

Thursday, August 22nd.—Strike entered on new phase, and extended to general labourers, about 4.000 more strikers being added to the number. Pickets ascertained that men from Liverpool had come to work in the Docks. Forty of them found at the East India Docks were induced to come out, and six of them were immediately dispatched to Liverpool to try and prevent other men from coming.

Meetings, marches, processions again the order of the day. The leaders, Burns, Tillett, and others, rode in a vehicle at the head of the procession like lords, their dupes tramping after. Dock Companies made their first tactical mistake in recognising the Strike leaders, who met the Directors and managers at the Dock House. This conference, however, seems to have been brought about by officious third parties.

Reporting the result of this interview, Burns said that he and Tillett had put the following questions to the Dock Directors: "(1) Do you concede the four hours' call? Answer.—Concede liberally when there are four hours left of the working day. (2) Do you decline to give up your right to engage labour at any hour?—Yes. We will not exercise it arbitrarily, but cannot allow you to dictate. (3) What have you to say about contract work?—We cannot see

our way to do without contract work; we find contract labour better. (4) You do not object to pay 6d. an hour?—Not for contract work, and would be willing to extend the contract system. (5) What about the plus system?—We are willing to consider your objections favourably and to adopt in lieu the contract system of the London Docks. (6) There are complaints on the part of the men of bad language and brutal conduct by the contractors?—We have always endeavoured and are most anxious to remove cause for such complaint. (7) Would you entertain the question of the contract rates being raised from 6d, to 8d. from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and 1s. from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m.?—No." The meeting of strikers was asked whether it would accept or refuse these conditions, and it unanimously rejected them.

At this meeting Tom Mann said: "The Companies had got a few blacklegs to sleep in the docks, and they were trying to arrange with certain butchers and bakers in the East End to supply these men with food; but the strikers had been to the butchers and bakers and asked them whether they were going to carry out the orders, and they had declared they would not."

Friday, August 23rd.—Strike still extending. This entirely due to picketing. What picketing meant may be judged from a circular which was sent to the papers by the proprietors of Hay's Wharf, which had been given to one of their men and of which this is a copy:

## "NOTICE TO ALL MEN WORKING IN HOLDS AND ON THE QUAYS.

As Men,

We beg you to clear out at once, or we must inform you the consequences must be extremely serious.

ALFRED CREMER."

Pickets succeeded in getting into the Docks, and communicated with men from Liverpool who were working there. "After a good deal of persuasion the pickets brought them out." In the early morning Burns and other leaders visited the Surrey Commercial Docks, from which and from the riverside they brought away 3,500 men who joined the strike. Great meeting held on Tower Hill; procession afterwards; eight brass bands, many drum and fife bands; flags and banners; allegorical groups in waggons; boats fully manned; illustrations of the dockers' children contrasted with sweaters' children, of the sweaters' dinners contrasted with the

dockers' dinners, &c., were displayed. Procession was said to number 70,000.

Tillett, presiding at the meeting on this day, said that men obtained by the Companies from Southampton and Liverpool had been got out of the Docks and sent back. More trade societies were coming forward to help, the shipwrights that morning having sent £100 He denied that they had intimidated any one. "They sent twelve men to reason with the men at work, and by the force of that reasoning they brought out 3,000."

Dock labourers visited Spratt's biscuit manufactory in Bermondsey and induced fifty men to come out, causing the stoppage of the works.

Meeting of master-lightermen and barge owners held. Stated at the meeting that the wages of lightermen in the port of London were very good, and there were few who did not earn £2 5s. per week; but taking advantage of the strike they were endeavouring to obtain increased pay.

Meeting of ship-owners held, attended by between sixty and seventy representatives of great shipping firms. Message sent from meeting to the Dock Committee asking for information as to the real merits of the dispute. Mr. Norwood, Chairman of Dock Committee, proceeded to shipowners' meeting, where he explained the facts of the case, and stated that compliance with the demands of the men would involve an addition of £150,000 a year to the working expenses of the Dock Companies. Meeting resolved to take no direct action with reference to the strike.

Applications for employment received by Dock Committee from all parts of the country. Committee stated that they would have no difficulty in carrying on their business if the men they engaged could be pretected from intimidation. Legal opinion was being taken as to what action could be adopted against the intimidators. Dock Companies stated their belief that the strike had been carefully prepared, and that its issues would affect other interests beside their own. They pointed out that although from 40,000 to 50,000 men were on strike, only 4,000 of these were employed at the Docks.

"Bonded Warehouse Keeper" wrote to the *Times* to say that labourers at the Tea and Bonded warehouses had been ordered by the mob to turn out, although they were satisfied with their wages

and their work (mostly piece-work). All the Dock and public warehouses have thus been cleared of their hard-working and orderly labourers, who, anxious to resume their employment, are quite unable to do so owing to the reign of terror which prevails.

"A Wharf Owner" suggested in the *Times* that a counter agitation against the coercion of the strikers should be organised. and said that if a few courageous and active men would call large meetings of the "employed" the result would be a determined resolution to resist the threats and violence made by the strike leaders and their agents.

Explanations appeared in the Press from the Dock Companies. Mr. Morgan, Secretary of the Joint Committee, stated that the rate of pay for Dock labourers for day work was 5d. an hour for a day of eight hours, with 6d. an hour overtime after 8 p.m.; that under the "plus" system the men received not less than 5d. an hour and overtime at 6d. out of the fixed rate, and divided the surplus, if any, at the end of the job in certain proportions; the average weekly receipts of the permanent and preferable labourers were from 20s. to 25s. per head. As regards the third class of labourers, the casuals, Mr. Morgan stated that these men were taken on as they were required; that they were unskilled; that no inquiry was made as to their antecedents or capabilities; and that they received the same rate per hour as the preferable labourers.

Mr. Morgan summarized the demands of the strikers thus: 1, That casual labourers should not be discharged with less than four hours' pay, however little time they worked; 2, That men should be engaged at two fixed times daily, namely, at eight o'clock and twelve o'clock; 3, That piece-work should be entirely abandoned; 4, That wages should be raised from 5d. an hour to 6d. for ordinary time, and from 6d. an hour to 8d. for overtime; 5, That the pay under the contract should be raised to 8d. an hour and 1s. an hour overtime. He pointed out that to concede demand numbers 2 and 3 would be to transfer the management of the Docks from the owners of the property to their workmen, and that the rise of wages demanded by numbers 4 and 5 would be an advance on labour expenditure of at least 25 per cent, With regard to the first demand the Committee were willing to substantially concede it. He further stated that these demands were sent to a deputysuperintendent of the West India Dock in the form of an

ultimatum on the morning of the 13th inst., and a reply peremptorally demanded before noon the same day. As it was impossible for the Committee to comply with such a demand the strike commenced that afternoon. Mr. Morgan further stated that the strike had evidently been carefully pre-arranged; that it was not based on any substantial grievance, as the majority of the men assured the superintendents that they left their work with the greatest reluctance, and only under the threat of personal injury, and were ready and willing to return if secured against molestation; and finally, that the Committee's invitations for labour had met with a response from all quarters, so that there would not be the slightest difficulty in resuming work at the Docks if protection was given to the men by the authorities.

Col. Griffin stated that the men at the Surrey Commercial Docks were of a superior type, casual labour not being employed; that many of them had been working in the Docks for years at a very high rate of wages; that in spite of the strike at the West India Docks the men at the Surrey Docks had continued their work as usual until the morning of the 21st, when they were visited by deputations from the north side of the Thames, and compelled by threats of violence to leave their employment. There was no dispute of any kind betwixt the Surrey Company and their men.

Colonel Birt, Manager of the Millwall docks, pointed out that his Company allowed the shipowners to discharge their cargoes, except in the case of grain. The Company had also granted to its workmen the minimum number of hours which the strikers demanded, and none of its labourers earned less than 6d. an hour, and many much more Men employed in "working out" grain earned 9d. an hour On the 21st of August Colonel Birt had an interview with the Millwall men and asked if they had any complaint to make. They answered no, and one of them, acting as spokesman for the rest, stated that their sympathies were with the Company; that they had not struck, and had left their work only because to have continued would have endangered their lives. Colonel Birt further said with emphasis: "There is no quarrel between the Millwall Company and its men. All both ask is that they may be left alone; but this is not granted them. Yesterday afternoon a detachment of those on strike assaulted the dock police, broke into the Dock, and forced their way on board two foreign vessels which were quietly doing their own work with their own crews, and used

threats of so serious a character that the captain of one, a German, felt it necessary to claim the protection of his Ambassador, and the captain of the other was desirous of immediately taking his ship out of dock with the cargo on board."

August 24th.—Ever fresh adherents joining the strike. Mr. Sydney Buxton appeared upon the scene, and said he thought the men "were asking nothing unreasonable, and they had his warmest sympathy."

Stevedores issued a manifesto, in which they said: "We, the Union Stevedores of London, knowing the condition of the Dock labourers, have determined to support their movement by every lawful means in our power. We have therefore refused to work because of the Dock Company employing scabs and blacklegs who are taking the places of the Dock labourers on strike. We do this not to inconvenience the brokers, shipowners, or master stevedores, as our quarrel is not with them; but we feel our duty is to support our poorer brothers. We are promised the help of the Seaman's and Fireman's Union, and we now appeal with confidence to members of all Trades Unions for joint action with us, and especially these whose work is engaged with shipping: sea-going engineers and fitters, boiler makers, ship carpenters and decorators, shipwrights, iron shipbuilders, caulkers, etc., and also the coal heavers. ballast men, lightermen and their watchmen." The Manifeste ended with an appeal to the public at large for contributions and support on behalf of the Dock labourers.

Proposal made on this day to call out "all the men from Beckton and other gas works, and put London in total darkness," in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Dock Companies, and a large number of the gas workers expressed their willingness to give the Gas Company notice that, unless the Dock labourer's demands were conceded, though they had no quarrel with the Company, they would come out in forty-eight hours and put the East of London in total darkness.

In consequence of threats which had been made to fire the warehouses, the police were largely reinforced and the fire brigade kept river float under full steam.

Some of the Dock Companies more hopeful. They pointed out that the agitation, through which they were the first to suffer, had vastly extended, as was originally intended, and that all the events which had transpired had shown that it had been most carefully pre-arranged. They also pointed out that the shipowners had been deserted by their *employés*, the stevedores, over whom the Dock Companies had no control; and further that the Directors of the Docks were simply in the position of trustees for the proprietors.

Mr. J. O. Philips, Secretary of Gas, Light, and Coke Company, wrote to the Times to say that they used every year a million and three-quarters of tons of coal, nearly all of which, in consequence of disputes between the coal owners and the Railway Companies, now came by sea. He added: "Every day large steamships belonging to our coal contractors are entering the river, and every hour now brings me telegraphic messages that such and such a ship has arrived, but cannot be discharged in consequence of the coalfillers, lightermen, tug firemen, and others engaged in our business (some of them earning as much as 10s, a day wages) having been by intimidation forced to leave their work and go out on strike. The inconvenience so loudly complained of in the City of London, caused by mobs of men, headed by brass bands, perambulating its thoroughfares, is doubtless great, but what I want the public to consider is that it is as nothing compared with the inconvenience and positive danger which will result to the entire Metropolis if, by reason of the present state of things being allowed to continue, our coal supply is stopped and London be in consequence put in darkness."

Major Banes, M.P., a wharfinger, wrote to the Times in these terms: "Now, sir, there is no doubt of this-whatever may be the result of the strike, and however much the men may obtain for their labour, it will never affect nor lessen the number of the poor unfortunate creatures who have been so often described as flooding the neighbourhood of the Docks and wharves seeking casual labour, and whose condition, and the causes of it, are deserving the pity and consideration of every philanthropic mind. I have ventured to make these remarks in the interest of both sides. I employ a large number of labourers myself at the Colonial and Granite wharves, and although I endeavour and wish to keep on good terms with my men and to encourage willing and cheerful service, I am a sufferer from the strike, as the whole of them have been turned out, not from any complaint they had to make but, as they expressed themselves, unwillingly and solely, I believe, in sympathy with the grievances felt by the labourers at the Docks."

It is worthy of note that Major Banes states, not that his men had turned out, but that they had been turned out.

Mr. J. J. Vickers, in a letter to the Times, said: "At present the

whole of the import and export trade of London is dislocated and at a standstill. Let the joint committee, before more mischief is done, yield the 1d. or 2d. per hour and otherwise satisfy the reasonable demands of the men. No live-and-let-live shipowner or merchant would begrudge the amount or refuse to have his charges augmented to that extent, and so put an end to a struggle that is inflicting a greater loss than the amount in dispute can possibly be."

Shipowners, as a body, however, did not manifest any alacrity to pay increased charges, and thus assist the Dock Companies out of their difficulty. At night it was proposed to unload a New York ship of a cargo of meat in Millwall Docks. Clerks were taken down to act as labourers, and the vans also came down, but the pickets soon collected crowds and the drivers declared that they were concerned for their lives. The police were on the spot and promised to give protection, but the drivers still held to prospective dangers, and so the food was left to spoil.

August 25.—(Sund ty.) Procession to Hyde Park, where meeting was held, at which nearly 100,000 persons were computed to be present. Mr. M'Carthy, secretary of the Stevedore's Society, presided at one of the platforms, and said: "The word must therefore go forth from that meeting that they would be no longer governed by men who were not of themselves. They earned the bread they ate, and they would have the control of the profit they earned too.

They did not desire to utter threats, for they were conscious of their power; but he might state that the Gas Workers' Union were considering that day the important question whether they would give notice to the various Gas Companies to stand out and put London into darkness unless the demands of the Dock labourers were conceded. (Loud cheers.)

Through the agency of the organization known as the Sailor's and Fireman's Union every port in the kingdom should be blocked."

Tillett, speaking at same meeting, said: "The shipowners were taking their side, and recognized the fact that by this strike the groundwork had been laid for a Federation of Labour. . . . Their victory would be a victory of bread and butter."

John Burns said: "It was twelve days since that a few degraded Dock labourers met together and decided to resuscitate the Trade Union which capitalism had almost crushed out a few months before. They met and decided that 5d. an hour was not enough for a man and his wife and children, and as a result the most remarkable labour movement of modern times had followed. These men were the embodiment of weakness, and everything poor and insignificant. They were the despair of the social reformer, and

the ghost of the milk-and-water politician, and had been regarded by political economists and by all men as the embodiment of the worst specimens of the degraded labourer of all countries. twelve days, however, the Dock labourer had shown the country that he intended to take his position amongst the ranks of working men. . . . Some of the papers suggested that the leaders should be arrested, and if this was not so serious a proposal it would be contemptible, ridiculous, and comical. For those leaders, though, he could say that if hell itself were at their feet they would jump into it rather than desert the dockers. . . . The men had made their demands of the Directors courteously, perhaps too much so, but there must be no mistake in this matter. Underneath the patient suffering and orderly behaviour of the Dock labourer during the last few weeks a power had grown which would make the Directors yield and concede the irreducible minimum. . . . Then they [the Dock companies amalgamated, and put up the rates from 6d. to Is. a ton at a jump. What was sauce for the Directors' goose was going to be sauce for the docker's gander, and if they could raise 6d. for themselves they must raise 1d. for the dockers. amalgamation of the two great companies had made a difference of £ 234 000 a year in the profits, and the dockers meant to have £60,000 or £80,000 of that before the agitation was finished. They intended to have their pound of flesh, and he should like to ask the Directors what would induce them to abandon it. The letters and speeches of the Directors which had been published were unworthy of men, and were the language of ghouls in human shape, and the sentiments of financial Fack the Rippers. (Loud laughter.) But the women were setting a good example to them, for in one street they had erected a banner with the words on it, No rent paid in the East of London till the docker gets his tanner."

Burns concluded thus: "The present strike was a peaceably organized revolution of the skilled and unskilled workmen of the port of London, and it was a preliminary skirmish preceding bigger battles which they hoped to have in the future." (Loud cheers.)

Burns announced the programme for the following day, Monday, in these terms: "All the dock gates were to be picketed as usual. Not a single man must leave his post, and no stranger or straggler must touch a bit of cargo. The pickets must get hold of him and persuade him by the means so admirably successful in the past (laughter), and only too well known to themselves, in courteous, firm, and bold language to clear out and join the strikers."

At numbe: two meeting Mr. Toomey, of the stevedores, presided, Tom Mann, in his speech, said: "A large American cattle vessel came up the river that morning, and there was no one to get the cattle out, and the men would rather see them thrown into the Thames than go to work under present circumstances. The Seaman's Union was stopping men from coming from Southampton and Liverpool, and other places. If that society gave their men instructions to come out they would do so, and not a man would put to sea." (Cheers.) At this meeting it was stated that Crosse and Blackwell had offered their men 10s. each to go and clear a vessel, but they refused to do so. Three cheers were given for those men.

A circular, unsigned, headed "Lightermen's Work and Wages Committee," and dated from a public-house in Philpot Street, Commercial Road, was forwarded to Master Lightermen and Barge Owners, in which it was stated that "Representative employés of most of the lighterage firms in committee have to-day considered the urgent necessity there is for the rearrangement of their present excessive hours of labour and the present scale of wages. They have come to the conclusion that the following in future constitute the scale of hours and wages: Day to commence at 7 a.m. and terminate at 7 p.m.—wages, 6s.; night to commence at 7 p.m wages, 6s. A night's work to consist of one job only. The job to mean barge to dock and docking, barge to wharf and watching, delivering at steam, in dock or otherwise. Sunday, same as other day, 6s.; one job only, as above. All reasonable railway, waterage, or other expenses to be paid. Orders to be given at City offices not later than 7 p.m.-By order."

As to these proposals, they were stated to be unworkable. First, the number of licensed men in the port of London was insufficient to carry them out; and secondly, because if they could be conceded a great increase would have to be made in the charges. The Master Lightermen discussed the question whether the Watermen's Company had power to insist on the lightermen going to work and thus preventing injury to the trade of the port. The employers thought that if the Company were powerless, or if they were unwilling to use their power, the privileges of the lightermen should be withdrawn and the river thrown open.

The following manifesto, having especial reference to the Strike at the Surrey Commercial Docks was issued and widely circulated on the South side:

'To the Dock labourers and others now on strike.—Comrades, the time has now arrived for us to do something practical to meet any future emergencies. We have, therefore, formed a Union to be called 'The General Labourers' Union of Rotherhithe.' We

have elected a provisional committee, secretary, treasurer, and pre-

sident. Rules will be submitted for your approval.

"Our appeal now is that every docker should join the Union. It has been asked, What are we out on strike for? Our answer is—on principle for our comrades at East London and justice to ourselves. Our demands are: 1. That all men working in connection with the grain department, viz., trimmers, to be paid in future 6d. per hour between the hours of 7 and 5, and 8d. per hour overtime.

2. That all employed in the wood department, viz., stevedores, labourers, or lumpers, be paid 8d. per hour, and 1s. per hour overtime. Not to muster at corner or taken on till a quarter of an hour before working, and directly men are taken on pay to start. These agreements to be secured in writing and to be permanent. Fellow-workmen—Let no man go in until your committee determine that your demands are satisfied.

"By order of the committee,

"J. J. RICHMOND, President.

"The General Labourers' Union, Grand Surrey Coffee Tavern, Lower Road, Rotherhithe."

August 26th. Mr. Sydney Buxton had an interview with Col. Birt, and discussed with him the question of casual Dock labour. It appeared that the Companies had given to this class of labour wages which would amount to 4s. 2d. a day if the men were fully engaged. Millwall labourers were of a superior class—skilled labourers who were employed on the piecework system. Col. Birt quoted from the Companies' books an instance of a corn gang who earned a sum that amounted to is. Sd. an hour each. He pointed out that much work which formerly employed casual labourers had now ceased to exist. Formerly much sugar was warehoused, and this the casual labourers could handle; now there was no sugar warehoused. Keen trade competition was so fierce, from the fact that the consumers demand articles at the lowest price, that products from over the seas go into consumption at once, hence there is no . labour in warehousing goods to the extent that formerly existed. Col. Birt expressed his sympathy with casual labourers, but he held that the docks were not responsible for finding employment for all the men who failed in everything else, and then came to the Dock gates.

General Steam Navigation Company notified the suspension of their service on the Boulogne station. For several days previously their agents had declined freights and carried passengers only. Now the passenger traffic was stopped by the strike. Several boats from the Continent with fruit and tomatoes on board were lying in the river. Their cargoes were spoiling.

The P. and O. steamer *Khedive*, unable to get the whole of her cargo aboard in the Albert Dock owing to insufficient labour, proceeded to Thames Haven to complete loading, but the lightermen at Thames Haven would have nothing to do with loading the vessel, so she had to put back to Albert Dock.

Vessels laden with butter had to leave London and proceed to Harwich, whence the cargo was despatched by rail. The strikers on learning this suggested calling out the Great Eastern Railway Company's servants. A large vessel which arrived in the Docks with an immense quantity of frozen meat from South America had to sail on to Liverpool for the purpose of discharging the cargo Large quantities of Ostend rabbits could not be landed, and some traders who smuggled a number of their shop assistants into the Docks in order to bring away the rabbits had to stop the work.

At the Coal Exchange it was stated that all trade in seaborne coal, about one-third of the total supply of London, was at a stand still. Efforts were being made to induce the coal men at the various railway stations to join the ranks of the strikers.

A number of men from the East End marched as a "deputation" to coal depots at Highbury, Holloway, St. Pancras, King's Cross, Camden Town, &c., for the purpose of getting coal carmen and coal heavers to turn out on strike for an advance of id. a ton. Several vans and coal trolleys laden with coal-heavers visited the different coal bays and wharves. Within a short space of time the men struck work and joined the strikers, the result being that within a short time the different bays were all closed against business.

There were indications that the Dock Strike would not be confined to London. Several Shipping Companies issued instructions to have cargoes disembarked at Southampton, and other ports, instead of London, so as to avoid delay. When the instructions were read out at Southampton dissatisfaction was loudly expressed among the Dock labourers, and indications of sympathy with the London men were emphatically given. The Trade Union and other societies were expected to issue general instructions to the whole shipping ports of the United Kingdom, that in the event of any Shipping Company trying to effect the landing of cargo at any

Docks other than usual the men were to go out on strike to give an impetus to the demands of the London Dock men.

Emboldened by success, the strikers and their pickets became more aggressive than ever. The few men venturesome enough to continue to work at the Docks were afraid to enter the streets at the conclusion of the day's labour, and they had to live within the gates. Indeed, the pickets told off by the strikers to watch all who entered and left, occasionally questioned Custom House officials as to their business when these men happened to be out of uniform.

The Association of Master Lightermen and Barge Owners met at the Corn Exchange Tayern, Mark Lane, Mr. Samuel Williams, of Lambeth, presiding. Mr. Williams said: "The master lightermen did not desire to enter into any of the differences between the Dock labourers and the Dock Companies, out of professed sympathy with the former of whom the working lightermen had struck. This professed sympathy was the only reason assigned by the lightermen when they first went out. They said that they were quite satisfied with their position and wages, but that they were in danger of losing their lives if they stopped at work. The Dock labourers had nothing to do with the lightermen nor the lightermen with the Dock labourers, and if the lightermen of to-day gave way to threats they were a very different class to those he had had to deal with in former days. The fact that the lightermen had gone out had encouraged the strikers, and while at first the lightermen did not claim any benefit for themselves from the strike, yet now an unsigned circular, dated from a publichouse, had come to hand making demands which, if complied with, would render it impossible to carry on business. These demands put out of sight the fact that the lighterman's trade was regulated by the tides and not by fixed hours. He then remarked upon the grave position in which the lightermen had placed themselves, as privileged workers on the Thames, by throwing up their work."

A letter was sent from this meeting to the clerk of the Watermen's Company, calling attention to the fact that licensed watermen employed by members of the association had, without previous notice of any kind, abruptly left their barges and lighters since the 22nd inst., and had refused to work, out of sympathy, as they alleged, with the Dock labourers. The letter went on to say: "We are desired to state that a very large amount of property therefore remains afloat in barges entirely unprotected at great risk, and to the detriment of the interests of the port of London. Under these circumstances we are requested to call the attention of your honourable court to the distinct violation of the Watermen's Con-

pany's Act, by which certain privileges granted to the lightermen and watermen of the river Thames became void and ceased to exist, and to inquire what steps you propose to take.' The letter added that the committee considered that they were entitled to employ any suitable men in navigating, and this without restrictions.

During the discussion, speaker after speaker said that his men had left him suddenly, although they had no complaint to make as to wages, declaring that they were "compelled" to come out. There was a decided expression of opinion to the effect that the lightermen, who are protected labourers (no one unless licenced, after apprenticeship, being entitled to navigate on the Thames) had forfeited their privileges. The meeting unanimously declared that they would not deal with "Burns and Co.," political agitators. A number of placards and handbills, more or less directly of a threatening character, were exhibited, and the opinion was expressed that protection should be given to the men who would work.

A letter was also sent from the meeting to the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, calling attention to the fact that the strikers had engaged a steam tug to act on the Thames in intimidating workmen, and suggested that the police should employ other means than the antiquated row boats of patrolling the river.

During the procession cheers were raised whenever fresh bodies of strikers, who had just turned out, came up, or when the information was sent "that another big lot had come out." In Mile-end, Peak, Frean & Co.'s men joined, and the men from M'Dougall's chemical works. When the men in these works struck one of their number came to the employers and said that the men were intimidated. The same man had been haranguing his fellows in the mills in the course of the morning. Nearly 400 men turned out from Johnson Brothers, carmen and contractors. Great excitement ran along the line when the word was passed that 7,000 men were coming out of the Thames Ironworks at Blackwall. Further efforts were made to get the men out of all the large carrying companies, and strong appeals were made to Pickford's men, and to Carter, Paterson, and Co.'s men, as well as the labourers of the various railway companies. In some instances the men expressed themselves willing, and came out.

At the meeting on this day Burns said: "They had men that

day brought by the employers from Leith. The Dundee Shipping Company had sent men from Dundee; but their pickets had got them out. He had heard that others were coming, and also some from Aberdeen. Well, if the employers did that they would fetch the men out at Dundee and Aberdeen too. (Cheers.) He hoped the men would now quietly disperse, and let every man do his best to watch the gates and picket every place."

The Dundee Shipping Company had brought 70 men from Dundee and had landed them at the Dundee Dock. The pickets in the afternoon got in and prevailed on 66 to come out. These men afterwards went to one of the chief committee rooms, expecting to get strike pay or be sent home. The committee refused to send them back or allow them anything.

Mr. H. J. Morgan, Secretary Docks Joint Committee, sent to the Press a letter which he had received from one of the newly-appointed men in the Docks, of which the following is a copy:

"Copy of letter dated August 25, 1889.

Sir,—As one of the newly-appointed permanent men who have remained at work in the London Dock during the strike, I beg respectfully to bring under your notice the following facts, which will account for so many men leaving their work. They have done so under the influence of extreme terror, being unable to enter or leave the Dock with safety, and have in many instances been robbed and most brutally assaulted. If some means could have been found for getting them in and out of the Dock with safety I am confident not a man at this department would have left. They were satisfied with their pay; many of them a few weeks ago would have eagerly accepted permanency on the committee's terms. On Friday evening five of them were so violently assaulted on leaving the Dock that they were unable to come to work on Saturday. They were men who had worked for a number of years at the same warehouse, doing responsible work. The papers all speak of the orderly conduct of the strikers, and no doubt their processions through the streets are conducted in a peaceable manner; but let the writers come down to the Dock-gates and see the terror-stricken men going round from gate to gate seeking to get out with safety, and finding at every gate a mob waiting for the express purpose of half-murdering them, and they would alter their opinion. On Saturday morning the rumour was spread that the strikers had the names of all those remaining at work and had appointed gangs of men to wait at every gate and settle all those who came out. In consequence of this the men at once left work, not to join the strikers but out of sheer fright. As I have myself been savagely assaulted, and still bear the marks, I speak from experience. I write this more particularly in the hope that you may be able to arrange some means whereby the men may enter and leave the Docks with safety.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

The Chairman London and India Docks Joint Committee.

Messrs. B. M. Tite & Sons, coal merchants, of Bridge Wharf. Cambridge Heath, wrote to the *Times* as follows: "All our men at Spitalfields coal depot, as well as those of other coal merchants. have had to stop work this morning owing to a mob connected with the Dock strikers having been down and threatened them. We are informed that a number of the gang had screw wrenches to take off the van wheels, and in some cases the horses had been taken out of the vans and the harness cut. All our men want to work and are perfectly satisfied, and it appears to us that interference with trade in this manner must do the Dock strikers' cause great harm." Such proceedings as these, however, instead of doing the Dock Strike harm seemed to have the opposite effect. A large section of the public seemed to positively enjoy the spectacle of employers being attacked and their property destroyed.

Another correspondent of the *Times* gave the following testimony: "During this week I have witnessed the most open intimidation practised by the men on strike-howling crowds going from dock to dock and warehouse to warehouse, stopping business and threatening vengeance on all who did not comply with their demands, until now there are thousands who are out who had no desire to strike, but were compelled to do so, not only Dock labourers. but carmen, lightermen, regular men, and many others, and what is worse still is that those who dare to honestly work for their wages are being brutally maltreated and threatened with worse if they dare attempt to work in defiance of the strikers' wishes. I saw several men severely injured to-day on Tower-hill (the blood being made to fly in all directions) by gangs of strikers, and the police who ought to have been there came up when the damage was done. I want to know if this is English liberty; if so I prefer a strong despotism. If this is civilization, what is barbarism? What are the authorities for if not to protect peaceable citizens in earning an honest livelihood?"

Still another *Times* correspondent, after relating facts which corroborated the charges of intimidation, violence, and outrage made against the strikers, said: "In a word, the 'professional working man' is at his old games, and the sooner he is shown that those old games must give way to honesty and commonsense the better will it be for the community in general. I would earnestly

exhort the charitable public to refrain from contributing in any way to the prolongation of the misery already caused by this strike. This strike is not a spontaneous outbreak on the part of men who have been the subjects of oppression. There is evidence tending to prove that it originated outside the labourers, and that it is kept going by terrorism."

The Times itself in its leading article of this day, Aug. 26, said: "The Dock Directors have assented to the contention of the Dock labourers that men should be engaged for not less than four hours at a time, and they do not object to raise the pay from 5d. an hour to 6d., provided that the work is contract work. But the strikers have an insuperable objection to contract work. . . But the strikers do not stop here. They go on to demand that they shall be engaged at two fixed periods of the day, in order that they may be saved the exhausting wait at the Dock gates. This is a boon that every one would fain wish to see granted, but the burden of proving that it is possible lies upon those who ask for it. The essence of modern shipping business is that it shall be capable of being transacted at short notice and at high pressure; and if the hands are not ready to the occasion, there is danger that shippers will have recourse to some other port. This is unfortunate, but it is a hard fact, and unless some ingenious device can be discovered for curing it, the inconvenience must be endured. . . . The strikers have hitherto conducted their strike in a peaceable fashion, and upon the main issues public sympathy is with them. In our columns full publicity has been given to the contentions of the Dock Companies, which are thus roughly attacked upon emerging from a period of depression. But it is also apparent from the general tenour of our correspondence that there are not wanting men of moderate views who consider that the dock companies ought in fairness to mete out rather more liberal measure to their employés now that brighter times are dawning This is the view which the shipowners, among others, are reported to take. If so, it may fairly be assumed that they are ready to bear without grumbling any small increase of dock charges which a concession to the strikers would involve. This seems to meet the objection that any rise in these charges would drive shipping to other ports. . . . There is, of course, the dispute as to the part intimidation has played in augmenting the number of the strikers. They have used the questionable expedient of picketing freely, and those who agree with the conclusion of a Royal Commission, that the moral persuasion nominally aimed at by picketing often develops into persuasion of a rougher kind, will be disposed to regard this in itself as sufficient evidence of intimidation. Besides picketing, we have circulars, such as that which has been widely posted up in the neighbourhood

of the Docks, begging every man to 'clear out at once, or we must inform you the consequences must be extremely serious.' The slight ambiguity of such language would not protect its utterers from criminal proceedings if it were addressed to definite applications."

At various places along the route wharfingers and consignees met the leaders, and begged them to allow some of the men to unload certain cargoes in cases of great emergency, for which they would handsomely pay; but in every instance a positive refusal was given, except in one case, and that was where some ice was most urgently required for the patients at one of the asylums.

At the meeting Burns boasted: "They not only had the public with them, but the Press was also on their side."

August 27th.—The strike fever proved so contagious that a Manifesto was issued warning men that if they struck without the authority of the Strike Committee no pay would be given to them. About 2,500 or 3,000 were added to the list of discontented ones, these coming principally, if not entirely, from the Isle of Dogs. The Ironworkers of Messrs. Westward and Bailey discussed the situation, and a deputation of strikers waited upon them, with the result that 1,200 of the men employed by this firm threw down their tools. Similarly influenced, between 500 and 600 men in the service of the Copenhagen Oil and Seed-Crushing Mills yesterday joined the ranks of the strikers, followed by 700 or 800 of the employés of the Chemical, Copper Ore and Phosphate Company.

At last the police authorities woke up to the fact that the state of things existing in London was really dangerous. The gates of the Docks were vigilantly guarded, and no one allowed to enter until he had given a satisfactory explanation of his business. (Why was not this done on the first day of the strike?) Warehouses and stores were securely locked in view of an attack by the strikers, and artillery and cavalry were under orders in barracks to be in readiness at a moment's notice. (Why was not this also done at the commencement of the strike.?)

A message was conveyed into the Docks from the strikers outside to the effect that if the permanent men who had been taken on as substitutes did not at once cease work they must abide by the consequences. As the result of this about 40 of the new hands relinquished their employment, thus reducing the labourers actively engaged to about 320, in place of the thousands of Dock men on strike.

Ben Tillett had an interview of over an hour's duration with the Joint Committee of the Docks. He insisted on 6d. an hour, employment for not less than four hours at a time, and the abolition of the contract system. The Directors in a written reply, stated that while they regretted the continuance of the strike they were unable to agree to these proposals. (Why did they recognise Tillett, or any other of the strike leaders at all?)

There was the usual procession to the City, which was very large, some enthusiasts reckoning its numbers at 100,000. It took an hour to pass one point, casual Dock labourers were in front. There were large numbers of carters, who, in most cases, carried banners inscribed with the names of the firms by whom they were employed, and stating that they were only out on principle.

At the Surrey Commercial Docks Company's meeting a communication from a body called the "Committee of Deal Porters" was considered. It contained proposals which the Directors stated would virtually, if conceded, hand over the management of the Docks to these men. The men employed at these Docks had left their work without any intimation to their employers that they had any grievance or any grounds for dissatisfaction. The return of the week ending August 17th, the last complete week before the strike, showed that the corn porters of the company had earned 8s. a day of ten hours.

The Millwall Docks Company, in order to place before the public the real merits of the dispute as it related to themselves and their men, had extracted the figures of the earnings of all the gangs for the week ending August 17th: There were 47 gangs working that week, and the most earned by any one gang of six men was £18 19s. 8d. during the week of sixty hours, or £3 3s. 3d. per man—a wage far beyond that of artisans. The least earned by any gang amounted to £10 17s. 7d., or £1 10s. 6d. a man for a week of sixty-two hours. The difference in the earnings was owing to a difference in the ships to be unloaded.

A meeting of Wharfingers, Granary-owners, Master-lightermen, representatives of Shipping Companies, and others, was held at the Cannon Street Hotel for the purpose of proposing united action

on the situation. Resolutions in favour of the contract system being revised, and in favour of a minimum of 2s. being paid to any man employed, and in favour of the Committee of Wharfingers, Granarykeepers, and Dock Workmen being appointed to negotiate a settlement of the dispute were adopted. Mr. Besley emphatically asserted that things were driven so fine that the merchants of London could not pay any more than they were paying at present. Mr. H. Lafone explained some of the differences which had taken place in the charges of the port since the last strike in 1872, when the wages were fourpence an hour. "At that time the charge for working jute was 7s. per ton; it was now is. 9d. How, he asked, was it possible for an employer to pay 6d. or even 5d. an hour with such a reduction as that? Gambier was 11s. 3d. in 1872; it was now 4s. Shellac was £2 10s. 10d. then; now it was £1 7s. 6d. He could quote a good many other cases of a similar sort. It was decidedly not fair that the working classes should suffer from the competition between the wharfingers and the Dock Companies. He hoped that an arrangement would be made with all the wharfingers that the Dock Companies should charge a legitimate price for the work done and should pay a legitimate rate of wages to the workmen."

At this meeting Mr. Wiggington, who said he was a waterman and lighterman, declared "the capitalists had now aroused the latent brains that were lying idle in the East End, and there would in the future be such a labour octopus organised in the East of London as

would challenge any capitalist who would like to fight."

In the afternoon a meeting was held at 36, Mark Lane, strikers being represented by Messrs. Burns, Tillett, Champion, and Mann; Messrs. H. Lafone, W. Smith, and A. Humphrey representing the wharfingers. The various issues involved in the strike were discussed for several hours.

At a meeting on Tower Hill, Burns asked the men "if it was their wish that there should be no arbitration, no compromise, no surrender, let them hold up their hands." (Great cheering, and

cries of "Every hand up!")

At a later meeting in front of the West India Docks, Burns said: "Let the Dock Directors listen to his speech now. He now stood in front of their gates within the hearing of their officials, and told them that they were not going to give in. It had been said at the Cannon Street Hotel meeting that he had done good service in keeping law and order, that he had opposed violence, and that he had prevented London from being in flames. But he would now tell the Dock Directors if they did not concede the demands of these men

that these flood-gates of disorder which he had tried to stop might be broken open, and that such violence might break forth in such a manner that he would not be able to control." He also intimated that he had reason to believe that a messenger would arrive in a very short time with the news that the strike was settled and the victory was won.

Between eight o'clock in the morning and the afternoon of this day only two goods vans arrived at the West India Dock, the usual number between those hours being about three hundred.

Much difficulty was experienced in dealing with the mail boats. A leading stevedore, assisted by several officials of Messrs. Anderson. Anderson & Co., was working in the hold of the Liguria, of the New Zealand Line, with the object of getting the mails aboard so that the vessel might proceed to Australia, when a threat came from the strikers to the effect that if they were found working in any other vessel the consequences to them would be very serious. They ceased operations, but by this time the loading of the vessel had been completed. Then a fresh difficulty arose, the firemen—members of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union—refusing to come on board out of sympathy with the strikers, and thus the vessel was detained with her cargo and mails.

The New Zealand Shipping Company's vessel, the Reuapehu, was loaded by the apprentices and officers of the vessel, assisted by the passengers, and it was decided to attempt to get her off at once. And although the Company were of opinion that they would succeed in getting her away, the "pickets" were exceedingly busy in intimidating the firemen. "At present they are willing to resume their duties, but they are expected at the eleventh hour to go over to the strikers. Should the firemen second, the mail will be further delayed. Up to the present a week has elapsed since the appointed time of her departure. The lateness in the despatch of the mail will cause considerable anxiety and loss to the commercial world in New Zealand."

The strike extended among the coal depôts situated around the termini of the Midland, Great Northern, and North Western Companies in the N. W. district. The bays were almost deserted, although large numbers of men stated that they were quite satisfied with their wages, but that they dare not resume work owing to the intimidation practiced by the ringleaders. Parties of strikers visited the different coal yards, and when they found a yard unprotected

they entered in a body and compelled the men to leave their work. Most of the principal coal yards were closed.

A deputation of brokers from Mincing Lane called upon the Dock Directors with reference to the gravity of the situation.

Sir Roger Lethbridge, M.P., Mr. Isiacson, M.P., Mr. George Howell, M.P., Mr. Pickersgill, M.P., and Mr. Causton, M.P., also called and saw the Directors "With a view of learning whether their services would be of any use in effecting a settlement." They stated that they had no bias to one side or the other, which did not prevent some of them from expressing an opinion that the concessions ought to be on the side of the Directors.

It was stated that the Dock Companies had an offer made to them to supply 3,000 Belgian labourers at  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour, and that they had decided not to accept it at present.

Large quantities of frozen meat were lying on board several vessels in the Docks, one of these carrying 32,000 carcasses, and the other 35,000. Messrs. Nelson Brothers, Dowgate Hill, to whom most of the meat belonged, took down to the Docks some of their men from the stores, but on account of the threatening attitude of the strikers they were obliged to desist in discharging the meat, of which they obtained only 180 carcasses. These were sent to the market, which was totally paralysed, and fetched high prices, from 1½d. to 2d. per lb. higher than the previous week. The carcasses sold were to be counted by the hundreds whitst on the usual market day some 30,000 to 40,000 carcasses are disposed of by Messrs. Nelson Brothers alone. The meat which found its way to the market was sent by rail, as the vans by which it is usually carted were incapacitated from use by being deprived of their wheels and shafts and turned over on their sides by the strikers. It was feared that the refrigerators on board these vessels would have to stop for lack of coal, and the stoppage of the refrigerators would of course involve the spoiling of the whole cargo and immense inconvenience and loss.

Mr. Sydney Buxton wrote to the *Times* urging the shipowners to accept a "slight increase" in the Dock dues in order to help the Dock Directors out of their difficulty, and he intimated that "a most serious responsibility will rest on them (the shipowners) if they altogether decline to move." Incidentally Mr. Buxton stated that the demand of the strikers for increased wages "seems to be almost unanimously endorsed by public opinion."

Messrs. F. B. Cameron & Co., of St. Pancras Road stated in the *Times* that their men were compelled on Monday afternoon by the threats and yells of a mob of two or three hundred men to leave their work, although they were satisfied with their pay and willing to work. Their men resumed work on Tuesday morning, but were again compelled to stop by mobs from other districts, Messrs. Cameron added: "We have no wish to see the right of public meeting curtailed, but when it comes to the parading of mobs to intimidate those who are willing to work, some steps ought to be taken to stop it."

A correspondent of the Times stated the following facts which had come under his own observation: "On Friday morning the workmen at a wharf which I need not now name started to unload a steamer which had just arrived, bringing to London, among other cargo, a large quantity of perishable provisions. The work proceeded as usual until midday, when a deputation from the strikers waited upon the workmen and induced them to leave work. The manager of the wharf tried to reason with the deputation, pointing out that his men were well-paid, well satisfied with their treatment and had no desire to leave their occupations, but the only answer he could get was that the men were to come out, and come out they must. An offer of more money was rejected, the deputation stating that it was not a case of more money, but of augmenting the number of men on strike. Of course the wharfmen left their work, and business at that, as at all the other wharves along the Thames, is now suspended. When the manager remonstrated with his own men for the shabby way in which they were treating masters who had always been very good to them, they replied what were they to do, for if they remained at work they would be marked men, and would go in danger of their lives."

The *Times* in its leading article said: "It must be confessed that the conduct of the strikers during the last two days, and the motives avowed by their most recent auxiliaries, are not calculated to advance the strike in public esteem."

Referring to the allies of the Dock labourers who were striking in every direction, not out of sympathy with the dockers or "on principle," but avowedly for their own selfish purposes, the *Times* said: "Their claims may or may not be justified in themselves, but it will obviously add enormously to the difficulty of the Dock labourers' demands, if they are to be complicated with demands put forward on behalf of their nominal friends. Moreover, in the public interests there must be a limit to this mulcting of A, B, and C, in order to bring pressure to bear upon D. It has already gone quite

far enough. Then, again, evidence is accumulating that intimidation is playing an appreciable, if not an important, part in this strike. We see no reason to alter our opinion that sympathy with the Dock labourers was the motive force that induced most of the riverside workmen to go out on strike. But the letters and reports which have appeared in our columns show that the handful of men who are willing to work in setting the imprisoned shipping free are subjected to very palpable intimidation, and in several instances have yielded to it. So, too, we read that devices, which can only be compared to the rattening which formerly made trade unions odious, have been resorted to in order to prevent the conveyance of frozen meat from the Docks to the market. We do not say that these are more than the unauthorized actions of groups of unorganized men, but they constitute a very serious infraction of personal liberty, and must be sternly repressed."

The Times ventured to affirm that "the increase in pay which the Dock labourers demanded is pronounced by public opinion to be prima face not unreasonable," and also that "public opinion is with the Dock labourers in the principle of their objection to the contract system with its incidents of imposition and sweating," though it pointed out that the remaining demands of the dockers were not so reasonable. The demand that labourers should not be taken on except at two stated times in the day, which formed an essential part of the dockers' case, was pronounced by the Times to be untenable, as the hurry and high pressure of modern shipping traffic would not brook the slightest delay. The refusal of the strikers to submit any of their demands to arbitration was also animadverted upon by the Times, which reminded them that a strike in the ship-building yards, though on a much smaller scale than the present Dock Strike, sent all the ship-building trade of London to the Clyde, where it has stayed ever since.

An inquest was held at the Poplar Town Hall on the death of William Hunt, 43, a dock labourer, of 3, Cross Street, Poplar, who had committed suicide owing to the fear of being injured by the strikers at the Docks. It appeared that 13 years ago the deceased signed on the permanent staff of the West India Dock Company, and was, therefore, liable to be sent to prison for three months if he left without notice. He had been in to work during the strike, and the night before his death he said, "My God, I am done for, as the men say they will murder anyone who goes in to work." This seemed to prey very much on his mind, and on Friday, after seeing that the house was properly fastened up, he destroyed himself.

August 28.—The strikers' procession showed a great shrinkage, and presented a ragged and degenerate appearance.

Crowds of shipowners, merchants, and trade representatives surrounded the Dock House eager to learn results as affecting prices, inasmuch as any increase in wages, however small, would mean an increase of rates, involving an equal increase in prices to the consumer.

Conference was held, lasting from 11 o'clock in the morning until 6 in the evening, between the Dock Directors, strike leaders, the wharfingers, etc. Late in the evening the result of the conference was announced in the following letter:

"Dock House, 109, Leadenhall-street, E.C., August 28.

"Gentlemen,—We have the honour to report to you that we have this day seen Mr. Tillett, Mr. Burns, and other gentlemen. The following were submitted as the demands on the part of Mr. Tillett and his party:

"Outsiders called in not to be discharged with less than 2s. pay.

"That contract work should be abandoned and a system of piecework substituted by which the men shall receive the total gross receipts of the job direct from the companies, drawing in the meantime a minimum of 6d. per hour ordinary time and 81. per hour overtime for their work so long as the job lasts.

"The shares of the plus to be divided as follows, the share of each

man and the foreman to be equal:

"Pay to be 6d. an hour and 8d. per hour overtime." Overtime to be reckoned from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.

- "We enquired whether the demand of 6d. an hour was an absolute condition, as, that being withdrawn, we were of opinion that all the other points might be arranged to the satisfaction of both parties. The answer was that the rate of 6d. an hour was vital. Mr. Birt having stated that the companies could not consent to this, the conference was suspended.
  - "We are, gentlemen, your obedient servants,
  - "G. R. BIRT, General Manager, Millwall Dock Company.
  - "J. GRIFFIN, General Manager, Surrey Commercial Dock Co.
  - "H. W. WILLIAMS, General Managers, London and India
    "E. H. Bailey. Docks Joint Committee."
- "We, the undersigned, having been present, testify to the accuracy of the above report.

"Hugh C. Smith.

"Hy. Lafone."

The gentlemen representing the wharfingers made an alternative proposal, which was not accepted by either party, that the men should be paid 4s. a day for a day of nine hours, and that they should not be paid less than 2s. for a "shift."

Complaints of workmen as to intimidation, especially in the East and South East, were general and Litter. At some of the Board schools the children reported that they could not bring the fees because "Father must not go to work."

A meeting of coal merchants at the Coal Exchange met to consider the demands of the coal-wharf workers and carmen. It appeared that some of the employers had already granted the demands of the men, namely, i.d. a ton extra for loading and 6d. extra a day for carters, and the meeting, in view of this fact, decided to grant the men's terms. It was stated, however, that the employers proposed to form a strong Union in order, in future, to meet combinations of the men.

A meeting of the Watermen's Company was held to consider the strike of the watermen, and the following resolution was passed:

"That in consequence of the Freemen of the company having very suddenly left their employment without assigning any cause beyond their sympathy with the Dock labourers, and a certain amount of intimidation on the part of others, thereby causing enormous loss to the commercial interests of the Port of London, the attention of Freemen be called to the 64th section of the Companies Act, which provides: 'If any lighterman or waterman, to whom a license is granted in pursuance of this Act, is guilty of such misconduct or acts of incompetency while working as a lighterman cr waterman as, in the opinion of the said court of master, wardens, and assistants, to disqualify him, either wholly or partially, from holding such license, such court may, after hearing what he has to urge in his defence, and subject to an appeal to the said Conservators of the River Thames, who may revoke or modify the order of the said court, endorse, suspend, or cancel altogether any licence he may hold.' The above section explains to the Freemen the grave responsibility they have incurred, and the court therefore earnestly advises the men to return to their work without further delay."

The police had a steam tug on the Thames (apparently for the first time) to protect river workers from the intimidation of the strikers, who had engaged the tug James Yates.

The New Zealand mail steamer, the Reuapehu, left the Albert Docks at 12.30.

One thousand men marched to Erith to bring out the coal porters employed at the wharves of Messrs. Beadle, Bros. Some delegates had been down on the previous day and tried to induce the men to go out on strike. The men, however, refused, and the delegates threatened that they would come the next day in such numbers as to make them come out. A deputation of twelve men had an interview with Messrs. C. and F. Beadle. Some of the demonstrators told Messrs. Beadle's men that if they did not come out they would be boycotted, and never allowed to work again at any of the London wharves or depots. One man threatened to throw an employé of Messrs. Beadle into the Thames if he did not strike. After an hour's conference it was announced that Messrs. Beadle had given way, and agreed that no more coal should be unloaded at their wharves until the dispute was settled, and they had given the men 10s. to drink their health and £5 towards the funds.

A firm of coal merchants at King's Cross had a dozen coal vans laden for retail in the neighbourhood. The strikers took the horses out of the vans, and were evidently intent on mischief when a body of police appeared on the scene and passed out the vans by a back entrance.

At Westbourne Park Station the coal companies tried to start a few laden wagons; but when these appeared in the streets the strikers removed the horses and turned them loose, and then emptied the coals into the streets.

Tillett, addressing a meeting at the Docks, said they were only asking for an extra 1d. an hour, and that was nothing to arbitrate about. Burns said: "The fact of the matter was that he had been too polite with the Dock Directors, and they had construed his politeness into a desire to surrender. They never made a greater mistake, for to-day they were far stronger and in a better position than ever. In the bag which he had over his shoulder to-day he had the first missive which they had received from the working men of New York a cheque for ten guineas, and a cheque for five guineas from the sailors of Hamburg. He also had a letter from the stevedores of Southampton, saying that if any attempt was made there to injure the London strike by taking the freight there they would strike. Then he also had cheques from some of the Dock Directors, which, he thought, showed that some were on their side. The

money was coming in fast, and they were doing their very best to reorganize their commissariat. They had further received many applications from men of other kinds of business asking whether they shall come out, but that he thought at present would be a mistake, as it would weaken their resources. In one trade alone 30,000 more offered to come out, but his answer was that when they had got what they wanted and won this battle, then they would consider other movements."

He also boasted that men in other trades had received an advance of no less than £200,000 a week in consequence of the Dock Strike. (Of course he did not say that this £200,000 would be paid by the general public in the shape of an increased price for commodities.) He also stated that the Post Office carmen were going to strike unless they got an advance of from 2s. to 4s. a week.

It was stated that there were 70,000 carcasses of Australian mutton waiting to be unloaded at the Docks, and that the strikers had removed the embargo from the Deptford consignments which were now allowed to enter London without any interruption.

A meeting of shipowners was held at the offices of the P. and O. Company. Mr. Sutherland, M.P., presided. A letter from Lord Brassey urging the shipowners to agree to a small increase in the Dock dues, and thus enable the Dock Companies to concede the demands of the men was considered, and it was decided to take no action upon it.

In various parts of London there were processions of labourers, strikes, and attempts to induce men to leave their work. In South London there was a procession of waterside labourers carrying a banner bearing the words, "6d. and 8d., No Surrender, No More Slavery at 3s. 1od. a day." (How many unskilled labourers in all parts of the country would be glad of such "slavery" as 3s. 1od. a day for nine hours work?)

A severe strain was put upon the Metropolitan and City police forces, owing to the large number of men required to keep order in the East among the strikers, and to protect firms who asked for protection. Some districts were almost denuded of policemen. The want of extra men was much felt.

Mr. T. Sutherland, M.P., replying on behalf of the shipowners to Mr. Buxton, said: "In the opinion of many shipowners, a very slight addition to the charges now levied would place London at

such a disadvantage that the construction of a co-operative dock would become absolutely necessary to prevent the trade from leaving the port."

He also intimated that the remedy proposed by the shipowners for the solution of existing difficulties was that they should be allowed to discharge their cargoes themselves.

August 29.—The Times Special Correspondent, after traversing the Docks, attending the strikers' meetings, conversing with strike leaders, &c., summed up the situation thus:

"The men, convinced that their demands are reasonable, and receiving from all quarters the most substantial proofs that the public generally is of the same opinion, will not abate their demands by one fraction. . . . It is not too much to say that every day during which the strike endures, vastly as it may injure the mercantile community, and great as the suffering of the strikers may be, promises to increase the strength and the power of passive resistance possessed by the Dock labourers."

He turther said:

"The remarkable thing about this strike is that Capital, save in so far as it is represented by the Joint Docks Committee is for the most part closely in sympathy with the objects which the Dock labourers desire to secure."

He mentioned that in one of the most squalid districts of the East End he saw a notice put up by the lessee or the owner of a house to the effect that, although he disapproved of strikes generally as tending to produce permanent injury to trade, he was yet so firmly convinced of the justice of the Dock labourer's cause, that he had determined to let his tenants occupy their rooms rent free until the Strike came to an end.

Referring to the announcement made by the Docks Committee late on this afternoon, setting forth the conditions which they were prepared to adopt, the *Times* correspondent said:

"It does not convey to the ordinary mind the full idea of the concession of every particle of the men's demands."

And he seemed to think that this was a matter of reproach to the Directors. The announcement referred to was as follows:

"London and India Docks Joint Committee, Dock-house, 109, Leadenhall Street, E.C., Aug. 29.

"The Joint Committee have decided to adopt the following conditions for extra labour at the Docks under their control:

"1. The 5d. rate per hour, with 6d. per hour overtime, to apply to all labour not piecework, but men taken on before noon if discharged

by the Dock Company to receive not less pay than 2s.

"2. Present contract work to be converted into piecework as far and as soon as practicable, under which the men will be paid not less than 6d. per hour, with 8d. an hour overtime, and divide the surplus, if any, between them, all payments being made to the men under the supervision of the Dock officials.

"3. The hours of overtime shall be-at the Docks and up-town

warehouses from 8 p.m. to 8 a.m.

"4. The Committee will use their best endeavours to obtain from the Government a prolongation of Customs' hours, which, if granted, will have the effect of extending the time during which pay may be earned.

"By order,

"HENRY J. MORGAN, Secretary."

Referring to the public sympathy with which the strikers' processions was received, the *Times*' correspondent said:

"And it was impossible not to notice the welcome which the processionists received as they passed through the City, and that not merely from persons of their own class, but also from people occupied in much higher walks of life. A significant point is that at the corner of Mincing-lane the cheers were louder than anywhere eise—yet Mincing-lane has already suffered much, and may yet suffer much more from the effects of the strike."

The correspondent further said:

"The river is full of steamers lying low down in the water, and obviously ready to discharge their cargoes. Of these strange tales are told. One iron steamer contains, it is said, a cargo of butter, which under the strong August sun is rapidly becoming liquid. Another has communicated with Leith in order to ascertain whether there would be any chance of discharging cargo there, and has received the answer that there would be none. Here and there, by extraordinary exertions on the part of the crew and clerks, a vessel is enabled to steam out to her destination, but the net result of the present state of affairs is that the trade of the greatest port in the world is paralysed, and has received a blow which, even though it should not be permanent, must yet be seriously felt for many months to come. . . . The post had brought in money in abundance. Mr. Burns read out to his wife and Mrs. Aveling the list of cheques and post-office orders received, and I was careful to notice that some of them, amounting to considerable sums, came from very well-known people."

The committee of wharfingers and granary keepers proposed the following for the acceptance of the directors of the amalgamated companies:

"I. That Dock rates should be settled by representatives of the Docks and wharfingers interested in the various classes of imports,

and by granary keepers for grain.

"2. In the meantime the present dock-rate book (published the 1st of January, 1889) shall be taken as the standard rates net, and blank rates at once fixed, the printed list of discounts being abolished in so far as the Docks are concerned, and that no wharfinger or granary keeper shall quote less rates for any class of work, and subject only to a discount of 10 per cent. These conditions only to be varied in cases where the docks and wharfingers in any particular trade have working arrangements. In such cases rates are to be put up, as soon as practicable, 10 per cent. (which is an equivalent to the rise of wages) to be added.

"3. The American clauses in the bill of lading to be inoperative in so far as the wharfingers and granary keepers are concerned.

"4. Wages and conditions made with the men: That contract work shall be abandoned, and a system of piecework substituted, by which the men shall receive the total gross receipts of the job direct from the companies, drawing in the meantime a minimum of 6d. per hour ordinary time and 8d. per hour overtime, for their work so long as the job lasts, the shares of the plus to be divided as follows: The share of each man and each foreman to be equal. Pav to be 4s. for nine hours, with an allowance to the men of half an hour for dinner; if less than nine hours' work to be 6d. per hour. Overtime 8d. per hour. Overtime to be reckoned at 6 p.m. to 6 a.m.

"We, the undersigned representatives of dock workers and others now on strike, pledge ourselves to have the following terms faithfully carried out at each dock, wharf, granary, or warehouse where the above terms are agreed to: (1) That each man shall not work at any dock or wharf on less wages or less terms than those stated as above. (2) That men shall immediately return to work at all docks, wharves, or granaries whose terms per list herewith have been agreed. (3) That all lightermen shall at once resume work, agreeing to submit any grievance they may have to arbitration."

John Burns stated that the Custom-House men had contributed very liberally towards the strike fund.

Mr. Samuel Williams presiding at a meeting of Master Lightermen, expressed his regret that the working lightermen should have yielded to the strike movement, and "in their alleged sympathy with the dock labourers, have lost all sympathy for the employment upon which they existed." At this meeting a communication from the Work and Wages Committee of Lightermen was considered, and it was stated that the demands of the men meant 50 per cent. increase on the rates charged. Mr. Graves stated that his firm had ten steamers and 150 barges, and that the rates were so finely drawn that firms in the trade could make only 5 per cent. The Chairman moved the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

"That, considering that the advance of 10 per cent. on wages accorded in the year 1872 has not been maintained on the rates of lighterage then ruling, the Association of Master Lightermen and Bargeowners here assembled in general meeting and it to be impossible and impracticable to accept the terms set forth in a circular dated 22nd inst., signed by Mr. R. Iles, received on the 27th on behalf of working lightermen, the further advance therein demanded, amounting to nearly 50 per cent., and the conditions of time in lieu of tide being inconsistent with the working of lighterage business. The Association of Masters unanimously decline the new terms, and adjourn this meeting for one week to give the men time to consider their position. Meanwhile the masters are willing to receive the men on the old terms, provided all waterside business is resumed, which terms allow the men to earn from £2 10s. to £3 per week."

Burns, in his speech on Tower Hill, said:

"The Directors, who had given in on every point but one—the penny—would have to give in on that, and he believed his prediction would be fulfilled that very day. The Dock Companies were already suffering from paralysis, and in a short time, if the present state of affairs continued, they would be suffering from lumbago and toothache as well."

The Dock Companies secured numbers of labourers from the country who were at work in the Docks. But most of these were got out and induced to leave their employment. The men at work in the Docks lived and slept inside, but representatives of the strikers oftentimes in disguise, managed to get inside the gates and induced the new men to join the strike.

It was stated that the "loss incurred, even by the most prudent of the strikers, is now irremediable, owing to the pledging of their few things and the backwardness in rent," and also—"It is evident on all sides that men would willingly resume the labours they have thrown up if they could do so with safety; but owing to the picket parties engaged in watching the Dock entrances and other places of business they are afraid to do so."

About 50 Greenock men sent to work on one of the P. and O. boats were, to use Mr. Burns' phrase, "captured at the Dock gates" and later in the day were marching in the procession.

A number of clergymen, fearing "that the suspicion that the movement is merely the result of revolutionary agitation "would prevent the public from liberally subscribing, expressed their conviction "that the labourers out on strike are actuated simply by a sense of undue oppression and injustice." The names of these clergymen are as follow: - The Revs. J. H. Lester, rector of South Hackney and Canon of Lichfield; A. E. Dalton, vicar of All Hallows, East India Docks; D. G. Cowan, vicar of St. John's, Isle of Dogs; E. C. Mackenzie, Christ Church, Cubitt Town; J. G. Adderley, Christ Church Mission, South Bromley; H. A. Kennedy, All Hallows, East India Docks; Harry Wilson, vicar of St. Augustine's, Stepney; A. Cocks, St. Augustine's, Stepney; R. W. Harris, mission chaplain to the Bishop of Bedford and secretary East London Church Fund; W. H. C. Malton, assistant chaplain London Hospital; and A. B. Winter, St. John's, Bethnal. Green.

The Glenogle, a ship which arrived aome days previously with a cargo of tea, was being unloaded partly by city clerks and partly by labourers. In view of any molestation, a guard of police, commanded by an inspector, watched the vessel as she lay in the South West India Dock, and challenged all unauthorised persons who approached her. (Why was not this done in the case of every ship from the very commencement of the strike?)

The strike extended to the Dover Docks. A deputation from the London Docks visited that place with the result that the men engaged in unloading timber in the Granville Dock suddenly struck for an increase from  $4\frac{1}{2}d$ . to 6d. per hour.

It was announced that the strike was telling seriously upon the trade carried on between Manchester and foreign countries, and also upon general trade in the North of England.

Mr.E. S. Norris, M.P., writing to *The Times*, said that his colleagues on the Dock Board were humane and kind-hearted men who would have been ready to redress any grievances which had been properly brought before them, and that the labourers, through their so-called

representatives, "made a peremptory demand and gave us about two hours to decide upon very grave questions, involving most important issues to the proprietors we are elected to represent."

Mr. Norris added: "The strike is evidently—as it is proved to be—a widely-organised scheme to destroy confidence between employer and employed. It is the worst form of coercion by those who assume to condemn and denounce coercion. It is an attempt to bring down the skilled and honest workman to the level of the labourer, unskilled and too often indolent and idle.

"Honest workmen have been assaulted and injured, and, in one case I know of, a poor man has been driven out of his mind by positive fear and anxiety. Depend on it, that although the Directors have received much in the way of vituperation and abuse, they are

fighting the country's battle."

A correspondent of *The Times* stated that he had been an employer of labour on a large scale in the City of London for nearly 40 years. During the whole of this period he had had no disputes with his workmen which had not been instigated from the outside.

He continued: "I have spared no expense to ensure their health and comfort. My partners and I, many years ago, set aside a portion of our profits to inaugurate a provident fund in their behalf Several thousand pounds have been paid out of that fund by way of superannuation and life assurance, and over £10,000 remains in the hands of the trustees at this time.

"At the conversion of our business into a joint stock company we lent our employes money to take up shares, and they now hold £100,000 worth. We are only concerned with the unfortunate Dock dispute as outsiders. The strike fever has, however, extended to our branch of business. Yesterday a deputation from another house waited upon our men, and asked them to go out. They refused. To-day, however, they say that if they adhere to their determination they are convinced they will go in peril of their lives,

"Nor is this an idle threat. For only bringing in a load of coals to us yesterday the carman had his head cut open.

"All this seems a poor return to a man who has been all his life a true friend to working men, and is now spending time and money in trying to help them to elevate their social position and maintain their just rights. But a much more serious aspect of the case arises from the fact that the struggle is attended with such an amount of terrorism that freedom of contract is destroyed, and law-abiding citizens go in peril of their lives."

August 30.—"No Work" Manifesto issued. The text of the manifesto was as follows:

"Wades Arms, Jeremiah-street, Poplar, London, E.,
"30th August, 1889.

## "To the Workers of London.

"On Wednesday afternoon representatives of the Dock labourers, in the course of a discussion with the spokesmen of the Dock Companies, were informed that on one point alone of the demands of the men would there be any difficulties in arriving at a settlement namely, on the question of raising the rate of pay from 5d. to 6d. an hour for ordinary time. This afternoon, however, the Directors have definitely stated that they will only pay 5d. an hour for ordinary time and 6d. overtime. Further, instead of the immediate and total abolition of the contract system the Directors simply pledged themselves to do away with it as soon and as far as practicable. This phrase in the mouths of such men as the Directors have, during this struggle, proved themselves to be, means that the concession is to be a mere farce.

"Meanwhile the vacillation and incompetence of the Dock Directors is inflicting cruel suffering upon tens of thousands of Dock labourers and their families. These privations have been borne with a good-tempered heroism which has excited the warm sympathy of the public, and enlisted the active support of skilled and organized labour throughout our country. In our former Manifesto we urged workers of trades not directly connected with the Docks to remain at work, and to avoid causing inconvenience to the general community. Our studied moderation has been mistaken by our ungenerous opponents for lack of courage and want of resources. We are, therefore, compelled to take a step which we could wish had not been forced upon us, and which we are fully

aware may be followed by the gravest consequences.

"We now solemnly appeal to the workers in London of all grades, and every calling, to refuse to go to work on Monday next unless the Directors have before 12 noon on Saturday, 31st of August, officially informed this Committee that the moderate demands of the Dock labourers have been fully and frankly conceded. These demands, from which the men have never swerved, are:—(1) The minimum rate of pay to be 6d. per hour ordinary time, and 8d. an hour overtime under the Company; or, under contract system, 8d. an hour ordinary time, and 1s. an hour for overtime; (2) overtime to be counted from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m.; (3) no man to be employed for less than four hours.

"(Signed)—Benjamin Tillett, John Burns, H. H. Champion, Tom Mann, James Toomey, A. Mansfield, W. Carr, W. Booth, Geo. James Smith, A. Field, John Dowling, T. Benmore Denis Driscoll, P. Regan, John Regan, Geo. Pearson, Michl. Tighe, John Hornback, Francis Mollison, Wm. Stone, Jonathan B. Ruark, James Nightingale, John Harrington, Chas. Allen, Cornelius Ruark, Geo. Perritt, John Walls, Chas. Campbell, Robert Iles, W. W. Gillespie, S. Leask, James Neal, Robert Passman, James M'Dade, Joseph A. Clarke, G. Harvey, G. R. Bartlett, G. W. Smith, J. G. Wilson, Daniel M'Carthy, A. Dawson, T. M. Williams, George Donaldson, T. H. Camp, C. Miller, Thomas M'Carthy."

The above signatures include all the representatives of the Stevedores and Sailors and Firemen's Union, with the most important of the East London trades. Every delegate present signed the manifesto.

Meetings took place betwixt representatives of Shipping Companies, wholesale tea merchants, Messrs. Burns and Champion being present on behalf of the strikers. The result was the issuing of the following document:

" 36, Mark-lane, London, Aug. 30, 1889.

"Proposed agreement between Dock Companies, Wharfingers, Granary Keepers, and Workmen.

"Wages and conditions made with men: Outsiders called in

not to be discharged with less than 2s. pay.

"That contract work shall be abandoned and a system of piece-work be substituted, by which the men shall receive the total gross receipts of the job direct from the Companies, drawing in the meantime a minimum of od. per hour for ordinary time, and 8d. per hour overtime for their work so long as the job lasts. The shares of the plus shall be divided as follows: The share of each man and each foreman to be equal. Pay for casual work to be 6d. per hour for the first four hours if only working that time; if for longer, then at the rate of 4s. for nine hours, and 6d. per hour from nine to twelve hours, with an allowance of half an hour for dinner.

"Overtime 8d. per hour. Overtime to be reckoned from 6 p.m. till 6 a.m., or 8 p.m. till 8 a.m.

"Regular men may be engaged at not less than 24s per week,

"We, the undersigned representatives of Dock workers and others now on strike, pledge ourselves to have the following terms faithfully carried out at each dock, wharf, granary, or warehouse, where the above terms are agreed:

- "I. That men shall not work at any dock or wharf on less wages or worse terms than those stated as above.
- "2. That men shall immediately return to work at all docks, wharves, or granaries where terms as per list herewith have been agreed.
- "3. That all lightermen shall at once resume work, agreeing to submit to any grievances they may have to arbitration.

"4. Coal workers to resume work at once.

"To avoid any delay in work being resumed, it is requested that each Dock Company, wharfinger, or granary keeper will consent to the above terms in writing. It is most important that these should be in the hands of Mr. H. Lafone, 36, Mark-lane, as early on Saturday as possible."

Mr. Norwood stated, that nearly every word he had uttered,

publicly or to the reporters, had been distorted.

The Dock Directors stated that a gentleman had been to their office and offered to supply 4,000 men at  $4\frac{1}{2}d$ . per hour, and that the offer had been repeated that day. There were plenty of men, however, in London willing to go back to work, and there would be no difficulty in carrying on work at the Docks if it was not for intimidation. The Directors wished the public to remember that they were trustees for the shareholders, and not a philanthropic institution, or a Government, or a House of Commons, and to ask them to sacrifice the interests of their shareholders to gratify a mistaken public sentiment was absurd. Wages at the Docks were higher than in most ordinary firms.

Cardinal Manning appeared upon the scene. He called upon Alderman Sir A. Lusk, acting Lord Mayor, and the two afterwards proceeded to the Dock House, where they had an interview with the Committee. The Cardinal addressed the Committee at some length on the gravity of the crisis, the injury which was being done to trade, &c., and urged the sacrifice even of a problematic dividend in preference to a continuance of a state of things which might increase in intensity, and lead to far-reaching and deplorable results. Sir Andrew Lusk followed on the same side, and insisted that the Dock Companies had no right to take up an isolated and untenable position, which they were not strong enough to carry through, and which, until the inevitable surrender, had created great injury to trade, great privation among the poor, and considerable irritation to the public. Mr. Norwood replied, thanking the Cardinal

and the Alderman for their well-intentioned efforts, and stating the Committee's view of the position. But the Directors afterwards stated that they were able to explain various matters on which Cardinal Manning had not been informed before. Another way of saying the Cardinal was in ignorance in regard to the very matters upon which he ought to have been thoroughly well-informed before he presumed to instruct practical business men.

An appeal was issued by leading employers of labour and was posted in the East of London. It called upon the working men lately in the employment of the signatories to forthwith return to duty, and thus end the present state of affairs, which, the appeal said, "if continued will have a disastrous effect upon the interests of the nation at large, upon the interests directly of the Port of London, and will permanently injure the business by which working men have hitherto earned their livelihood. The employers on the river," the appeal went on to say, "are not connected with the dispute between the Dock Companies and their employes, and no good object, but the reverse, can be attained by paralysing the carrying trade of London by water, and thus diverting traffic, both coastwise and continental, to the railway routes" signed by the following companies and firms: The General Steam Navigation Company, J. Hartley and Co., J. Owen, Leach and Co., D. C. Thomas and Co., W. France (Limited), Little and Johnston, Arnati and Harrison, Antwerp Shipping Company, Treport Shipping Company, Hagan and Co., Jacobs and Co. (South Devon Wharf), Sollas and Sons, Tees Union Shipping Company, Tyne Shipping Company, Little Western Steam Shipping Company, Henry Burden, junior, and Co., of Poole, J. Greig (Free Trade Wharf), Phillips and Graves, Amsterdam Steam Shipping Company, Netherlands Steam Shipping Company, North German Lloyd's, Thule Steam Shipping Company, Stockholm Steam Shipping Company, Clyde Shipping Company, Carron Company, London and Edinburgh Shipping Company, Aberdeen Steam Navigation Company, Dundee, Perth, and London Shipping Company, and W. H. Carey and Sons.

Colonel Birt stated that the question of extra pay for the lowest class of labour at the rate of artisan's pay was complicated by demands on the part of labourers who were receiving from 30s. to £2 a week, and who required 20 per cent. additional if the other outside labourers were successful.

Considerable apprehension began to prevail in the East End as to the probable conduct of the strikers. It was stated that, although the men had been well-behaved up to the present, they had now got an idea that the Dock Companies were trying to starve them into submission. "So strong is this feeling becoming that should the leaders of the agitation give the men the least encouragement to commit acts of disorder and violence, opportunities would soon be found by a large number of those now out of employment to wreak their vengeance on some of the large firms concerned in the dispute."

Burns, visiting the Docks in the early morning, learned that on the previous night some men had been induced by certain wharfingers to recommence work under the impression that they had the sanction of Mr. Burns and other leaders to do this. Tillett, however, on hearing the facts, visited the places where these men had begun to work, whereupon they at once suspended their labour and

again went out on strike.

At a meeting on Tower Hill Burns said that a letter had been just put into his hands. The writer was a shareholder of the Steam Navigation Company, and had sent a £5 note to the strike fund. In his speech he said: "The Directors of the Dock Companies had apparently lost all idea of consistency, and they had no more idea of fair fighting than they had of managing their own Docks. In fact they were the very embodiment of everything that was ungentlemanly and discourteous. Their obstinacy was quite criminal, and might lead to disastrous consequences. The attitude of the Dock Directors reminded him of the Egyptian chameleon, which one day was green and the next yellow; but these Directors would be as blue as possible before they were done with them. They had decided to fight the Directors, and would do so resolutely hand over fist before they would give way in this agitation. The Directors had stated that their backs were up; but his (Mr. Burns') was not yet up. When it was the Dock Companies would know it. On the previous day they had sat in solemn conclave for six hours, and, like the mountain in labour, they brought forth a mouse, which was the offspring of the rat Norwood. The Directors on Monday would not arbitrate; on Wednesday they conceded four of the five points demanded by those on strike; and yesterday they turned a complete somersault, and issued a manifesto which the Dock Labourers utterly repudiated and would have nothing to do with. They would have no 5d. an hour, but would continue in their present position until they got the 'tanner.' They had decided to have four hours clear, and any man working less than that time should

be entitled to 28. This the Directors were willing to give. If the men accepted the proposal that contract work was to be converted into piecework as soon as practicable, they would be degraded to the contemptible vacillation displayed by Norwood and his dirty crew. They had heard of Norwood in the Plimsoll agitation, and therefore they could not be surprised at anything he did. They were now face to face with a bigger agitation than that raised by Mr. Plimsoll." Burns then read the no-work manifesto, which was received with loud cheers, and said that "not an inch of the ground would he yield until the industries of London were paralysed and the Dock Directors had to concede to the labourers under pressure what they now refused in the name of humanity, justice, and fair play."

Mr. Wilson, Secretary of the Seaman's and Fireman's Union, said that if the directors obtained "scabs" from the country to load the ships, not a single fireman nor sailor would work on the vessels. He also said that if the coal owners of Northumberland and Durham insisted on loading ships by means of "scabs" he would go and ask the miners to refuse to work if any part of that coal was

for working any of the vessels now lying in the Docks.

Burns stated that he had communicated with all the continental ports, and that the labour newspapers of Belgium, France, and Germany were notifying their working men not to come to England.

Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P. said there had never been such a strike in the history of Labour, which was international not national. He advised them to object to all offers of arbitration, as plenty of help was coming in. Every trade was on their side, and by paralysing all industry and thereby showing their strength victory would be sure to follow.

It was stated that the leaders of the strike had appointed picketing parties to wait on all the large firms with a view to inducing all the workmen, both skilled artizans and labourers, to stay away from their work on Monday and swell the ranks of the strikers.

Mr. James Mitchell, manager of the Dunde: Wharf, stated that out of the 70 men brought from Dundee he had induced 21 to stay, the other 40 had been called on by the pickets and fetched out. Most of them afterwards came to him again and begged him either to take them on to work again or to send them home, as the Strike Committee would not allow them anything after the pickets had got them out. Thirty-three delivery men whom he had obtained

yesterday morning had given him notice that they were going out, and the remaining 21 Dundee men had also done the same.

The Secretary of the Gas, Light and Coke Company stated that the labourers employed by the Company for transferring the coal to the stages have now joined the strike, and the stokers, though themselves still working, are so far in sympathy with the strikers that they refuse to stoke any coal brought by outsiders to the stages. They will use up the coal which yet remains, and which was brought to them before the strike began; but if the Companies bring in new hands, of whom, by the way, there is no lack, the stokers will at once throw down their tools."

Thus it appeared probable that the gas mains of the Company would be deprived of gas. When this is done a temporary vacuum is formed which soon becomes filled with atmospheric air. This forms a very dangerous compound, which has caused most disastrous explosions.

Meeting of Working Lightermen was held to consider the following proclamation which had been issued by the Court of the Watermen's Company:

"That in consequence of the Freemen of the Company having very suddenly left their employment without assigning any cause beyond their sympathy with the Dock labourers and a certain amount of intimidation on the part of others, thereby causing enormous loss to the commercial interests of the port of London, the attention of the Freemen be called to the 64th Section of the Company's Act, which provides-' If any lighterman or waterman to whom a license is granted in pursuance of this Act is guilty of such misconduct or acts of incompetency while working as a lighterman or waterman as in the opinion of the said Court of Master Wardens and assistants to disqualify him either wholly or partially from holding such license, such Court may, after hearing what he has to urge in his defence and subject to an appeal to the said Conservators of the River Thames, who may revoke or modify the order of the said Court, endorse, suspend, or cancel altogether any license he may hold.' The above Section explains to the Freemen the grave responsibilities they have incurred, and the Court therefore earnestly advises the men to return to their work without further delay .- L. S. WHYTE, Clerk."

The tone of the meeting was in favour of standing firm by the men's demands.

Stokers of the Kingston Gas Company asked for the eight-hour

system and at the same time for an increase of pay. The Directors granted both points, and in addition decided that work should cease on Saturday at one o'clock instead of four.

The Welsh iron workers in the district of Ebbw Vale, served notices upon their employers for an advance of 10 per cent. in wages.

Three thousand mechanics at Keighley struck for an advance in wages.

On it becoming known at Liverpool that Dock labourers were required to work the Allan line of steamers sailing from London, there was a great rush of labourers at the Liverpool office of the firm. In fact, the help of the police had to be invoked to maintain order. One hundred men were selected and left Liverpool by special train for London.

A public meeting to express sympathy with and organise help for the London Dock labourers was held in Smith Street Board Schools, Birmingham, under the presidency of Councillor Whateley. A committee was appointed, and it was determined to make workshop and street collections, to issue collecting cards, and to invite subscriptions from several trade societies. A considerable sum was at once subscribed, including 10s. and an offer of 10s. per week as long as the strike was peaceably conducted, from the well-known ex-Chartist, the Rev. Arthur O'Neill.

The Wharf Labourers' Union of Brisbane, Australia, and the Federated Seamen's Union of the same city, sent respectively £ 150 and £ 100 to the editor of Reynolds' Newspaper, to assist the striking labourers in London.

As a van laden with bedding, which it was supposed was for the men employed in the Docks, proceeded down the Whitechapel Road it was attacked by the strikers. A large body of men followed the van till it reached Great Garden Street, and here the blankets and other bedding material were torn into shreads. A body of police succeeded in rescuing the van, which was removed by them under a strong escort to a place of safety in the vicinity.

Mr. Sydney Buxton wrote to *The Times* a letter in which he said:

"The question in dispute has thus resolved itself into the demand on the part of the men that a *minimum* wage of 6d. an hour and 8d. an hour overtime shall be paid for time work. More than this

the men have not asked; less than this they are not in a position to accept; and I should be much obliged if I might attempt to put the case of the men before the public in as few words as possible. I write, it must be understood, solely on my own responsibility.

"On the moral and social ground, the men argue that 5d. an hour (the amount now given) is, even for regular work, a very low pay, while for irregular work it amounts simply to a starvation

wage

"Moreover, if the Company is not in a position to meet this small addition to their annual labour bill, the wharfingers have shown them how, in conjunction with themselves, they can, by a slight rearrangement of the rates now charged, recoup themselves, and that the general public as consumers would, I feel sure, be perfectly ready to bear their share of the burden.

"The justice of the men's claims has been admitted by the wharfingers, who, if only the Dock Company could agree, are prepared practically to pay the men on the terms, and in the mode demanded.

"The justice of the men's claims is, it is understood, generally

admitted also by the shipowners

"The demand of the men is not a great one, and it could be met without injury to the interests of the Dock. The responsibility for any disorder that may arise from the prolongation of the strike will rest on the shoulders of the Directors if they allow any personal feeling or false pride to stand in the way of an immediate and satisfactory settlement of the dispute."

Mr. Edward Boyle, a Dock Director, stated in the *Times*, that the total gross profit of the Docks for the past six months was

£234,000 on a capital of £17,000,000. He said that:

"Of the 90,000 men alleged to be on strike only about 5,000 are the Docks' labourers. Of all the labour employed less than one-third is paid for at 5d. per hour, and this, although the lowest price, is the dearest labour obtained. In 1872 the wages were raised from 4d. to 5d. per hour, and certain charges 25 per cent. The charges have long since had to be reduced, but the wages notwithstanding all the Dock troubles, have never been lowered."

He also expressed the opinion that:

"The extent of the present strike appears to many to be largely due to certain Members of Parliament, would-be Members of Parliament, and others who rush into and support an agitation about which some of them know little, and are too busy and too careless carefully to inquire. . . . Subscriptions to the strike mean a continuation of the present mob law, with all its thousand-and-one inconveniences."

Mr. H. R. King, Secretary of the Society of Journaymen Bookbinders, wrote to the *Times* with reference to the "No Strike" Manifesto in these terms:

"Sir,—At an Executive meeting of this Society this evening, it was resolved that this executive, whilst deeply sympathising with the just and moderate demands of the Dock labourers, emphatically protest against the rash and unwarrantable manifesto of the Strike Committee calling upon men totally unconnected with the occupation of the men affected to come out of work, and thus render the situation more involved and the possibilities of help less. They warn all members of their own trade not to heed such advice, but to remain at work and give such pecuniary help as they can possibly give on such an emergency. We further earnestly exhort all other trades not immediately connected with the dispute pending to join with them in the endeavour to prevent such a fearful calamity as the advice contained in the manifesto issued to-day would undoubtedly bring about. At the same time this Committee sends £5 to Mr. Burns as a temporary help until further empowered."

Mr. Hugh C. Smith, of Hayes' Wharf, wrote to the *Times* to say that without a rise in the rates no rise in wages was possible.

Major Banes, M.P., writing to the Times, said :

"I have been to-day engaged with the wharfingers (of whom I am one) and the Dock Directors endeavouring to effect a settlement; but I am astounded to find, and sorry to say, that the interference of persons on both sides who are practically ignorant of the facts, who, it would seem, only seek to interpose for political purposes, or their own personal interests and aggrandisement, has so confused and mystified the real question that I am not surprised a satisfactory settlement, which ought to be, and could be, made in a very short time by practical men only meeting and discussing the differences that exist, has been so prolonged, and, in my opinion, is as far off as ever, unless it be one forced on by exigencies. This, I fear, will not only be unsatisfactoy, but will leave behind it the bitterness and ill-feeling, which, in the interest of all concerned in the welfare of the country, should never exist between employers and employed."

A correspondent of the *Times*, connected with the coal trade, wrote to say that on the previous day at Warwick Road depot and West Kensington a mob of men entered the coal yards, and, in spite of the loaders and carmen at work stating they had received the advance and were satisfied, this crowd of men, of unknown trades, presumably from the East-end, proceeded to stop all work, pitching those men who refused from the trucks, breaking weighing-

machines, turning the coal already loaded out of the vans, and cutting the harness from horses—this in full view of a small body of police, who did not attempt to interfere.

Another correspondent wrote to say that he was about to send a cheque for £50 to the Strike Fund, but when he heard of the "No Work Manifesto," he determined to keep his £50 in his pocket.

The *Times* in its leader assumed that the arrangement agreed to by the Dock Companies, as it practically conceded the whole of the men's demands, would be accepted by them, and the strike thereby ended; and it congratulated the inhabitants of the Metropolis upon what it hoped was the conclusion of a most irritating and vexatious quarrel. The *Times* proceeded thus:

"This arrangement has come just in time to save the situation on both sides. The Dock Companies cannot be congratulated upon the manner in which they have dealt with the crisis. A little strategical ability would have enabled them to effect a retreat from an essentially untenable position, in which they were exposed to the hostility of their workmen on one side, and of their customers on the other. Their insistence upon their right to unload vessels, instead of leaving shipowners to do their own work in their own way, is at the bottom of the whole mischief. In order to carry out that system and make a profit out of it they have had recourse to means for procuring labour which are indefensible upon any principles but those of the harshest and most reckless competition. Their permanent servants are, we believe, fairly treated and well paid, but the casual labourers required by the exigencies of the work they have taken upon themselves must rank among the most wretched of the industrial classes. It is all very well for the Directors to plead that there is an enormous surplus of such labour, and that the men they employ are at least better off than if they had no employment at all. But the fact remains that they have encouraged the growth of this wretched and shiftless class by their daily distribution, haphazard, of an uncertain quantity of employment, and that the relations established between them and these casual labourers are of a thoroughly demoralizing and inhuman kind."

The obvious remedy for this state of things, in the opinion of the *Times*, was to allow the shipowners to do their work in their own way and to charge a fair rent for the use of the premises, and it concluded that this would in future be done. As a matter of fact, however, it has not been done. The zeal of the shipowners

for doing it, although it was very fervid during the Dock Strike seems to have cooled down very considerably since.

With regard to the strikers, the *Times* thought the strain of the situation was becoming too severe for them, and that they were on the eve of forfeiting that public sympathy which was their main stay, and then it proceeded thus:

"Even those most favourably disposed towards them could not but feel that the manifesto posted yesterday morning at the headquarters of the strike committee altered the aspect of the whole movement and necessitated a reconsideration of the issues involved from the point of view of public interest. That manifesto, calling upon all the trade associations of London to order a general strike on Monday unless the Companies made unconditional surrender, was nothing less than a deliberate attack upon the social organisation of the Metropolis. However keenly the public may sympathise with the desire of the Dock labourers to roast their pig, it cannot be expected to view with favour an attempt to burn down its house in order to attain that end. Dock labourers after all are only a small fraction of the inhabitants of London, and they must contrive to fight their battles with weapons less destructive and far reaching than those to which their leaders recommended them to resort. Indeed this manifesto, taken together with the somewhat truculent utterances of Mr. John Burns, will lead many to review the conduct of the strike in a less charitable frame of mind. Wild projects for throwing the whole Metropolis into confusion after offers had been made conceding by far the larger part of the men's claims arouse the suspicion that the leaders had other objects and aims than the ostensible one of improving the condition of the casual labourers. In this connection it will be remembered that the very sudden and peremptory summons to the Dock companies is somewhat difficult to reconcile with a boná fide desire for an amicable settlement. There is some suspicion of an experiment in this agitation, designed to test the feasibility of larger schemes. It will be well for those who have made it not to delude themselves with the notion that they will be permitted to apply coercion to society at large. A little further development of the intimidation which had begun to show itself in rather too prominent a manner would have called for energetic measures, while under no circumstances can the feeding and lighting of the Metropolis be allowed to lie at the mercy of any body of labourers, however genuine may be their grievances."

August 31st.—General disappointment felt on account of the failure of the attempts which had been made to settle the dispute.

The "No Work" Manifesto universally condemned as a criminal blunder. The *Times* special correspondent said "it was a blunder because in the first place it alienated the sympathy of the public from the men temporarily and from their leaders permanently."

The Dock Directors claimed that the leading wharfingers were with them, and this was confirmed by several of the wharfingers themselves.

The Dock Directors said the terms which had already been offered to the strikers were very liberal, and the public were very foolish to say that the Directors should give in. It was a matter which affected many interests, and the shipping owners had absolutely refused to submit to any increase in their rates.

In the afternoon further conference took place between the representatives of the various interests concerned, Burns, Champion, and Tillett being present. It was stated that Tillett and Burns had had serious differences, one point in dispute being as to who was really the head of the strike.

Burns and Tillett submitted to the Dock Directors the following proposition, which was the outcome of previous conferences betwixt a section of the wharfingers, headed by Mr. H. Lafone, and the strike leaders:

"36, Mark-lane, London, August 30th, 1889.

"Proposed agreement between Dock Companies, Wharfingers, Granary-keepers, and Workmen.

"Wages and conditions made with men:

"Outsiders called in not to be discharged with less than 2s.

pay.

"That contract work shall be abandoned, and a system of piecework be substituted by which the men shall receive the total gross receipts of the job direct from the companies, drawing in the meantime a *minimum* of 6d. per hour ordinary time, and 8d. per hour overtime, for their work as long as the job lasts.

"The shares of the plus to be divided as follows:

"The share of each man and each foreman to be equal.

"The pay for casual work to be 6d. per hour for the first four hours, if only working for that time; if for longer, then at the rate of 4s. for nine hours, and 6d. per hour from nine to 12 hours, with an allowance of half-an-hour for dinner.

"Overtime 8d. per hour. Overtime to be reckoned from 6 p.m.

till 6 a.m., or 8 p.m. till 8 a.m.

"Regular men may be engaged at not less than 24s. per week.

"We, the undersigned, representatives of Dock Workers and others now on strike, pledge ourselves to have the following terms faithfully carried out at each dock, wharf, granary, or warehouse where the above terms are agreed on:

"1st. That men shall not work at any dock or wharf on less

wages or worse terms than those stated above.

and. That men shall immediately return to work at all docks, wharves, or granaries where terms as per list herewith have been agreed to.

"3rd. That all lightermen shall at once resume work, agreeing

to submit any grievance they may have to abitration.

"4th. Coal-workers to resume work at once.

"To avoid any delay in work being resumed, it is requested that each Dock Company, Wharfinger, or Granary-keeper will consent to the above terms in writing. It is most important that these consents should be in the hands of Mr. H. Lafone, at 36, Marklane, as early as possible."

After the conference the Dock Committee issued the following

statement:

" August 31st. 1889.

"London and India Docks Joint Committee.

"During the day Mr. Burns, accompanied by Mr. Tillett, called at the Dock-house, and had an interview with the Docks Joint Committee, and submitted a proposal which, he stated, he thought would not be rejected by those whom he represented. This proposition is subjoined,

"The Joint Committee, having, in consultation with the representatives of the other Dock Companies and with the leading wharfingers and warehouse-keepers in London, given the most serious and careful consideration to this proposition, sent the fol-

lowing reply:

"' Dock-house, 109, Leadenhall-street,

August 31st, 1889.

"'Sir,—The Joint Committee, after consultation with the leading wharfingers and representatives of the other Dock Companies, regret that they are not prepared to entertain the proposal submitted to them by you to-day. The committee feel bound to add that they have the assurance of those wharfingers that the statement made by you that the latter had assented to the proposition is incorrect.

"'I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"'C. M. Norwood, Chairman.

"' Mr. Burns."

"The committee take this opportunity of repeating that they are willing at all times to see any of their servants who may be selected by the general body, and, subject to the conditions of their notice of the 29th inst., to discuss any question in regard to which those in their employ may consider there is ground of complaint.

"By order,

"HENRY J. MORGAN, Secretary."

Tillett, in an interview, stated that the strikers had received over £900 that day, including large sums from Australia, and also that Cardinal Manning had throughout the strike been "a most cordial sympathiser with the strikers,"

At a meeting in Southwark Park, Mr. H. Quelch, speaking as a leader of the Social Democratic Federation, entirely carried the meeting with him in a denunciation of what he characterised as the mad manifesto which the Strike Committee had issued, calling for a general strike. He was glad to learn it had that morning been withdrawn; but the mischief it had done was most deplorable. He was astounded when it was issued, and the branch of the Labourers' Union, which he had joined, at once passed a strong resolution condemning it, which was sent to the Central Committee. If the manifesto had not been withdrawn, he was certain it would have proved a miserable fiasco. Not one man in 100 would have responded to it. He believed a general strike would be legitimate if it were thoroughly acted on and due time were given to prepare for it, but to call for a general strike without proper organisation would have caused such a paralysis in every direction that London would have been starving by Wednesday. He was certain the manifesto was the work of an enemy to the cause of Labour, a Socialist, whose name had not appeared much during the strike, but who had great influence over John Burns, and who had injured the workers on a former occasion.

A meeting, convened by Liberal and Radical Associations, in support of the strikers was held at London Fields, which was addressed by Mr. J. Stuart, M.P., Mr. Cremer, M.P. and Mr. J. Rowlands, M.P.

At the meeting on Tower Hill, Mr. Henry, Secretary of the Central Democratic Club, alluding to the criticisms of the London Press, stated that he cared nothing for the capitalist press of the

Metropolis, which was written by "jackasses for people who paid them very well to write jackasseries."

Burns aunounced the receipt of £100 from the compositors of London; £250 from the Dock Labourers' Association of Australia; £25 from Lady Ripon, and £5 from Mr. Samuel Plimsoll.

Tillett read the following letter:

"I am a Dock Shareholder without a dividend. I do not want one at the expense of the badly paid labourers. I send you £5 for the strike fund, and hope you will hold on firmly, and then you will win.—Yours truly, A Dock Shareholder."

Mr. Tom Mann said negotiations were going on between the representatives of the Dock Labourers and the Wharfingers, but they were only being conducted on the lines laid down in the manifesto which the Strike Committee had issued. The coalheavers were demanding an increase of ½d. per ton, and if it was not granted, London would in 36 hours be in darkness. The Gas Workers would take up the cause of the Coal Labourers, and even now negotiations were proceeding with the Durham and other miners to prevent coals not only being sent to the London ports, but their being taken out of the pits.

Mr. Cuninghame Graham. M.P., addressing the strikers at the East India Dock gates, said: "They were not fighting merely for the increase of id. an hour, but were fighting a battle between the capitalists and the down-trodden Dock Labourers. They were on outpost duty in a great battle betwixt Capital and Labour that was now raging in every industrial centre in Enzland, Scotland, France, America, Italy, and Spain. It was for this that the Dock Labourers had been called out, and if they went on persevering as they had done in the past, victory would be theirs."

During the speeches a Socialist flag was brought on to the ground, whereupon the greater number of those present demanded that it should be taken down, saying they did not want Socialism brought into the strike.

Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P. significantly said: "Revolutions are not made with rose water."

At a meeting held on Clerkenwell Green in support of the dockers, the speakers spoke in high terms of how the police had performed their duties, and said that they knew that they as a body had some genuine grievances that ought to be remedied, besides which they were entitled to an increase of wages, and that if they

wished for assistance after this strike was terminated they would assist them.

[ There was a good deal of this fulsome eulogy of the police during the strike, which might almost be taken as prima facie evidence that the police did not do their duty. It is significant that a strike occurred among the police themselves shortly afterwards.]

Three thousand tailors struck in the East End, their demands being that their hours of labour should be reduced to a maximum of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  a day without any decrease in wages. The masters were willing to reduce the number of hours, subject to a corresponding reduction of wages.

Committee of the Great Eastern Railway workmen at Stratford asked the Mayor of West Ham to call a public meeting at the Stratford Town Hall "for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Dock labourers on strike, and to raise a fund on their behalf."

At Messrs. Beadle Brothers, Erith, who cringed before the strikers in so contemptible a manner, the strike still continued. Messrs. Beadle offered certain concessions, and stated that the yards would be opened on Monday when, if their men refused to go in, they would refuse to employ them any more, and would get other labour to carry on the business. Their premises were closely picketed.

The superintendent of the main drainage works at Crossness, near Plumstead, wrote to the Central Strike Committee requesting, for the sake of the public health, that the labourers who had been engaged in the purifying process might be allowed to return to their work. These men, more than one hundred in number, all struck at the bidding of a deputation from the committee. It does not appear that they had any special complaint. The strike of the men engaged in constructing the extension works at the same outfall was of less consequence to the public, although it suspended a contract involving £250,000, and threw nearly four hundred bricklayers, excavators, and other workmen out of employ. Mr. Webster, the contractor, had recently increased his labourers' wages from 5d. to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour, but they now demanded 6d., although their employment was continuous.

At Bourne, Lincolnshire, sixteen Dock strikers from London were brought up on a charge of vagrancy. Large parties of these men were passing through the country to Boston, Grimsby, and Hull in search of work. They visited farmhouses in bodies demanding food.

September 1.—Another demonstration in Hyde Park, attended by much smaller numbers, however, owing probably to the issue of the "No Strike" Manifesto. Tom Mann said they had not come to celebrate victory but to insist upon a fresh declaration of war. He contended that the strikers had commanded the sympathy of the public, as shown by the facts that £500 had come from Australia, £100 from London compositors, another £100 from London machine printers, and £200 from the Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Mr. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., "dealt sharply with the avaricious shareholders who had refused to pay the men sufficient to properly maintain life."

Mr. Steadman, secretary of the Barge Builders' Society, blamed the Trades Council for not supporting the strikers at first, and denounced some leading trade unionists.

Mr. Douglas, of the Boiler Makers and Steam Ship Society, urged that there should be a general federation of all labour, not (he said) with an idea of injuring Capital, but in order to secure to the workers their share of the capital they created. He advised his fellowworkers, if called upon to repair ships loaded up by "rat" labour, to "open up" the repairs, and then refuse to finish them.

Mr. M'Carthy, Secretary of the Stevedores, boasted that they had behind them the sympathies of the whole United Kingdom, from the lowest trade to those who occupied life's most prominent positions. He concluded in these terms:

"What had they at their backs now, and what had the Dock Companies? The Dock Companies had vanity and stupidity. The strikers had the bulldog tenacity of the Englishman, the enthusiastic spirit of the Irishman, and the fierce pertinacity of the Scotchman. With these three qualities united they would never rest till they had crushed the Dock Companies—until they came to the strikers on their bellies like the serpents they were and give way. Moreover, they would yet have, by means of the London County Council, or some similar body—and they would never rest till they got it—the control of the Dock Companies."

John Burns said that so far as he was concerned the strike was just begun. Referring to the negotiations which had gone on, he said:

"No more interviews until Williams, the Secretary, and Norwood the Chairman had had to resign through pressure from public

opinion and from the Shareholders; no more interviews until the

Directors completely climbed down." He also said:

"The strike had passed through three phases. The first was one of contempt; the second was one of pity; and the third was one of respect and admiration. He was not a Jingo, he was a cosmopolitan, if ever there was one; but he must say that he was proud of being a Briton that day, and of being a citizen of this grand old London of ours. It seemed to him, knowing what he knew about the strike, that for the first time during this century the people of London, rich and poor, had risen to the level of London's best traditions. It was, indeed, remarkable that 130,000 men should go through the City of London saluting and being saluted by the police, while the middle-class men from their office windows who formerly frowned upon them, now relaxed into a smile, and accompanied that smile with a material contribution towards the strikers' support. The strike had touched the chords and had touched the pulses of the City, and he believed it had touched them to such an extent that the citizens would respond to the strikers' application to the extent of winning the fight right through the line. There had been several intermediaries in the strike. One of the best was Cardinal Manning. To see the venerable, grand old Cardinal, full of high tastes and of the best culture, a man of strong nervous temperament, a man full of genuine pity and sympathy, going at 80 years of age into the same room as the rat Norwood was a shocking sight indeed. Let them just picture one of the true types, one of the best types of the Englishman degrading his past life, degrading his character, by trying to negotiate with a man who had lost all sense of decency, all regard for manly and gentlemanly conduct. He was surprised that Cardinal Manning's presence did not make him leave the room abashed, ashamed and degraded at his infamous conduct during the strike. . . . The Dock Directors would yield, but it took a long while. Well, it took a boa constrictor a long while to swallow a rabbit or a pig, and before it did do so it had to lick it all round until it could swallow it. The Dock Directors were licking the Dockers' "tanner" and they would have to swallow it at a gulp. Some people were under the impression that the strike could not go on much longer. Let them make no mistake. £2,000 came in on Saturday. Nearly £1,000 came from the colonies, and that was the kind of federation Britons appreciated—a federation that would weld by human sympathy and by material action workers' rights throughout the world into one mass. . . . Let them remember that if there was one thing that should urge them on to victory it was the moan of their hungry children and the suffering of their patient wives, on whose behalf he urged them to go forward and to make greater sacrifices, so that

success might be reached. He had done his speech but not his work. On the following morning they would resume the campaign with horse, foot, and artillery. There would be no show parties on the morrow. Every one of the Dockers must turn out with renewed vigour and renewed determination. They must clear out all the blacklegs that were left in the London Docks. They would have them out and they would have them in-out of the Docks and into their ranks. He was not pleased with one or two speakers who had twitted some sections of society. He must say, and he said it not disrespectfully, that the masher of Pall Mall had thrown aside his masherdom and had helped the Dockers in this strike. The middle-class man with any salt in him had generously subscribed. The aristocrat himself had come to the Committee Rooms and had asked to be allowed to help. . . . . This was the truth, that in the East End of London two millions of people, by that strike and by that agitation, had landed themselves on a higher plane, had sunk their petty vices, had become morally and ethically infused with an ideal that they could not attain to without the strike. To the workmen who were selfish, to the workmen who were ignorant, to the workmen who were prejudiced, he specially addressed himself, and asked them to raise themselves to the level of the Docker, and to raise themselves to the level of the Docker's wife, who, with pinched face and child in arms, had learnt to suffer and be strong."

After Burns' speech, a man pressed through the crowd and handed Burns a sovereign with the words "from an American citizen." Mr. Burns again rose and said that: "Three days ago three ships came into the port of London manned by American sailors. These sailors were asked to unload the cargo at 2s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. an hour. They declined to do it and joined the strike. That moment an American capitalist handed him a sovereign towards the strike. They would give a cheer for the American stars, and the stripes they would give to Norwood and his gang."

Ben Tillett said: "He had worked on this question without help for 2½ years, but he was ashamed to say that now the so-called labour representatives were absent while the most momentous struggle of modern times was taking place, and the greatest movement that ever roused London was seething and swelling on every hand. The poorest of the poor had been lifted from the gutter, and men who had long been despised were holding up their heads. Men who had suffered in silence and had only groaned out their misery were now rising in their strength, but the Broadhursts and the Shiptons were not to be seen. They had got so used to being the lap-dogs of society that they forgot the duty they owed to the

men who made them what they were, and the very men who ought to have helped the Dockers had stood aloof."

During the procession to the Park there was a halt of half-an-hour at Westminster. The *Times* correspondent said: "Apparently money was not scarce among the processionists; certain it is that the consumption of beer was very large and that the publichouses in the neighbourhood were crammed to repletion."

It was announced at the Hyde Park demonstration that the strike leaders unreservedly withdrew the "No Work" Manifesto, and had issued in its place another manifesto, which ran as follows:—

## " Manifesto.

"Wade's Arms, Jeremiah-street, Poplar, Sept. 1.

"Fellow-countrymen,-Since Thursday night we have received ample evidence that it is the Dock Directors alone who are responsible for delaying the settlement of the dispute. During the last 48 hours we have had convincing proof that the public opinion amongst all classes declares that the demands of the Dock labourers are just and reasonable, and we have been inundated with offers of assistance, provided that our attack is confined to the few men who are willing to plunge the Metropolis into anarchy rather than admit themselves to be in the wrong. We are determined to show that we are not actuated by such miserable vanity as our opponents, and that the working classes are as superior to the Dock Directors in true nobility of character as in capacity to manage their own business. We therefore hereby cancel our appeal to the workers of London to come out on strike on Monday, and invite them instead to strain every nerve and to make every sacrifice to supply us with the sinews of war. Especially we ask the organized trades in the provinces as well as in London to send us at once the largest contributions they can afford. Though the Dock Directors remain obdurate, a certain number of the wharfingers and granary keepers have offered to give terms to their men which, though falling short of the original demands of the men, we might have advised them to consider, had they been conceded by the whole of the masters; but we cannot divide our forces in the face of an enemy so unscrupulous as the Dock Directors. While thanking these few masters for their conciliatory attitude, we determine that the strike among the Dock labourers and allied trades shall go on until the whole question is settled by the granting of every item of the moderate demands originally made by the men. In spite of the irritation engendered by the conduct of the Directors and the terrible sufferings their obstinacy is causing, we have sufficient confidence in the courage

and self-restraint of the strikers to be assured that they will maintain the demeanour which has won them the sympathy of the public. We believe the public will respond to our call for help with a promptitude and generosity that will enable us to relieve the suffering. Meanwhile the docker starves, but does not surrender."

At Darlington a demonstration of North Eastern Railway servants was held to demand a ten hours day with extra payment for overtime and Sunday duty.

At Sheffield three meetings were held in support of the strikers in London. They were all convened and addressed by local Socialists.

September 2nd,—The deadlock at the Docks still continued. The shipowners were growing restive, and were in a state of something like revolt against the Dock Companies. A deputation, headed by Sir Donald Currie, waited upon the Dock Directors and submitted a resolution from the ship-owners, which stated that they considered it essential to the conduct of their business that they should have from the Dock Companies the power to discharge as well as load their vessels, and to make their own arrangements with their men. Mr. Norwood, in reply, said: "He had already expressed the opinion that it would be possible to allow the shipowners, on reasonable terms and conditions, to discharge their own ships. He had held that view for some time, and having consulted his colleagues, he could state that at a fitting moment they would be prepared to enter into the whole question. That moment would be when the great pressure now put upon the Dock Directors to the occupation of their whole time had passed." Mr. Norwood further stated that the Dock Companies had not for one hour ceased to perform their duties in the Docks. They had continued the unloading of all ships; and he reminded the ship-owners that if they had controlled the stevedores in their employ, as the Dock authorities had succeeded in controlling some of the workmen, the deadlock would never have been so great. In the course of his speech he also said:

"One of the aspects of the strike was more important, perhaps, than any other. The strike was now no longer a mere Dock Strike, but was an agitation aimed at Capital and employers generally. He, with his colleagues, had come to that conclusion somewhat earlier than other people, because, although allegations of incompetence were frequently hurled at the heads of the Board, they still had some little information, and he maintained that the

strike had become an organized attack upon the outposts of Capital with a view of raising the amount of pay for labour throughout the entire army of Labour in the East End of London. The Dock Companies had abundance of hands willing to work. They only wanted protection for those men who were frightened from the premises at which they were at work by the most brutal attacks ever perpetrated or designed on the liberty of Englishmen. If they could get that they would not have the slightest difficulty in carrying out their share of the business of the port."

The Dock Directors sent a telegram to the Chief Commissioner of Police warning him that some 6,000 or 7,000 men were to march to the Docks, taking the West India Docks first, with the object of not leaving a single man in the Docks, and a letter was sent to the Home Secretary conveying the same news.

An official declaration was made by the Joint Committee of the Dock Companies that they would have no further communication or converse with either Burns or Tillett, whom henceforth they refused to recognise. (Why did they not take this sensible course on the very first day of the strike?)

At daylight, gangs of men, who had evidently been drilled as pickets, placed themselves in front of the Dock entrances and other large centres of employment. No person entered the Dock without first being button-holed by these pickets, and many men who had come early in the hope of earning a few shillings made a hurried escape in order to get out of harm's way.

When the strikers found that men had been conveyed into the Tilbury Docks by rail direct, they made serious threats against the Railway Companies.

Near Wapping Station the strikers had a large blackboard on which was drawn a gallows with a man hanging, and the words "Norwood's doom," and the words "Ashes to ashes and dust to dust. If God don't take Norwood the dockers must."

A special meeting of wharfingers was held, attended by the principal wharfingers of the port, at which the following resolution was passed: "That the Docks having agreed to substitute piece-work, for contract work and to give a minimum pay of 2s., and further to consider any grievances their own servants may have, this meeting considers its terms should be accepted by their men."

The following proclamation from the authorities of Watermen's Hall to the lightermen was extensively posted:

## "To the Lightermen of the River Thames.

"At a special meeting of the court of the Watermen and Lightermen's Company, held on Wednesday, the 28th August,

1889, the following resolution was passed:

very suddenly left their employment, without assigning any cause beyond their sympathy with the Dock Labourers and a certain amount of intimidation on the part of others, thereby causing enormous loss to the commercial interests of the port of London, the attention of the freemen be called to the 64th section of the

Company's Act, which provides:

lighterman or waterman to whom a licence is granted in pursuance of this Act, is guilty of such misconduct, or acts of incompetency, while working as a lighterman or waterman, as in the opinion of the said court of master, wardens, and assistants, to disqualify him, either wholly or partially, from holding such license, such court may after hearing what he has to urge in his defence, and subject to an appeal to the said Conservators of the River Thames, who may revoke or modify the order of the said court, endorse, suspend, or cancel altogether any licence he may hold."

"The above section explains to the freemen the grave responsibility they have incurred, and the court therefore earnestly advises

the men to return to their work without further delay."

"Louis S. White, Clerk.

## "Watermen's Hall, London, E.C."

At a meeting held on Tower Hill, Tillett, in the course of his remarks said "the Dock Directors had dug their own grave and had already sunk into it. They would soon want the Dockers to pull them out, and as long as he had health he would hound Mr. Norwood from pillar to post."

Burns, after announcing a number of subscriptions, said that on Saturday £2,000 came in, and £500 was collected. He was receiving offers of help from every town in England. He also said, referring to the demonstration on London Fields, "that the two labour representatives there were miserable humbugs, who loafed about the smoking-room and lobby of the House of Commons. Their revenge would come when these men next asked for their votes."

He stated that on Sunday, after the meeting at Hyde Park, he was invited to meet Cardinal Manning, and his interview with the

Cardinal convinced him that the strike would soon be brought to a successful conclusion. He also said they were receiving contributions from the Directors and Shareholders of Dock Companies themselves. He continued: "Now that the Directors would not have reasonableness they would have hard slogging—as hard as they could give. If they were not able to win with one round of the gloves they would take them off and try another. At the demonstration on the previous day he collected in his hat £40 in ten minutes. At that gathering they saw society represented in all grades, from the aristocratic officer in the Guards, from whom he managed to wheedle half-a-sovereign, down to the most degraded from the slums. After the proceedings in the park they decided not to have a procession through the City that day, but to bombard the Docks with horse, foot, and artillery."

Mr. Burns further stated that when the strike was over the Dock Labourers would have to form Unions, and no stevedore must be allowed to put goods on a ship with, or work by, non-union men.

Four hundred porters at Willow-walk Station sent up a memorial to the Directors asking for a rise of 2s. a man.

Two hundred boys employed by Messrs. Hawkins, carmen and contractors, came out on strike for an increase of 2s. per week, their present wages being 10s. per week. They marched with banners through the neighbourhood and collected subscriptions.

A head official of the National Line of steamers stated that the leading shipping firms were in entire sympathy with the men.

It was stated that certain brokers were suffering to the extent of nearly £200 per day on account of demurrage, besides other losses which were due to the strike.

At Chatham some strikers visited a steamer named the Adam Smith, at Scott's Wharf, and managed, by strategy, to reach the vessel's side. They were met by the captain, who said that if his men would remain loyal, he would undertake to pitch overboard any striker who attempted to board the vessel. The men working on the steamer cheered the announcement, and the strikers thought discretion the better part of valour.

Messrs. Haymer, Messrs. Parker & Co., Messrs. Lambert, Bros., large coal merchants in Rochester, agreed to give their men the advance of wages asked for, but the men declined to resume work until all the firms had gone in. The price of coal had risen 2s. per ton.

Mr. Randell, M.P. for Gower, addressing a meeting of colliers on the Dock strike, cordially supported the attitude of the Dock labourers, and moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously: "That this meeting of Welsh miners pledges itself to support the men on strike at the Docks and wharves of London, and calls upon all Welsh workmen to assist the labourers in obtaining their rights." A substantial sum was collected and sent to Mr. Burns, and Mr. Randell, who is organizer of 50,000 tin-plate workmen of South Wales, Monmouthshire, and Gloucestershire, said that contributions would be forthcoming from that body.

At Liverpool, some men working on the Methley Hall asked for an advance from 5s. per day to 6s. and from 8d. an hour overtime to 1s. an hour. The master porters declined to give the advance, and the men ceased work.

A Reuter's telegram from Melbourne stated that universal sympathy was there felt with the London Dock labourers, and that meetings were being organized and subscriptions opened.

At a meeting at Melbourne £ 1,500 was collected on behalf of the London Dock labourers, and a resolution passed condemning the action of the Directors.

A telegram from Chicago stated that the Trades' Assembly of that city had passed a resolution which, dwelling upon the sympathy of the masses with the London strikes, advises the employer class to consider the possible advantages of joining with the labouring class in establishing a minimum wage rate sufficient to enable the least skilled to live decently, and introducing a normal working day of eight hours with steady employment for all workers.

Sir J. Whittaker Ellis, in a letter to the *Times*, emphasized the fact that the struggle had acquired a national importance, and was no longer a mere question of commerce but a question of State. Among other things he said: "We have trifled too much lately with political economy. Nevertheless, its decrees are unalterable either by Dock Companies or Labour strikes. Labour is a commodity as much as tea or Consols. It must be free to sell itself in the best market, and to makes its own bargain without interference; but it is the duty of the State to see that Labour can bargain with Capital on equal terms, and that organizations of professional agitators do not transgress the law by threats of personal injury or social ostracism now termed boycotting.

"The accounts given of the action of the strikers proceeding from yard to yard, and by threats and acts of violence coercing the men who would otherwise be only too glad to remain at work, are too numerous and uncontradicted not to justify the assertion that the State has not done its duty, and that mob law has been allowed to prevail; while the proportions which the movement has assumed entitle us to say that it is no longer a question of commerce. It has become a question of State.

"We now have to consider the other side. It will be urged, and fairly, that unless this violence be used the labourers are comparatively, if not absolutely, in the hands of the Dock Companies.

"Whether this is so or not I will not stay to inquire, it is enough for this to be urged to render it an affair not of commerce but of the State. The Statemust meet the responsibility thrown upon it, if it does not it will only put off an evil day ever to increase in intensity; the price will be the same, but the number of the Sibylline books will continue to decrease.

"Having carried matters thus far, I am bound to put forward what I believe to be the duty of Government. There are two courses open, one is to institute a court of inquiry as to the complaints of the men and the ability of the Dock Companies to meet their demands. Should the court so appointed arrive at the foregone conclusion that the men ought to have more money, but that the Dock Companies cannot afford to pay more (again a foregone conclusion), no doubt the British public will agree to the difference being paid out of the Consolidated Fund, or perhaps Sir A. Lusk and others who have proffered their gratuitous advice will raise a voluntary subscription.

"The other course, and that which I venture to say is the more statesmanlike, is to reduce the number seeking work at the Dock entrances until supply and demand raise the wages of the men by the natural action of economic law. This is only to be effectually done by providing for the superabundant population by State colonization. Mill says: 'There need be no hesitation in affirming that colonization in the present state of the world is the very best affair of business in which the Capital of an old and wealthy country can possibly engage.'"

He pointed out that the difficulty with which the Dock Companies were really contending was the difficulty of dealing with redundant populations, which had been the study of statesmen and politicians of all times.

At the Trade Union Congress, which opened in Dundee, the following resolution was unanimously adopted amid loud applause:

"That this Congress is of opinion that the Dock labourers of London are more than justified in the position that they have taken up, and considers that their employers are acting in a most tyrannical and arbitrary manner in refusing the moderate demands of the men. We, therefore recommend the trades of the United Kingdom to render the labourers their utmost financial support, believing that it will be conducive to the national interest that the condition of the labourers should be improved." A collection of £ 10 was made at the Congress on behalf of the London Dock labourers.

The *Times*, in its leader of this date, alluding to the disappointment of the anticipations which had prevailed as to a settlement of the strike, said:

"It was believed that a coalition, which the Dock Companies could not resist, had been formed between the wharfingers, the shipowners, and the Dock labourers. But, while a certain number of the wharfingers had agreed to the Dock labourers' terms, it now appears that a number of the leading firms, so far from authorizing the arrangement proposed by Mr. Lafone, took their stand on the side of the Dock Companies. In default of unanimity among the wharfingers, the shipowners naturally hang back, and the Dock Companies refuse to give way."

It pointed out that a new factor had entered into the struggle, namely, foreign money, which had added to the staying power of the strikers. On the question of an increase of rates, or an increase of charges, the *Times* said:

"There are few people competent to pronounce offhand how far the rise in Dock rates, which, it is said, must accompany a surrender to the labourers' demands, is a thing which the shipping trade will tolerate. We can only point to the sympathy which shipowners and merchants have largely shown with the men's demands as evidence, so far as it goes, that other portions of the community are willing to share the increased burden with the Dock companies."

After encouraging the strikers for a couple of weeks, the *Times* seemed at last to have found out that they were not quite so worthy of its encouragement as it had at first supposed them to be, as will appear from the following remarks:

"The intemperate character of some of those who have been chosen, or have chosen themselves, as the leaders of the Dock labourers is bearing fruit. The manifesto calling upon the whole body of the London workmen to strike in a body to-day, unless the demands of the Dock labourers were conceded, was orally withdrawn by the speakers in Hyde Park yesterday. It ought

never to have been issued. It was a wicked and reckless attempt to sacrifice the interests of four millions of Londoners to the claims of, comparatively speaking, a handful of persons. It had not even the excuse of being effective from the tactical point of view. chaos that could have been produced in other trades could have made the position of the Dock Companies worse. We do not believe for a moment that any attempt to give effect to the manifesto would have been successful, but such an attempt would have at once turned public sympathy into indignation. The issuing of the manifesto was as blind a move as it was reckless. So utterly miscalculated was the power of its utterers that it was withdrawn under pressure from the very trade-unions which it was intended to incite to action. If the Dock labourers are wise, the failure of this abominable manifesto will teach them how little Mr. John Burns's leadership is likely to hasten a settlement of the dispute. We say nothing of the hectoring and gratuitously insulting tone which this gentleman has observed towards his opponents, in both their public and their private capacities, although it is evident that that has embittered the course of negotiations. Mr. Burns is not the only person who has performed the converse process to that of throwing oil upon troubled waters. He has now met with an auxiliary, whose harangues, while not competing with those of Mr. Burns in offensiveness, are perhaps more remarkable for the inflammatory sentiments they express. Mr. Cuninghame Graham's remark, that 'revolutions are not made with with rose-water,' is open to the obvious rejoinder that neither are they suppressed with rose-water. It is a calamity for the strikers to own allegiance to such leaders as these, whose blatant vindictiveness is the very thing to stiffen the backs of the Dock Directors.

"The conduct of the strike, which began with a promise of studious moderation, has, in fact, developed tendencies which, unless speedily checked, must inevitably estrange from it all public good-will whatever. Intimidation, in particular, is playing a very definite part in the maintenance of the strike. The violence of the mobs gathered at the entrances to the Docks, and led by the pickets placed there by the strike committee, effectually prevents any exercise of free will by labourers who might be willing to assist the Dock Companies. These scenes go far to justify the condemnation passed upon the practice of picketing by a Royal Commission many years ago, as one which often leads to actual intimidation. It is instructive to notice that Mr. Burns yesterday enjoined his hearers to 'clear out all the blacklegs that were left in the London Docks.' If it is necessary that the strike should continue, it must be conducted with a proper regard for personal freedom. It must be confessed that the police have too often remained passive spectators of the rowdy violence offered to men who wished to be allowed to exercise their right of working for whomever they plesed. Perhaps the reason has been that the police were in insufficient force. But the avenues to the Docks do not cover so extensive an area that they are not capable of being thoroughly protected. It is the duty of the authorities to see that the game is played fairly, not with loaded dice."

Mr. T. Sutherland, M.P., writing to the *Times*, said that the P. and O. Company alone had lost £15,000 by the strike in a fort-

night.

September 3rd.—Strike still in full force, and dead-lock between Companies and dockers complete, although more work was being done in the Docks than during any previous day of the strike. It seemed probable that a solution of the difficulty might be found through the action of the ship-owners, who were still pressing their demand that the Dock Companies should allow them to discharge their own vessels. The answer of the Directors was that although they were well disposed towards the proposal of the ship-owners, they could only express their regret that they saw serious difficulties in the way of complying with their proposal at this juncture; and further, that as soon as the pressure of the strike was over they would be willing to meet the Committee named in Mr. Sutherland's letter of August 31. If in view of all this the men had been inclined to resume their work temporarily upon the terms last offered by the Dock Companies, an arrangement would speedily have been made by which the hiring of men for loading and unloading the vessels would have been left entirely in the hands of the ship-owners.

Money in support of the strikers was still coming in abundantly, the natural effect of which was to encourage the men to hold out to the bitter end.

Numbers of the labourers waited upon the Directors and expressed their willingness to return to work were it not for the fear of the consequences.

As soon as daylight broke gangs of pickets took up their position at every Dock entrance and in front of the wharves. Men who came to work were waylaid and persuaded to join the strikers. Another device of the strikers was to appoint several labourers to offer themselves to the managers as willing to work. When these got inside the Docks they at once set to work to persuade all the

other men at work to come out. Before breakfast, almost all the labourers had by these means been induced to join the strikers. The sailors on board the vessels also assisted the strikers by giving them information as to what was going on inside the Docks. It was estimated that the pickets on duty on this day numbered 15,000.

The strike epidemic was still spreading. About 6,000 tailors in the East End were out on strike, besides a large number of Jewish cigar makers, cigarette makers, and boot finishers.

The Dock Committee pointed out to the public that while the agricultural labourer was paid only  $2\frac{1}{2}d$ . per hour, 5d. per hour was paid at the Docks even to the most inferior class of labourers—the casuals. They also expressed regret at the violent attacks which were being made upon Mr. Norwood, and stated that throughout the strike Mr. Norwood had acted with the unanimous approval of all his colleagues in every respect, and that every one of them wished to take his full share of the responsibility for everything that had been done.

It was announced that the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Whitehead, was expected from Scotland in a day or two with a view of using his utmost efforts to bring about a settlement of the strike. It was stated that his lordship had all along been in favour of the contention of the men with regard to a rise in their wages. He was returning to intercede with the Dock Committee to come to a settlement with the labourers, and he would, if necessary, "convene a public meeting of the citizens of London to bring turther influence to bear on the parties to the strike to lead to a termination of the dispute in as speedy and as satisfactory a manner as possible."

A conference took place between the Dock Directors and representative shipowners. Mr. Norwood, who presided, said he could not see how the carrying out of the shipowners' suggestion could be beneficial, as the shipowners could not discharge their ships unless they had lightermen, and the lightermen did not show any disposition to resume work. He begged the shipowners not to persist in their demands at the present moment, although assuring them that the Dock Directors had every disposition to regard their wishes with respect. Sir Donald Currie, M.P., expressed his regret that there was no chance of an immediate acquiescence in the proposals of the shipowners by the Committee. Mr. Norwood, in the course of some

further remarks, mentioned that two ships of the Allan Line had been for days in the Millwall Dock unable to discharge, although this line always discharged their own ships. Ultimately a letter was given to the shipowners' representatives signed by Mr. Norwood on behalf of the Dock Committee which was as follows:

"Gentlemen,—The Joint Committee, having carefully considered the request made by a deputation of shipowners that they should, as a provisional step and subject to arrangements hereafter to be made, be permitted to discharge their ships themselves, regret that at this juncture they see very serious difficulties to such step.

"The Joint Committee reiterate most emphatically their intention at the earliest possible moment, when the pressure of the strike has passed, to meet the committee named in Mr. Sutherland's letter of the 31st of August, and, with the view of facilitating this object, suggest that the committee above referred to should appoint a small body of their practical officers who could be called in to assist to meet those of the Joint Committee in the discussion of the necessary preliminary details."

At a subsequent meeting of shipowners the following resolution, moved by Mr. T. Sutherland, M.P., and seconded by Sir Donald Currie, M.P., was passed: "That a reply be sent to Mr. Norwood's communication informing him that the shipowners have learned with much regret that the Joint Committee have not seen fit to comply with the request to allow owners to do their own work, and that with reference to that part of Mr. Norwood's communication suggesting the appointment of practical officers to discuss this question the shipowners desire to state that the committee named in Mr. Sutherland's letter of Saturday was specially designated as a committee of practical men qualified to discuss any proposals made by the Dock authorities, and that this committee will be prepared to wait on the Dock authorities for this purpose whenever called upon by the latter to do so."

The Watermen's Company issued another warning to the lightermen in the following terms: "The attention of the freemen of the Watermen and Lightermen's Company is earnestly called to the provisions of the 66th section of the Company's Act (22 and 23 Victoria c. 133):

"'No barge, lighter, boat, or other like craft, for the carrying of goods, wares, or merchandise, shall be worked or navigated within the limits of this Act unless there be in charge in such craft a lighterman licensed in manner hereinbefore mentioned; or an apprentice qualified as hereinbefore mentioned; and if any such craft be navigated in contravention of this section, the owner thereof

shall, in respect of such offence, incur a penalty not exceeding £5, subject to this proviso, that no such penalty shall be payable if the owner proves, to the satisfaction of the magistrate or court before whom the case is heard, that he is unable, for the usual compensation, to obtain the services of any such lighterman or apprentice."

Mr. Graves, Maaster Lighterman, of Botolph House, left his counting-house to take up work on the river, in order to show his men that he was not afraid of threats. He told his men to go below if they were frightened. The Master Lightermen supported the Dock Company in resisting an increase in wages on the ground that rates ruled too low to admit of an increase, and they pointed out that competition now rules the markets of the world, the use of the telegraph levelling all profits to the minimum, and contended that while this keen competition affected stock, plant, &c., there was no reason why it should stop short of labour as it had hitherto done.

In the early morning Mr. Burns addressed a meeting at the Tidal Basin, and then proceeded to the Custom House. A number of Metropolitan police, both mounted and on foot, were present, but on being told by Mr. Burns that their services were not likely to be required, they went away. Burns announced that he had received £, 15,000 from Australia, and they expected the total receipts of the day to reach £3,000. Referring to the battle which was being waged betwixt the Dock Companies, the wharfingers, and the shipowners, he said that after these parties had weakened each other the Dock Labourers would step in and knock the stuffing out of the three of them. He alluded to the presence of the mounted police at the meeting, and said the strikers did not need the police. and could keep the peace well enough without them. If they thought he was going to be intimidated by the presence of the police they were very much mistaken. "Up to now their relations with the police had been most cordial, and he knew that the men on strike had the sympathy of those in the force. . . . In spite of what had been done for the Docks, he repeated that they were going to bombard all the Dock gates with horse, foot, and artillery until every blackleg was got out of them." After a vote had been taken pledging the labourers to continue the strike, Burns mentioned that a "Russian vessel, laden with eggs, had come into those Docks, but the captain had refused to allow the men sent by the consignees to 11 Iload, as they were not competent men. Now the eggs had become rotten, and they had better keep them till the end of the strike, and then pelt Mr. Norwood with them."

At a meeting on Tower Hill, Tillett said that Mr. Norwood had. opposed Mr. Plimsoll when the latter was fighting for the lives of the sailors. With reference to the Trade Union Congress, he was glad to say that Mr. Shipton and Mr. Broadhurst had altered their tactics and were now going to help. Burns, speaking at the meeting, said that they had received £ 30 from the East End branch of the Ironfounders' Society, and £200 by the first post at the "Wades Arms," in addition to £ 1,500 from Melbourne. Referring to the police, he said that when he started to speak at the Tidal Basin that morning there were one or two horse patrollers there. But he gave them a hint that they were not wanted and they quitted. He was glad to hear that 500 extra police had been sent from Scotland Yard to the London Docks, as it meant that the men were to have a holiday, and that there would be 500 more converts to the Dock Strike and 500 more "tanners." He further said that if Sir Donald Currie took his boats to Southampton he would be jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire, as he, Burns, wanted an hour or two's holiday, and he would go to Southampton and make it impossible for a ship to be loaded.

Strikes were spreading in the West-end, most of the men at the large engineering works being out. The moving spirit in this revolt was John Williams, the Socialistic leader.

Widespread discontent manifested itself in the Liverpool Docks, where most of the men struck work in the South Docks, although many of them were receiving 5s. a day and 8d. an hour overtime.

At Rochester extra police aid was secured to protect the men who were working in unloading ships from the threatened violence of large gangs of coal whippers, who were marching about the city in gangs, wearing blue, white, and red rosettes.

One hundred thousand relief tickets, each representing 1s. in value, were this day distributed in the East End.

At a meeting held in Bermondsey, Burns boasted that the "No Work Manifesto" had added to the strike funds about £2,500 a day, and that there would soon be strikes at Southampton and Glasgow, where the shipowners talked of sending their ships, as they had talked of sending them to Liverpool. The Committee had stopped their game there (at Liverpool) for there was a strike there now.

A meeting of the Tyneside and District Labourers' Association at Newcastle, resolved to forward £40 to the Dock Strike Fund.

A telegram from New York stated that mass meetings had been held at Philadelphia and New York, at which resolutions expressing sympathy with the Dock labourers in London, and pledging those present to aid them as far as possible, were passed.

Mr. John Lowles, a London County Councillor, writing to the *Times* said: "I can quite confirm the statement signed by the leading East End clergy, which has already appeared in your columns, that the movement is a spontaneous one, that the men's grievances are real, and have not been fomented for personal or political purposes."

Mr. J. Dodson, writing to the *Times*, said that the shipowners and merchants were precisely the men who were responsible for the past mismanagement, the ruinous extensions, and the present poverty of the Docks, and that the Docks were the victims. He explained the matter thus:

"The merchants and shipowners got upon the Dock directorate in overwhelming numbers (and at large salaries) and were in sole command for years—the voice of the proprietors at the meetings being always drowned by the votes of Directors and their London friends.

"And how did they use their power? Simply for their own advantage; shipping charges were reduced and millions expended on new Docks of no use to any one except to bring down rates on shipping. And this continued till dividends had fallen from 5 down to  $\frac{1}{2}$  and even nil per cent. And now, forsooth, the 'Docks' are the offenders; the plundered proprietors are the troublers of the stream, and to be punished and made a scapegoat for other people's sins by paying impossible wages and working at a loss that shipowners may escape a rise in rates, and be able to pay themselves and their constituents unjust dividends."

Another correspondent of the *Times* succinctly summed up the situation in these terms:

"The shipowners are most anxious to have the goods delivered, but certain labourers, under the lead of Socialistic or ultra-Democratic persons, contend that they alone have the right to unload those ships, at certain wages fixed by themselves; while thousands of other labourers, willing to do the work, are prevented, through the interference of the autocratic strikers.

"Is this reasonable or fair? Have we any authorities able to pro-

tect persons willing to work, or are we to pass under the rule of the mob? If our law allows such a state of things, surely it is time it was altered, giving protection and freedom to all.

"It will be a satisfactory result of the present crisis if it should demonstrate that combination either of employed or employers is in restraint of trade and subversive of national prosperity."

The Times in its leader said:

"The strike drags along, but it has lost its early vigour. The Dock Directors have refused to recognise the representative capacity of Mr. Burns or Mr. Tillett in any further negotiations. But the struggle will apparently be settled not by negotiation but by sheer endurance. . . . We may assume for the present that there is no way of setting trade in motion again short of a surrender by one of the two parties in the dispute. No signs of wavering are shown in Leadenhall Street, but is it the same with the strikers? . . . It is sad that hunger should be the principal arbiter in a strike. But it is the main incident of a strike just as bloodshed is of a war. The strikers enter upon the fray knowing what they may be called upon to taste, and, to use Mr. Cuninghame Graham's expression, 'Social revolutions are not made with rose water.'"

The Times further stated that the Dock Labourer had its sym pathy in his attempts to raise his wages and his standard of living and it seemed to commit itself to the view that the Dock Labourer ought to be paid "an exceptional rate of wage while he is at work." It pointed out that the strikers had "immensely bettered their position," inasmuch as they had obtained the minimum payment of 2s., the promise of the abolition of the contractor, and, under the new order of things which was to supplant the contract system, they were to receive 6d. an hour and 8d. overtime. "So that they will obtain the wages they asked for, provided they consent to work at what is, no doubt, somewhat high pressure." Practically, the Dock Labourers had got all they ever asked for, besides which there was a fair prospect that the men would soon cease to be the servants of the Dock Companies and become the servants of the shipowners. The Times further said: "The shipowners have committed themselves indirectly to the principle of paying a higher rate of wages for the same work that the Dock Labourer now performs for the Dock Companies." Notwithstanding the fact that the Dock Directors had conceded practically all that the men asked for, the Times censured the Directors for being "hard and unbending in manner."

At the Trade Union Congress Mr. Richard, the president, in his address, said, referring to the Dock Strike, that the Dock Companies had no conscience and were chiefly composed of men who fulfilled none of the duties of employers, but whose only interest is in the amount of dividend which can be squeezed out of the bone and sinew of the labourer.

September 4th.—The strike seemed to be wearing itself out, and men were returning to work in increasing numbers, the result being seen in the movements of traffic both on the river and in the streets.

Mr. Neville Lubbock, on behalf of the Docks Committee, denied that the labourers were continuing the strike because the concessions made by the Directors were considered insufficient, and he challenged the Strike Committee to allow the men to decide for themselves by withdrawing their 12,000 pickets. If these were witndrawn the Docks would be filled with men anxious for employment. The Dock Committee also stated that they regarded it as an absurd contention that where labour was superabundant a higher rate of wages should be given than where it was scarce, this proposition being involved in the doctrine that because the casual labourer was unable to obtain a full week's work his rate of pay should be increased. The real purpose of the strike was to obtain an increase of pay to all labour throughout London, and if it had succeeded in this purpose the effect would have been to increase the supply of labour while decreasing the demand for it.

The Dock officials declared that they had little faith in the power of the Lord Mayor to effect any change of the situation; in fact, both sides resented the intrusion of arbitrators. The leaders of the strike were not anxious to depose themselves, while the Dock Companies considered that they knew their business better than any one else. The latter stated that the strike would have been at an end long ago but for the intervention of outsiders.

A novel sight was witnessed on the river. A barge, which was evidently laden with perishable goods, was being navigated down the river by a gentleman attired in a frock coat, and silk hat. He was assisted in his endeavours by a young man, who was equally well dressed. These two appeared to unconcernedly stand the jeers and flouts which were freely bestowed on them by the lightermen and watermen out on strike.

Mr. Lafone had interviews with Messrs. Burns and Champion during the day, the result being that the following agreement was drawn up:

"36, Mark-lane, London, Sept. 4th.

"Agreement between Dock Companies, Wharfingers, Granary-keepers and Workmen.

"Wages, and conditions made with men. Outsiders called in not to be discharged with less than 2s. pay. That contract work shall be abandoned, and a system of piece-work be substituted, by which the men shall receive the total gross receipts of the job direct from the companies, drawing, in the meantime, a minimum of 6d. per hour ordinary time and 8d. per hour overtime for their work so long as the job lasts. The shares of the 'plus' to be divided as follows: The share of each man and each foreman to be equal. Pay for casual work to be 6d. per hour; no pay for dinner time. Overtime 8d. per hour, overtime to be reckoned from 6 p.m. till 6 a.m. or 8 p.m. till 8 a.m. We, the undersigned, representatives of Dock workers and others now on strike, pledge ourselves to have the following terms faithfully carried out at each Dock, wharf, granary, or warehouse where the above terms are agreed: First, that men shall not work at any Dock or wharf on less wages or worse terms than those stated above; secondly, that men shall immediately return to work at all Docks, wharves, or granaries where terms as per list herewith have been agreed; thirdly, that all lightermen shall at once resume work, agreeing to submit any grievances they may have to arbitration; fourthly, coal workers to resume work at once. (Signature of Dock, wharf proprietor, or granary-keeper.) The above scale of pay is agreed to subject to the representatives of the men carrying out their part of this agreement."

Mr. Champion said that if these proposals were accepted by the Strike Committee "the men would be allowed to work at any wharf whose owner signed, though picketing would prevent the men from

entering other wharves."

At the morning meeting on Tower Hill, Burns stated that he had received over £300 by the first post that morning. Contributions had arrived from all classes of society. They had received £20 from the Walsall Trade Union, £5 from Lady Stanley of Alderley, and £50 from the Marquis of Ripon, besides fifty £10 notes from some of the principal merchants.

Referring to Mr. Norwood, he said:

"He would negotiate with the 'old gentleman' himself to

settle the strike, and he would do it with a greater feeling of pleasure and pride than he would with Mr. Norwood, who had become simply disreputable in the eyes of the commercial world. If the men wanted someone else to negotiate, he would willingly stand aside, but would advise the men to insist on Ben Tillet, their official secretary and accredited representative, being present when the negotiations were conducted. Mr. Norwood had played the last ace he had got up his sleeve. Like the heathen Chinee, that gentleman had produced several aces, and he was capable of producing a few knaves, as he made them himself."

He also stated there was a Dockers' strike in Liverpool that day, and he would do his best to get a strike in Glasgow the next day, and in Southampton the day after. "Sir Donald Currie must not sit on the fence much longer, but decide either for or against the men. He believed Sir Donald Currie would choose the former course, and the sooner he did the better."

It was stated that a better system of picketing would be put in force on the following day, and that a strong effort would be made to draw out the men who were still at work in the wharves along Tooley Street. At Hay's Wharf a proposal was made by the superintendent that the men should resume work as permanent hands at 21s per week, 5d. per hour to be paid for overtime between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., and 6d. per hour between 8 p.m. and 8 a.m. This proposal was submitted to Tom Mann at the City of Salisbury, Tooley Street, the headquarters of the Tooley Street men, but he promptly declined to give it any support.

A manifesto, signed by H. Quelch, was issued calling on the corn porters and general labourers on strike at the granaries along Bermondsey wall to refuse to return to work unless they received 5s. 10d. per day; an advance of 10d.

At a meeting outside Butler's Whari, addressed by Tom Mann, the terms proposed by Mr. Lafone as a basis for settling the strike were rejected until the case of the other wharves was settled. At another meeting in Southwark Park, also addressed by Mann, a show of hands proved unfavourable to the acceptance of Mr. Lafone's proposals.

A meeting of foremen lightermen, held at the "Black Bull," Upper Thames Street, unanimously resolved that all the foremen present would undertake the navigation of craft, and would assist their employers by every means in their power during the strike.

A meeting of workmen employed at the Royal Small Arms Factory, Enfield Lock, was held in support of the Dock Strike Mr. James Rowlands, M.P., was the principal speaker. Referring to the statement of the Directors that they could get plenty of men at 5d. an hour, he said: "If they could, then the Directors were desirous of practising the old game of playing off one class of workers against another. That was the game that used to be successful in skilled trades, but which Trade Unions rendered abortive now."

John Williams, addressing the discontented labourers of Messrs. Mawdesley and Sons, and other firms in Westminster Bridge Road, said that, "if they could not get a crust by sending in petitions, then they must stop the production of goods at that factory, while they gave the producer, the hard working labourer, a starvation wage."

At a special meeting of the St. Albans City Council, Councillor Herlock, ex-Mayor, endeavoured to bring before the Council the question of the Dock Strike, with a view of inducing the Council to subscribe "something substantial" to the Dock funds. The subject was, however, ruled out of order.

The Dock Strike at Liverpool ended owing to the demands of men, namely 6s. a day and 1s. an hour overtime being conceded.

Twenty thousand is relief tickets were distributed by the Strike Committee. Some men succeeded in getting hold of several tickets, which they afterwards sold at half their value, and spent the money on drink. One man obtained no fewer than seventeen is tickets on one day.

A public meeting was held at the Stratford Town Hall in support of the Dock Strike. Mr. Forrest Fulton, M.P., sent a subscription of £1, and Mr. Archibald Grove sent two guineas. A resolution was carried "expressing the heartfelt sympathy of the inhabitants of West Ham for the struggling Dock labourers, and manifesting its detestation of the meanness displayed by the Directors under the advice of Mr. Norwood; that their method of resistance having become a public scandal, the meeting pledges itself to do its utmost in support of the dockers by providing them with supplies until their moderate demands are conceded."

John Burns, speaking at this meeting, said that during the past nine months he had succeeded in forming no less than nine Unions the last of them being that of the gas-stokers; that victory, indeed, was the primary cause of the Dock labourers rising. He further said that "Mr. Norwood in his actions had ceased to be a gentle-

man. He had lost the attributes of a man and had come to appear as a financial roue or a commercial debauchee."

A meeting in support of the Dock Strike was held in Birming-ham, at which it was decided to ask the Mayor to convene a town's meeting to elicit more extensive sympathy. Mr. Jesse Collings expressed his hearty sympathy with the workmen, whose demands he considered just and reasonable.

The Rev. Harry Jones, writing to the *Times*, expressed his approval of the attempt which was being made by the Dock labourers to "realise better corporate life, and so for the future be enabled to protect themselves"; and he criticised those who had talked about the godlessness of East London, as there had been much self-sacrifice and a display of genuine compassion on behalf of the dockers. He thought this corporate life would tend to raise a class and "to check individuals in their efforts to help themselves by climbing over their neighbour's backs. Thus we may see a righteous spirit at work in such as 'Strike with those who strike,' though they are personally losers by their display of compassion." Mr. Jones had, however, serious misgivings as to the result of this effort to realise corporate life among the dockers, for he went on to say:

"As 'Docking,' so to speak, becomes a more distinctly recognised vocation, must not the residue of the unskilled and unattached (whose hunger is none the less because their fingers are all thumbs) be inevitably blocked out by the advent of what would be virtually a fresh Trade Union? I am afraid that the rumour of increased wages at the Docks will at first bring more loose wanderers up to London, to be repelled if a new combination of, and cohesion among, dockers is to survive its birth. The pressure of a swarm of fresh vagabonds upon the ranks of resident East London labourers would, it is to be feared, presently tend to frustrate all efforts to define their position and to give them corporate influence."

September 5.—Two or three thousand men went to work this morning as a result of the Lafone agreement, and more work was being done on the riverside than had been done for weeks past.

The strike leaders thought the other wharfingers would be compelled to follow the Lafone section, as they could never endure the sight of Mr. Lafone and his party making extraordinary profits in consequence of the dearth of the markets. The Dock Directors, however, treated the action of Mr. Lafone and his followers very

lightly, believing that the main question, namely, the relations of their labourers and themselves was practically unaffected by it. They knew that the greater part of their business was of such a nature that it could not be performed without the use of the Docks.

The tone of the strike leaders was still cock-a-hoop. This was owing chiefly to the fact that money was coming in fast. They stated that they placed no confidence in the word of the Directors, and the Directors on the other hand, were so exasperated with the strike leaders that they would not meet them. This personal feeling, perhaps, did more than anything else to delay a settlement.

The special correspondent of the Times, dealing with the ques-

tion of intimidation, said:

"Some influence is at work among the men which is sufficient to cause great terror. For the most part men appear to fear not so much immediate violence as that they may become marked men; and it is quite certain that many hundreds of men would return to work if they dared. . . . It is beyond doubt that a brutal assault, followed by robbery, was committed on the third officer of the Clan Graham, the Lascar crew of which were frightened almost out of their senses by menaces before she sailed for Glasgow."

In the Docker's procession of this day an effigy of Mr. Norwood

was carried on a gibbet.

A further conference was held between the shipowners and Mr. Norwood, the upshot being that Mr. Norwood stated that the ship owners could not be allowed to discharge their ships pending a meeting of the Committee which was to deal with the question. The shipowners also put to Mr. Norwood this question: "Do you see any way for the arrangement of the present dispute, looking to the transfer of trade from London to other ports?" To which Mr. Norwood replied: "We will not meet the men more than we have done."

At the Dock House it was stated that the stevedores had applied to the Strike Committee to be allowed to go to work, as they held that the strike ought to terminate. This permission was refused. Much indignation was expressed as to the picketing system at the Docks, and it was asked how long would be tolerated in general life in the City this prevention of the men from following their employment. It was added that even the Salvation Army, if it attempted the infliction of constantly interrupting the commercial traffic of the City of London would be stopped. As to the proposals of the shipowners and the meetings under Mr. Lafone, they were dismissed

with the remark that if the Dock Companies had been allowed to deal with their business without interference the strike would have

been ended long ago.

Owing to the prevailing intimidation Sir Henry Le Marchant, one of the Dock Directors, called upon Mr. Monro, the Chief Commissioner of Police, and stated that the Companies had to encounter great difficulties owing to the threats which were made to their men. In confirmation of this the Secretary of the Docks Committee also sent the following letter to the Chief Commissioner:

"Sir,—I have the honour to state that we understand from many of our men that they would be willing to work if they were assured of protection by the police from violence on returning to their homes. I have, therefore, to request that you will authorize your district superintendent that if he should be of opinion that any man may reasonably apprehend violence, to afford him whatever protection he may consider is best calculated to preserve him from injury.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"H. J. MORGAN, Secretary."

The following notice was also posted by the Committee of the Docks:

"Important Notice.—Conviction and Imprisonment for Intimi"dation and Threatening.

"Whereas Dock labourers and persons employed in the Docks desirous of attending to their lawful employment have been intimidated and threatened and interfered with in the performance of their duties by evil-disposed persons inside and outside the Dock premises, notice is hereby given that several convictions have taken place, and severe sentences of imprisonment have been passed by magistrates upon persons who have intimidated and threatened Dock labourers and persons employed in the Docks desirous of attending their lawful employment. And further take notice that, upon complaint being made to the London and India Docks Joint Committee of any act of intimidation or threat to any of their workmen or persons employed by them, the Directors will immediately order those persons intimidating or threatening to be prosecuted according to the law.—By order, H. J. Morgan, secretary, Dockhouse, 109, Leadenhall-street, E.C., Sept. 5, 1889."

Mr. Richard Waters, of Lower Thames-street, offered a substantial reward for information as to the persons who maliciously took his barge Turbot, which was loaded with white lead, from her moorings and left her to float to the "condemned hole" where she was found. The barge had been loaded by non-strikers. One of the Master-lightermen warned the agitators not to come aboard his craft, as his men were all armed.

Whilst Burns was addressing the strikers on Tower Hill he received a communication that the Bishop of London was at the Clergy House in Trinity Square, and would be pleased to confer with him on the situation. Accordingly Burns and Champion went to see the Bishop, with whom they had a long conference.

At a meeting of Master-lightermen and Barge Owners the following resolution was proposed: "Upon condition that the men return to their work upon the old terms when the dockers' strike is settled sufficiently for waterside business to be resumed, the committee will recommend the adjourned meeting of masters on Thursday next to appoint a committee to meet an equally representative body of the men, to include one man out of each firm, to discuss any legitimate grievances they had to bring forward."

But it was ultimately rejected in favour of an amendment, which was as follows: "That this meeting of Master-lightermen, having in view the probability of the strike soon ceasing, resolves to invite the men to resume work at once on the old scale of wages and old management, and pledges itself to listen to any alleged grievances that the men suffer from, and, if possible, to endeavour to ameliorate them."

Three members of the Working Lightermen's Committee desired to attend this meeting that they might hear the arguments of their employers on the situation, but the meeting unanimously decided that it would not receive them.

At the meeting on Tower Hill a number of men had the figure of a man suspended to a pole in the act of being hanged. Underneath were the words "For Norwood." Ben Tillett boasted that they were able to get out 10,000 men as pickets while the Dock Companies could not get 100. "He would tell Mr. Norris, the member for Limehouse, that the shouts of the men were his funeral dirge, so far as Parliamentary life was concerned. If the Dock Companies did not give in within a very short time, not only would the blacklegs be got out, but all the permanent hands as well." He said that certain strikers, having been told that if they were willing to go to work they could draw something on account at Messrs. Tatham Bros. office in Gracechurch-street, went and drew some-

thing on account, but did not go to work. He seemed to think this was a very virtuous act.

Burns, referring to the fact that a number of men had gone to work under the Lafone agreement, said that 8,000 or 10,000 men would go into full work, "and they would have to hand over a day's pay to those who were fighting the Dock Companies.... What had been done by the Strike Committee was the best possible under the circumstances, and was the only way to bring the Dock Companies face to face with insolvency and bankruptcy. This course would commend itself to shipper after shipper." He announced that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers on the following day proposed to make a levy of 3d. a member, which would produce about £700. At this meeting several subscriptions were handed to Burns, including half-a-sovereign from a Baptist minister.

The master of the Watermen's Company stated that the lightermen, who, as a class, were respectable and trustworthy, had been misled. They now showed an anxiety to return to work, and many of them had returned on the old terms. They repudiated all the leaders, the self-appointed chiefs of the tribe, and stated that they came out at first in bona fide sympathy with the Dock Labourers, but that capital had been made out of their readiness to come out by the self-appointed leaders insisting on fresh demands. They all repudiated the "Work and Wages Committee."

Messrs, Wallace, Butler, Appleby and other contractors of the Surrey Commercial Docks, waited on Tom Mann in Southwark Park to inform him of their readiness to accede to the demands of the men, and to signify the same in writing if he would prevail upon the men to start work the next day. Work could be found for 3,000 men. Mann put this proposal to the meeting, which it decided in favour of. Messrs. Wallace and Appleby, two contractors, also addressed the meeting, and promised to refuse to unload vessels containing timber and grain.

Sir Donald Currie addressed the men who were working on board the Grantully Castle, who had been brought from various parts of the kingdom. After thanking them for the work they had done, he said it would be his duty to see in Parliament that they (the Steamship Company) had a right to arrange with their own men for their own work in their own way. He held that working men, whether at sea or on land, were entitled to make their own arrangements without restriction or domination or intimidation from anybody. They were now exercising that right on board that ship without injuring any of their fellow-workmen.

In the West End, John Williams said that if strikes were to succeed, they must prevent employers from getting supplies from other countries or districts. "For instance, if miners went out on strike in Northumberland, they must stop the production of coals, not only in Northumberland, but in Durham and elsewhere . . . It was impossible for working men to live on less than 6d. an hour. He quoted Lord Brassey in his 'Work and Wages,' where the author said he had always found English labour the most profitable, and that one Englishman was worth three Germans and six Chinese, &c. Mr. Williams, at a meeting at Hastings at which Lord Brassey spoke, asked him if this was the case, why had he not paid the English navvy three German's wages? . . . His purpose was to form a federation to consist of labourers and mechanics. Let all classes of workmen drop distinctions, so that when the mechanics struck the labourers would stop work, and when the labourers struck they would not go out without the mechanics. Hitherto they had lost many strikes through not being willing to drop the distinctions of trade. They were all fighting for one common purpose. They must be like the Knights of Labour, now so powerful in the United States as to be able to dictate terms to employers and boycott those firms that are against the strikers."

At a meeting held outside Maudslay's works, Williams delivered "a scathing denunciation of employers who sucked the blood of the labourer."

The editor of Reynold's Newspaper received a further sum of  $\mathcal{L}$  900 from Australia toward the Strike Fund. Nearly  $\mathcal{L}$  4,000 had been collected in Melbourne in aid of the strike. Meetings were being held nightly in Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Hobart, and other towns, at which resolutions of sympathy with the strikers were passed. At a meeting in Brisbane, the chairman announced that over  $\mathcal{L}$  500 had been collected from all classes of the inhabirants, including Cabinet ministers, and nearly all the members of the Queensland Parliament.

Burns stated that the men who had gone to work at Butler's wharf had that day contributed £17 10s. 6d. to the Strike Fund.

Some of the wives of the men on strike at East Greenwich sus-

pended across the entrance to Marsh-lane, facing the Greenwich Workhouse, the following inscription:

"Landlords, please don't call for your rent. Our husbands are out on strike. We will pay when the strike is over."

The workmen at a number of large steel works in Wales issued notices demanding an advance of 10 per cent., about 8,000 men being affected.

The Royal Mail Steamer Tainui, the sailing of which had been twice postponed, was booked to sail from London on the following Wednesday. The cause of the delay was the inability to get coal and cargo on board. "The assistance of men from Dundee is now being invoked in loading her with a view of getting her off by the above date. The men now loading are berthed on board and are not allowed to leave her, in order to prevent their being subjected to intimidation."

Mr. Hugh C. Smith, writing to the *Times* to say that Mr. Lafone did not represent the wharfingers as a body, said: "Mr. Lafone is the manager of Butler's Wharf, which is the property of the Land Securities Company, and tea is warehoused there under an agreement with certain importers at rates which rise or fall with the price of labour, so that neither he nor his company has any direct interest in the cost of the labour?"

Mr. Edmund Kimber, M.P., writing to the Times as a Shareholder of the Docks, who had never received any dividend, said, "At present we receive no dividend on our £,2,500,000 of ordinary stock, and are not likely to get any, no matter what the issue of the strike. The income of the Docks is not sufficient to pay the interest on the £2,400,000 of debentures and mortgages, and we cannot pay our creditors. . . . The London and St. Katherine's Docks, though not in Chancery, and though able to pay its creditors, cannot pay a dividend to its ordinary Shareholders on about £5,000,000 of its capital. Therefore about £7,500,000 of Dock capital is already unproductive. If 6d. instead of 5d. an hour is paid to the labourers, it means that £3,000,000 of the debenture capital of both Companies is to go without interest. We know, of course, for several years past the building of big ships has been against the capacity of our Docks, and that we cannot expect a dividend from obsolete property, but to ask that £ 10,500,000 should be unproductive of the slightest profit, as Mr. Burns does, out of a total of about £17,000,000, is perfectly preposterous."

Mr. Kimber further stated that there were about 1,500 share-

holders in the East India Dock Companies, and about 3,000 in the London and St. Katherine Dock Companies, and added: "I look upon this struggle as a most providential event for the purpose of dispersing business to other ports and stopping the growth of London, which is already too much overgrown, as the strike itself proves."

Mr. J. H. Haynes, late manager of Paul's Wharf Bonded Warehouses, said in a letter to the *Times*: "In spite of the general acceptance of the law of supply and demand, it is now conceded that the casual Docker was not to be paid less than 2s. a day. This evidently involves the admission of the principle which is bringing actual support to the strikers—that a man ought not to be paid a starvation wage whatever may be the state of the labour market."

A former trusteee for shareholders ventured to put in a plea in the columns of the Times "concerning the interests of the poor shareholders, many of whom are widows and orphans of very limited means. These invested their little earnings in the share stock of the great London Dock Companies at a time when the stock was at a premium and considered the safest security for ladies to invest in. Since then there has been a terrible fall in the value of such stock. which has oftentimes yielded but little or no interest, to the great distress of many a shareholder. I personally know a widow and two ladies who have been shareholders for over 30 years who have suffered great straits from the sadly diminished dividends. And now that there has been a little revival of trade and hopes have been raised of better dividends, there comes this unfortunate strike, which must dash all hopes of any increase, at all events for the present. Surely the sympathies of the public will be on the side of these sufferers, rather than of those who have brought about such a disastrous state of things."

The *Times*, in its leader, intimated that the strike leaders were "firm in their resolution to bring the Dock Companies face to face with insolvency and bankruptcy," and declared that intimidation was the backbone of the strike:

"There are, Mr. Tillett declares, 10,000 men engaged as paid pickets, charged with the duty of preventing their fellows from going back to work at the Docks. It is the presence of these watchmen which keeps the strike alive. If they were withdrawn, it would very speedily collapse, and the street-marchers and processionists would find themselves, to their dismay, left out in the cold. But while the pickets remain in their places the mass of the men do not venture to return to work. The risk would be more than the poor creatures dare face. Of downright violence and outrage the

instances have not been numerous, but there have been quite enough of them to intimidate. When 20 men have had their heads broken, it is an effective notice to all the others that it may be their turn next."

Assuming that the strike would succeed, the *Times* proceeded to discuss its probable consequences:

"Let us assume that the strike succeeds, and that the men obtain the advance of wages which they are standing out for as their right. They are so numerous already that there has not been work for all of them. With higher wages, the attraction will be greater and more effective, and the ranks of the supernumeraries will be correspondingly swollen. Is it likely, however, that with so many more men pressing for employment the advanced rate of pay will be maintained? Things, it is reasonable to suppose, will by-and-by go back to their old footing, and the dearly-bought victory will thus prove unsubstantial and nothing worth. If the labourers become what they have never been as yet, an organised body, they may keep wages at a higher level, but only by the total exclusion of the casual outsiders who serve now to keep them down."

September 6.—A conference took place at the Mansion House, at which the Lord Mayor (Sir J. Whitehead), the Bishop of London, Cardinal Manning, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir J. Lubbock, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Burns and Mr. Tillett were present. The Lord Mayor suggested that the men should return to work at 5d. per hour until March, pending re-arrangements in the meantime. Mr. Burns refused to accept this proposal, and was supported by Cardinal Manning: "It was pointed out that the additional cost incident upon a rise of wages need not fall upon the Dock Companies, as it would be for them and the shipowners and merchants so to adjust their charges as to throw the additional expense, if any, on the consumers. But it was thought that provided the principle of paying 6d. per hour was conceded, it might be a reasonable and fair compromise to postpone its operation for a few months. It was, therefore, resolved by the Lord Mayor and his colleagues to recommend the men and the Companies to agree to the 6d. per hour rate coming into operation on and after January 1 next. The other terms already conceded were taken for granted as being no longer under dispute." When the resolution of the Committee was conveyed to Mr. Burns and Mr. Tillett, they expressed their willingness to recommend the men to accept this arrangement. The Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and Cardinal Manning, subsequently sought an interview with the Dock Committee, before whom they laid his

decision. Mr. Norwood would commit himself to nothing beyond stating that his colleagues and himself were willing to consider the proposal, and would give their answer the next day.

Considerable influence had been brought to bear upon the Lord Mayor to induce him to call a meeting of the citizens at the Mansion House for the consideration of the subject. Some important amounts had been spontaneously offered to the Lord Mayor for the support of the strikers. "The Lord Mayor particularly desired it to be known that he appeared only in his private capacity."

The *Times* Special Correspondent said: "Among the strikers generally there is a tone of considerable confidence inspired partly, no doubt, by the remarkably successful performances of their pickets. There is also another cause for confidence in the fact that the Strike Committee have really abundant funds at their disposal. According to Mr. Champion they had yesterday morning no less than £7,000 to their credit, and money was still coming in abundantly."

Several thousand men assembled at the gates of the Surrey Commercial Docks willing and resolved to return to work, and it was only by the personal intervention of Mr. Burns that they were prevented. Subsequently, a manifesto forbidding work at the Surrey Commercial Docks without the authority of the South Side Central Committee was posted.

At the main lines railway stations in London were watched to see whether men from the country were brought to work in the docks. "Several small parties of men have been detected, and in each case, after being spoken to by the picketers, they have refused to work. One or two ships now in the river have been loaded by men who refuse to have anything to do with the strike. These vessels are now being watched, and the crews, after being interviewed, have refused to sail. At the present time there are two vessels now in the river ready to proceed to sea, but they are unable to do so owing to the fact that no seamen can be got to work them. Mr. Cahill, the superintendent of the West India Dock Police was prepared to give men who wish for employment all necessary protection, but the men are not afraid of being molested or interfered with in any way inside the Docks; it is after they have left their day's employment that the cause for alarm is felt."

Great dissatisfaction among some of the men employed at the Albert and Victoria Docks, who wished to return to work, but were forbidden to do so by the strike leaders.

"Many of the men simply came out on strike on principle, and now they have an opportunity of returning to work at a good remuneration they are told not to do so, although in proof of their sympathy with the movement they have voluntarily offered to contribute one day's pay a week towards the Strike Fund. This refusal to be allowed to resume work also applies to a number of firemen, principally employed on some telegraph ships which are now in the river."

The Dock Directors, referring to the attendance of police with the demonstrations, stated that it would be more to the purpose if the police would protect the men who were desirous of returning to work. So far from this protection being afforded intimidation was openly practised by the picketing from Fenchurch-street Station down to the Docks at Milwall. Picketing, they stated, was intimidation, and if the pickets were withdrawn the numbers anxious to come to work would be seen. Not only was there intimidation but there had been cases of violence, a sufficient number to cause dread to the men. There was also the threat that if they went into work they would be "marked men" when the strike was over. If, the Directors said, the police had no difficulty in accompanying the processions, some men might be spared to protect the industrious who wished to work.

Burns, addressing the labourers at the Dock gates, said: "He found there was an attempt on the part of one or two parsons to bring about a settlement over the heads of the men's representatives, but they were not going to submit to any such interference."

A deputation of lightermen and tug captains waited upon Sir Donald Currie to offer to the shipowners of London their very best services, as they did not wish it to be thought that in the event of a fair settlement with the labourers they should be responsible for any hindrances to the working of the shipping in the port of London.

The Rev. C. H. Kelly, President of the Wesleyan Conference, speaking to 700 labourers on strike at a free breakfast at St. George's Wesleyan Mission, Cable-street, "congratulated the men on their good behaviour, and said that he was confident that not one in a thousand desired to be disloyal to the law of the land. He had no intention of interfering with Capital and Labour, although he thought the men before him, in virtue of their muscular arms, were as much capitalists as Dock Directors. He assured

the strikers of the sympathy of the tens of thousands of Methodists all over the land."

A meeting of Custom Officers of the Out-door Department was held at the London Tavern to protest against any extension of official hours. The meeting recorded its opinion in the following resolution: "The trade of the Port of London suffers no appreciable inconvenience by reason of the present Custom hours, and the meeting protests against any extension or unfavourable alteration of their hours of employment without due compensation." Major Banes, M.P., who supported the resolution, expressed the opinion that the unfortunate strike of Dock labourers would have been settled almost at the outset had it not been for the interference on both sides of people who knew nothing of the question.

Three hundred outdoor labourers turned out on strike at Parkeston, Harwich, for an increase of 2d. per hour for night-work and 1d. for day-work. The strikers had an interview with Mr. Birt, the General Manager. Orders were given not to take on the strikers, and 200 new men were drafted in.

At a meeting on Tower Hill Mr. Tillett said that a distinguishing feature of their meetings was that their audiences represented all classes, including the Pulpit, Parliament, and the Press.

"He desired to thank the latter for the service they had rendered the labourers during the present agitation. The Press had proved itself worthy of public confidence and the best friends to the claims of the working men, who helped to make the wealth of the country. So long as he had any money he would buy all the papers he could as a small return for the help which the Press had given them. If he mixed up much longer with Press men he was afraid he should become as conceited as they were. They still continued their picketing, for that was a religious duty, and they were going to observe it. . . . They were now being held up to the world as something to stir up other men to fight for their rights. Up to the present they had fought fairly and squarely. When Major Banes, the member for West Ham, said he had received a letter from him, and added that he (the major) was a friend of the people, he told an untruth in each case. The dockers were tightening their grip on the enemy. They had got one class of men to give way and concede to their demands, and they would now demand from the Dock Companies what they were not able to give. That day there would be such a demand on the Dock Companies that they would not be able to meet them, and they would become a by-word for all that was mean and contemptible."

Burns at the same meeting said, "It was now all over but the shouting. The race was over and the prize was waiting for them. Mr. Norwood was surreptitiously withholding from them that prize which public opinion and their own exertions had won. As he before said it was all done but the shouting. Yesterday Sir Donald Currie did a little of that for them. The money was still coming in. They had received £600 that morning—£200 from small sources and £,400 from the Executive of the Amalgamated Seaman's and Fireman's Union; and if it continued to come in as it had done they would probably have to consider the advisability of increasing their relief by 50 to 60 per cent. And then it was said they were caving in. The Docker was not starved as he was a week ago, and what was more, he was sturdier and more determined than ever. The reason they had been able to have a rest that morning was that the pickets were doing their duty, and were doing it so quietly, so admirably, and so scientifically, that the need for arousing enthusiasm did not now exist. . . . Sir Donald Currie's speech yesterday was the 'rift in the lute.' It meant that he would enter into negotiations by means of intermediaries to have his ships unloaded on their own terms. Sir Donald Currie said the strike should never have been begun. They knew all about that. It was brought about by the selfishness and incompetency of Sir Donald Currie and other shipowners who countenanced the existing condition of things in the Docks. Such a condition of things as had been would never be countenanced again. Sir Donald Currie had said, the stevedores and labourers were good workmen, why did not they recognise their qualities and give them their just demands. The speech of Sir Donald Currie was that of a despairing man who had looked to the Dock Company for hope and settlement of the question; but to-morrow he would come to the men, who would heartily welcome him as they did the wharfingers, to assist in applying a stick to the backs of the Dock Directors. Altogether, Sir Donald Currie's speech was an impolitic one. He took the opportunity of thanking the Times and other newspapers for the magnificent way in which they had stood by the men. They had all done the working man a service which it would be impossible to appreciate too much. The impartial way in which the Times had treated the strike and printed article after article in favour of the men, proving they were right in what they were doing, deserved their thanks. The reporters had taken great pains to secure accurate information, and the result of that honest investigation was that everyone of the newspapers were on their side. It was their duty as men to recognize that.'

Referring to a statement that 200 men would have gone in but for him, Burns said:

"He would guarantee that those men would not go in if they saw the tip of his straw hat, and he was sure if the Dock labourers were each offered £50 not a single one would go in. He expected to see the Dock Company issue a manifesto calling on the Home Secretary, as a means of preserving the peace, to pass an order that no straw hats should be worn. He had grave ideas of sending his hat round to every place where a strike was needed, and so do the work by proxy. . . . He had not been able to distinguish between his dockers and the police, for they both had nothing to do. When the strike was over he would suggest that the labourers should get up a subscription to present 20 volumes of books to the library of every police station in London. By the last piece of policy they had taken off Mr. Norwood's right arm. (A voice: 'You should have taken off his head," and laughter.) No, they would preserve his head for Madame Tussaud's. . . On the previous day during the progress of their magnificent procession through the city more money was collected than ever. Every one, except the Dock Directors were on their side—even the weather. Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Dunraven, Sir John Lubbock, and all impartial men of the City of London said the dockers had suffered too long, had been too patient, and too hopeless. Sympathy was pouring in on every side; and as for himself he was almost getting sick and tired of the congratulations that were being showered on him for the unassuming part he had played in this struggle."

The Central Strike Committee refused to ratify the arrangement which had been made between Mr. Tom Mann and the Contractors of the Surrey Commercial Docks. Mann went at once to a midnight meeting at Deptford and informed the men of what had taken place. The result was greeted with loud cheers. By 4.30 a.m. the following notice was posted in the neighbourhood of the Surrey Docks: "September 6.—Dockers' Strike. To all concerned. No man must commence work without the authority of the South Side Central Committee, Sayes Court, Deptford. By order, Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, John Burns, H. H. Champion, Hugh Brown (treasurer)."

The Contractors who were parties to the arrangement with Mann, unaware of what had transpired, met near the Docks for the purpose of engaging hands. Mann met them and told them what had taken place. At a subsequent meeting it was sought to justify the action of the Central Strike Committee by alleging that the Contractors were only middlemen, and that the men ought to have a guarantee from the Directors themselves. In the evening, Mann, addressing

a meeting at Sayes Court, said that whether the course which had been taken by the Strike Committee was a wise one or not, "they must accept it and not waste time in jangling, but get to work afresh and stick at it until they got the 6d. and 8d. for the Docker. The peculiarity of the position on the Surrey side was that they were not fighting for these terms merely, but had to deal with the demands of men who were receiving higher terms than these. It was difficult to adjudicate when some sections were paid piecework, some by the measure, and some by the hour; and they had to hasten to get their demands put in a clear and definite form. He advised them to strengthen their pickets, and said, with a full sense of what he was saying, that it was their duty to let the traitors know that they had good right hands. At the same time he hoped that as they had not had to resort to violence they might have no necessity for commencing it."

The men of the General Steam Navigation Company, to the number of 240, resumed work on the understanding that they were to have an all-round pay of 6d. per hour, to include overtime.

The men on strike in Vauxhall, Lambeth, and Pimlico now numbered 1,000. At a meeting, John Williams dwelt on the necessity of a strong organization amongst the men, such as the Knights of Labour in America. There the labourer was able to control his master and the industry of the country, but only by a vast union of men of all trades.

September 7.—The situation remained substantially the same as it was before the intervention of the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and Cardinal Manning, as far as the prospects of a settlement were concerned. The Strike Committee rejected the terms proposed by the intermediaries, although they had been accepted under protest by the Docks Commitee, and Messrs. Burns and Tillett gave the Lord Mayor and his colleagues the lie direct as to the part which they had taken in the negotiations.

The Committee of Conciliation summoned by the Lord Mayor met to receive the reply of the Dock Directors to the proposal which had been made to them by the Committee, and assented to by the Strike leaders on the previous day. Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., were in attendance with the Lord Mayor, Burns and Tillett also being present. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon the following letter was delivered to the Committee on the Dock Directors behalf:

## "Dock House, 109, Leadenhall Street, Sept. 7th.

"My Lords,—My Committee have deliberated very anxiously upon the proposals verbally laid before them last night by your lordships with a view to the termination of the present labour strike—viz.. that in addition to the concessions already publicly notified, the payment to our casual labourers on and after January 1st next shall be raised from 5d. to 6d. per hour for the time of actual work.

"My Committee have acted throughout under a grave sense of their responsibility, and they are fully prepared to vindicate their course of action in a dispute about the merits of which there has been a vast amount of misrepresentation and misunderstanding.

"They feel, however, that the situation has been so altered by the circumstance of your lordships' having thrown the weight of your great influence into the scale, and by the gravity of the representations which you have made to them with regard to the public peace, that they are no longer free to exercise their unfettered judgment, and must yield to a pressure from without, which they venture to regard as a very dangerous departure in disputes between employers and workmen, and one that may have very far-reaching consequences in the future.

"They have therefore decided, under the conditions which I now have to bring before you, to accept the terms which, as my committee understand, your lordships are prepared to recommend to the strikers, and to which you confidently expect them to agree.

"The conditions under which my committee are prepared to accede to these terms are:

"I. That the existing strike shall be terminated, and that all the men connected with docks, wharves, and the river return to work on Monday morning.

"2. That the strikers and their leaders shall unreservedly undertake that all labourers who have been at work during the strike shall be unmolested, and be treated in every way as fellow-labourer by those who have been out on strike.

"3. That we receive an acceptance of this arrangement from the leaders of the Strike through your lordships in the course of this evening.

"In acceding to these conditions, my Committee are largely influenced by the assurance of your lordships that shipowners and merchants and the public generally are willing to bear an increase in rates and charges.

"I have the honour to be, with much respect, your lordship's obedient servant, "C. M. Norwood, chairman.

"To the Right Hon, the Lord Mayor,

"The Right Rev. the Bishop of London, and

"His Eminence the Cardinal Manning."

The position of the Dock Directors gave great satisfaction to the Lord Mayor and his colleagues, and Messrs. Burns and Tillett promised that it should have their adhesion, and left to communicate it to the Strike Committee. Before leaving, however, the following endorsement had been written at Mr. Burns' request on the letter of the Joint Committee:

"Mansion House, Sept. 7.

"We, the undersigned, accept these terms on behalf of ourselves, and also agree to recommend them to the men out on strike, subject to the condition that the Dock Companies do not displace or directly or indirectly show resentment to any of the men who have participated in the strike.

"JAMES WHITEHEAD, Lord Mayor.

"HENRY E., Cardinal Archbishop.

"F. LONDIN.

" SYDNEY BUXTON."

Late in the evening the following letter was received by the Lord Mayor:

"United Dock Labourers' Strike Committee, Wade's Arms, Poplar, E.,

"My Lord,—We have received your communication from Mr. Norwood with the statement signed by yourself and by the Bishop of London, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P. It is impossible to accept any terms without consulting the various Strike Committees. We notice with regret that Mr. Norwood's letter contains no provision for increase in the pay for overtime to 8d. per hour. We beg to express our thanks to you for the trouble you have taken in the matter, and to assure you that we will let you know the decision of the men at the earliest possible moment.

"We are, your lordship's faithfully,

"Benjamin Tillett.

"JOHN BURNS.

"Tom Mann.
"John Toomey.

"H. H. CHAMPION.

"To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

To this communication the subjoined reply was at once sent to Mr. Tillett:

" Mansion House, Sept. 7.

"Dear Sirs,—We quite understand, and we made it clear to the Dock Committee yesterday, that the 8d. per hour overtime is to stand on the same footing as the 6d. per hour for ordinary work. There can be no doubt in our minds that the reply of the Joint Committee covers this; but if, in your answer you will include this as one of the terms of acceptance, we shall be glad, as it will settle the point definitely. We are awaiting your reply, as you will see from Mr. Norwood's letter that acceptance this evening is a condition on which the Committee rely.

"Yours very truly,

" JAMES WHITEHEAD, Lord Mayor.

"HENRY E., Cardinal MANNING.

"F. LONDIN.

"SYDNEY BUXTON.

"To Mr. Benjamin Tillett and colleagues."

After another lengthened wait, the Lord Mayor and his colleagues received the following letter between 10 and 11 o'clock:

"Wade's Arms, Poplar, E., Sept. 7.

"My Lord,—It is impossible for us to give you an answer to-night, as we have to see the lightermen and others concerned in the strike. Pending a definite and official answer from them, it is our opinion that they will not accept the terms of the Dock Company. Mr. Norwood must know that for us to accept the terms without a full consultation would be idle, and that such a consultation cannot take place at a few hours' notice, when the men concerned are spread over so large an area. As soon as their decision is known it will be communicated to you.

"We are, your lordship's faithfully,

"John Burns.
"H. H. Champion."

The Lord Mayor immediately conveyed this intimation to the Dock Directors, who were waiting at the Dock House, and there for a time the negotiations concluded.

At a quarter-past eleven at night the following manifesto was issued by the Strike Committee:

"Manifesto of the General Committee of the Dock Strikes, Wade's Arms, Jeremiah Street, Poplar, E., Sept. 7, 1889.—Fellow-

countrymen, a statement has been published to the effect that the strike is over and that the representatives of the labourers have agreed that work shall be resumed in the Docks at the former rate of wages, on the condition that 6d. an hour and 8d. per hour overtime shall be granted by the Companies on January 1, 1890. This is absolutely untrue. Such a proposition has been made to the Dock Companies by some influential persons who desire to see the strike ended. The Directors are willing to accept it, but the men are not inclined to grant to the Dock Companies who have opposed them terms more favourable to the masters than those which have been agreed to by the wharfingers. The position briefly is this: The Dock labourers are willing to return to work for any wharf, or dock, or shipping companies, representatives of which will sign and forward to the Strike Committee an agreement to give the terms acceded to by the wharfingers, including a minimum wage of 6d. per hour ordinary time and 8d. per hour overtime. The stevedores and sailors and firemen, who have no dispute of their own to settle. and have come out 'on principle' solely to support the labourers, are willing to return to work as soon as the Dock labourers are satisfied. The stevedores and sailors and firemen will work for any shipping company who will give the 6d. and 8d. overtime to the labourers and agree to employ Dock labourers only to discharge. The stevedores and sailors and firemen will also work for those shipowners who have signed the agreement and have vessels to load only on condition that so long as the Dock Companies hold out against their labourers these shipowners do not work goods from the Dock Companies or from craft loaded by the Dock Companies. The lightermen, however, have determined to stand by their circular of August 22, and if the terms therein demanded are conceded by their masters, they will return to work provided that the labourers and stevedores and sailors and firemen are satisfied. By order of the General Committee of the Dock Strike, BEN TILLETT, JOHN BURNS, TOM MANN, H. H. CHAMPION. J. TOOMEY (Stevedore), J. M. WALSH (Sailors and Firemen), R. ILES (Lightermen)."

The Strike Committee had not the courtesy to communicate a copy of this manifesto to the Lord Mayor, although it was issued as a reply both to the Dock Committee and the Conciliation Committee. Some of the statements of the manifesto are absolutely irreconcilable with the attitude which Messrs. Burns and Tillett assumed in the presence of the Lord Mayor and his colleagues both on Friday and on Saturday.

The following telegram was received from Sydney: "At a meet-

ing of the Sydney trades in aid of the London Dock Strikers, at which Mr. Kelly presided, 20,000 persons attended and were addressed by Mr. John Dillon and twenty colonial members of Parliament. A sum of £1,200 was collected."

It was announced that at Sayes Court, the head quarters of the South London Committee, the news that the strike was to be ended and the increase of wages to stand over till January was received with consternation and disgust.

Twenty-five imported Dock Labourers on their way to the Docks, under the guidance of the Dock officials, and under the escort of a number of detectives who were prepared to identify any persons who might be guilty of intimidation, were detected by the pickets, who brought every species of persuasion to bear upon them. They were beginning to hustle the "foreigners," as they were termed, and an outbreak of violence seemed imminent, when Burns appeared on the scene and told the men that if they did not desist from disorderly behaviour "he would break the jaw of the first man who made a noise." This scene took place in Billiter Street. Another incident of the day is thus described by the special correspondent of the Times: "An individual, one of a body, was on his way into one of the Docks to do what, when all is said and done, any man has a right to do if he chooses-namely, to accept work when it was offered. The pickets remonstrated and somebody in the crowd enforced the remonstrance with quicklime, and absolutely and for ever destroyed the eyesight of the victim. The leaders repudiate the action; they say that it was not done by one of their men on picket duty; they say that it was done in a moment of passion, and that if they could and the offender they would hand him up to justice. For my own part I believe they could find him perfectly well if they liked, for it is obvious that the pickets must actually have seen the dastardly deed committed, and while I understand that rash acts may be committed I cannot but think it a peculiar coincidence that momentary subservience to the influence of passion should coincide with the possession of quicklime, which is not the sort of commodity that the average law-abiding citizen carries about in his coat-pocket."

The Lord Mayor was very seriously annoyed at the treatment to which he had been subjected at the hands of the Strike Committee and Messrs. Burns and Tillett, while the Bishop of London and Cardinal Manning could scarcely have felt very comfortable under the slight which had been put upon them.

At a meeting on Tower Hill Tillett said: "If ever their minds were made up to fight the Directors it was now. The struggle was more intense and their feelings the more bitter and determined as what they wanted to gain became the more necessary and imperative. They must not waste the past days of trial and struggle those four weeks of horrid life. After such a four weeks' struggle they could hardly be expected to be calm and collected. Mr. Morgan challenged them to take their pickets away, and he would return a challenge. Let him tell the actual truth to the men he engaged. All along the line the Directors had lied, and Sir Henry Le Marchant had been one of the most active of the crimps. That those men should stoop to such dirty work was only evidence of their incapacity to rule as Directors. If they ceased to cajole and lie to the men every picket would be taken away. The men from Cardiff were made drunk and were not told where they were going, The Dock-house in Leadenhall Street should be called Ananias Hall. In no case where men had been brought to the Docks had they been told the true position of affairs. Lord Randolph Churchill had actually commended the men for their sobriety and orderliness; and when they got such words from politicians of that stamp—when they got the venerable grand old Cardinal Manning to sympathise with them; when they had got a dignitary of the Church supporting them, and when they were ushered into the Lord Mayor's best room—he did not know if they would yet be shown into the Lord Mayor's worst room (Burns-"We've both been there before") (laughter)—he contended they had great room for encouragement. He told the Dock Companies that unless they paid attention to the little they had asked for they would ask for a lot more."

Burns at the same meeting said: "The previous day he had to laud the Press. That morning he found there was a conspiracy among them to adulate the dockers. If this continued he should have to do something desperate. All the papers, with the exception of the Morning Post, took the side of the dockers, remarking on the moderation of the men's demands and the extraordinarily good conduct they had displayed." He also said, "Their system of pickets outside the Docks was perfect, but that inside wanted a little re-organisation, and that having been perfected, in a day or two they would have all the blacklegs out; and if the strike were not over in three days there would not be 100 blacklegs in the Port of London."

At Birmingham a town's meeting was held under the presidency of the Mayor, Alderman Burrow, who said he did not think there had ever been a case in which sympathy had been so universally extended to strikers, and without question the admirable conduct of the men had done much to evoke that sympathy. Mr. Jesse Collings said he had seen casual labourers standing by hundreds waiting for an hour or two's work, and he agreed that one of the best outcomes of the strike would be that the regular Dock Labourers would be recognized as a class and a continuous occupation secured to a smaller number of men, who might thus be enabled to live in decency and comfort, for it was better to have a small number of men living in a tolerable way than to have a larger number reduced to a common dead level of misery, in which none could live. (A voice: "What's to become of the others?") Those men were a part of the accumulation of unemployed labour, and they would be much better off on the land if provision were only made for them.

At a meeting of corn merchants and granary keepers, Mr. Keen, who presided, said the employers had invited their men to meet them that afternoon. But the men would not go in unless Mr. Wiggington was allowed to come also as their delegate. The question whether Mr. Wiggington be allowed to come in was put to the meeting, which, by a great majority, decided to see the men by themselves. On this decision being given, the men stated that they would not go in without their representatives. Another attempt was made to induce the meeting to receive the men on their own conditions, but it was lost by a large majority.

A number of grain carriers at the Bramley Moor Dock, Liverpool, struck for the advance of pay which had been granted at the South Docks, namely, 6s. a day and 1s. an hour overtime. They were offered 5s. 6d., but this they refused.

Sir H. Le Marchant, one of the Dock Directors resigned his seat on the Board as a protest against the action of the Board in deciding to take the proposals of the Lord Mayor's Committee into consideration.

The Preston Trades' Council decided to make a grant in aid of the London Dock Labourers who were on strike, and requested the deputies to bring the matter to the notice of their respective trades with a view to obtaining pecuniary support. To receive subscriptions the offices of the Council were opened nightly, instead of once a week as is usual.

A newsagency stated that a reporter obtained an interview with

Sir John Lubbock on Saturday, and asked whether it was true that the strike leaders had accepted the terms proposed at the Conference on Friday. Sir John replied that it was, to the best of his belief. He was not present at the interview, however, and would prefer the Lord Mayor's authority being obtained for the statement. The reporter then waited upon the Lord Mayor, and saw at the same time the Bishop of London. The Lord Mayor said that the terms had undoubtedly and unmistakably, in the presence of himself and the Bishop of London, been accepted by Messrs. Burns and Tillett, who were the only leaders spoken to by the members of the Conference. Mr. Champion, in a later interview with Mr. Soulsby, had also expressed his entire concurrence with the proposal. The terms were that the men should resume work at 5d. an hour until the 1st of January, when the extra penny would be granted. All other demands to be agreed to. "This," said the Lord Mayor, "would give the Directors an opportunity in the meantime of making such readjustments as might be necessary to enable them to meet the rise in wages." The Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London received with extreme surprise the announcement that Burns and Tillett had repudiated the proposals, and the Lord Mayor more than hinted that in this case the strike must come to a conclusion without any further assistance on his part. In a later interview with Sir John Lubbock that gentleman expressed his belief that Burns intended to fall in with the proposals, but wished the Dock Companies first to make the concession. He agreed that it was impossible that the strike leaders could have misunderstood the terms of the recommendation.

Sept. 8th.—Third Sunday demonstration of the Strikers held in Hyde Park. M'Carthy, of the Stevedores, presiding at one of the meetings said the men were very excited when they heard that the strike had been settled, and begged that their leaders would not sell them by signing any such compromise. They would have no surrender until there was a complete surrender of the Dock Companies. . . . They meant to go on fighting until the battle was won, because they were more likely in the end to have complete victory. While the men were supported so nobly by the public they would not yield until the demands they had made were granted. Mr. Douglas, a boiler maker, said: "The Dock Companies could charge the shipowners more; the shipowners would

charge the merchants more; and the merchants would put up the price to the retail dealers."

H H. Champion said they would probably hear from the Mansion House some statement which might be prejudicial to the strikers' cause, and therefore he desired to explain the present position. Reveiwing the negotiations at the Mansion House, he denied that Burns and Tillett had in any way agreed to countenance the men going in on the chance of getting the 6d. an hour on the 1st January, or had in any way accepted the proposal. "Whatever might be said by the Lord Mayor or by the Bishop of London the speaker took it they would believe Messrs. Burns and Tillett before they would believe the Lord Mayor and the whole bench of Bishops. The negotiations were commenced by Cardinal Manning, who was respected by all men, and who, after the last meeting, sent for Mr. Burns and himself, and said he was anxious to see the strike ended in the interests not only of the 40,000 Roman Catholics in the East End work, but also in the interest of the others, for whom the Cardinal had no less regard." He declared that the men could not accept less than the 6d. and 8d. for which they had fought so long, and pressed for a continuance of public support. He also committed himself to the astonishing assertion that "the present struggle had shown that social and economical freedom could be obtained without recourse to violence and without great waste of wealth." The following resolution, moved by Tillett, was carried unanimously, amid cheers for the British public who had helped them and for the colonies: "That this meeting of Dock labourers expresses its regret at its inability to accept the terms offered by the Dock authorities-viz., the concession of all demands to be granted on the 1st January next. While thanking his Worship the Lord Mayor, his Eminence Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, and Mr. Sydney Buxton for the keen interest taken to effect a settlement of the strike, we respectfully submit to the Dock Companies, in view of the immediate action taken by the wharfingers in conceding the demands of the men, that to the 1st of October would be ample time to readjust working arrangements."

Burns, speaking at another platform, said: "The starving wives and children of the dockers were at their back, not urging them on, but of the two things dragging them backwards, and asking them to accept any conditions that would terminate a fight in which the suffering, the pain, and the weakness had been on one side. This battle had been brought about, not by the extravagant demands of the men; it had been brought about and continued by

the criminal obstinacy of men who had become a synonym for everything that Englishmen of all classes of society had a right to reprobate. They had all along the line and right through the fight shown a disposition to yield everything but the all-essential points, which they would not yield, whoever the intermediaries and the negotiators might be. . . . They could not yield any more, they would not yield; no, they would rather go back humiliated, they would rather go back disappointed than surrender any point, either in point of time or substance of their demand."

Alluding to the fact that the strikers had on the previous Friday expressed their willingness to accept the intervention of the Lord Mayor, Burns continued: "Unfortunately for the strikers, and, he thought, for the Lord Mayor, that functionary had been away from town during the time the strike had been on, and consequently he did not know what the strikers had been doing, or the conditions under which they had fought, and the temper and attitude of their opponents. That was a difficulty for the men on strike; but they

were willing to accept the Lord Mayor's intervention."

Burn's description of what occurred at the Mansion House was as follows: "Mr. Ben Tillett and himself went to the Mansion House, The Bishop of London, Cardinal Manning, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., were present. They were asked by the Lord Mayor whether they would terminate the strike if the men's terms were conceded in March next. (Loud and prolonged criesof "No.") To that he gave an unhesitating "No." Mr. Ben Tillett and he said on Friday they were willing that the strike should terminate, and, if necessary, they would not object to put it to the men that the Dock Companies should have, in the words of the Bishop of London, 'a little breathing-time to arrange their Dock rate-book.' (Hisses.) But they did not pledge themselves, and they had not done so. They did not pledge themselves on Friday, and after the Lord Mayor had stated what he would suggest, and after telling the Lord Mayor all that they were willing to do, namely, to put to the men any condition that might be discussed, Mr. Tillett and he went away. . . . On Saturday they had another interview, at which they were asked whether the men would accept the 1st of January and not March as a means of terminating the strike. After a long discussion the strike leaders stated that if the Docks Committee conceded this officially—as they did, for he had got it in his pocket—they would put it to the men, and if the men accepted it it would be his duty and the duty of his colleagues to obey. Then Mr. Tillett did say that he would recommend the adoption of these terms to the men but he understood and made it clear that whatever he might recommend in

that direction would not be accepted. He and Mr. Tillett did consult the Executive Committee on Saturday night and they unanimously rejected the terms. In fact, a concession by the Docks Committee which granted the whole of the men's demands, but which deferred the date upon which they should be officially and definitely conceded only made the men more determined than ever to stick out." He further said that the men felt very much annoyed that the Docks Committee, after evasive subterfuges, after misstatements and misinterpretations of their position and that of the Dockers should, at the last moment, by conceding the Dockers' demands, admit that all along the Dockers had been in the right, and that they had been in the wrong. He gave as another reason why the Mansion House settlement could not be accepted that they did not get the terms until five o'clock on Saturday evening, which made it impossible for them to settle the matter between then and Monday morning, (Although the strikers' Ultimatum was sent to the Dock's Committee and an answer demanded within two hours at the beginning of the strike!!) Burns continued:

"No more negotiations for him; he had done with them, and he would wash his hands of the lot. If it was fighting was wanted, he was the man. He asked the meeting if they accepted the Lord Mayor's terms. (Loud cries of "No.") Were they going to surrender? (Loud cries of "No.") Was that their final 'No'? ("Yes.") Were they going to fight on until they won? (Loud cries of "Yes.") Let all those in favour of the terms printed in the Sunday papers hold up their hands. (No hand was held up.) All those in favour of January or March hold up their hands." (Hisses.)

At another platform Burns made a speech, in which he said that, "The Directors would only yield to measures of force, and they could have them if they wished, for the men were now fit for a flogging campaign. The criminality of the present strike rested with the Directors."

Previous to the start of the procession from the West India Dock Road a gentleman accosted Mr. Burns, and asked what he could do to get his ships unloaded. He stated that he had three vessels—the Helvetia, the France, and the Erin—all lying in the Albert Dock. On the decks of each was a large quantity of manure, which in its present putrefying condition might be the means of causing a fever, and so bring about incalculable harm. He wanted to know whether, if he paid the price the men demanded, some of them could be

got to work. Mr. Burns said that, if the shipper would sign an agreement to pay the price asked, men could easily be found to do what he wanted, and could commence any time to suit himself,

After the meeting in Hyde Park, Mr. Tillett, the Chairman of United Joint Strike Committee, waited upon the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, and asked him to lay before the Dock Directors the proposition that the new terms should commence on October 1st instead of January 1st, as conceded by them. The Lord Mayor demurred to this, on the ground that the time proposed was totally insufficient to enable the Dock Committees to make the necessary readjustments preparatory to the conceded rise in wages. His Lordship, however, agreed to use his good offices with Mr. Norwood and his colleagues to get from them the further concession of an earlier commencement of 'the increased terms than New Year's day, and he lost no time in making a suggestion to that effect to Mr. Norwood, who promised to lay it before his Committee.

The representative of a news agency had an interview this evening with Mr. Tillett, who had moved a resolution at the Hyde Park meeting, proposing that the Dock Companies should so arrange their rates as to be able to grant the men's demands on the 1st of October. Tillett said that after his resolution had been adopted he went straight to Cardinal Manning, who expressed his sorrow that the men had not in the first instance adopted the course which he had advised them to follow. At the same time he said he had adopted means to defend his position by writing to the Press. On hearing of the terms of Mr. Tillett's resolution his Eminence expressed the view that the alteration of the date to the 1st of October was a fair way to meet the case, and he said he hoped that his colleagues would agree to it, and that it would be the means of a settlement. They would all have to consult before taking united action. The resolution of Mr. Tillet would, his Eminence thought, ensure the confidence of the public in the strikers, and if it was not accepted by the Dock Authorities the responsibility would rest with them. His Eminence then wrote a letter which Mr. Tillett, according to directions, conveyed to the Lord Mayor. His Lordship, after reading it, said he thought that the men had dealt unfairly with him in not accepting his proposition after the sacrifices he had made to effect a

settlement. Mr. Tillett defended his own position by saying that he agreed to the proposition for the 1st of January as the date of the new terms commencing, but the suggestion was unanimously rejected by the men all along the long. His Lordship practically said that Mr. Burns and Mr. Tillett ought to have resigned when the men refused the proposition; but Mr. Tillett replied that that step would have had the effect of playing into the enemy's hands. But as they saw an indication of a desire on the other side to meet them, they on their side would show a conciliatory spirit, and endeavour to meet the Company in as fair a manner as possible; but their limit was the 1st October. His lordship at first said, that unless the men unconditionally accepted his proposal he would wash his hands of the matter; but subsequently he undertook to strongly recommend to both sides that an agreement should be made to date from the 1st of December. He was now meeting them half-way in suggesting three months as the period, at the end of which the new terms should come into operation. The interview then closed.

The amount collected in the halls of the West Central Mission was £ 50 17s. 6d.

September 9th.—The Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and Cardinal Manning stated their view of their negotiations, and of the conduct of Messrs. Burns and Tillett in relation thereto in the following letter to the *Times*:

## "To the Editor of 'The Times."

"SIR,—We desire to place before the public through your courtesy the recents facts relating to our action in this unfortunate conflict.

"On Friday morning last a conference took place at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, at which Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Andrew Lusk, and Mr. Sydney Buxton were present. Various schemes were discussed in the hope of arriving at a basis of settlement which might be acceptable to both parties to the dispute.

Eventually it was decided to place before the representatives of the labourers a suggestion that we should be allowed on their behalf to propose to the Dock Directors that they should concede the advance from 5d. to 6d., but that it should not come into force

until the 1st of March.

"Later in the day Mr. Burns and Mr. Tillett called at the Man-

sion House at the request of the Lord Mayor, who had also sent invitations to Mr. Champion and Mr. Mann; the latter, however, were not accessible and did not attend. We placed our suggestion before Mr. Burns and Mr. Tillett and particularly pointed out that, owing to the great accumulation of work caused by the strike, the men could on the 5d. scale earn more during the next few months than they would under ordinary circumstances be able to do on the 6d. scale. Messrs. Burns and Tillett demurred to the 1st of March being fixed for the increased wages to commence; they were anxious that the new conditions should be deferred for a month only. In the end, and after considerable discussion as to the wording of the proposal to be put before the Directors, in which Messrs. Burns and Tillett took part and suggested various alterations, it was agreed that the 1st of January be substituted for the 1st of March. Messrs. Burns and Tillett consented to these terms being placed before the Directors on their behalf and promised to recommend their acceptance by the men.

"The same evening the Directors accorded us an interview, and, after hearing us fully, promised to give their best consideration to our proposals and especially inquired whether we could assure them that the men would assent to our suggestions. We replied

that we had the best reason for believing that they would.

"On Saturday afternoon we received a letter from the Directors, which will appear in your columns concurrently with this, agreeing to the terms proposed and making only one or two stipulations. This letter was placed before Messrs. Burns and Tillett, who at once acquiesced in the conditions of the Directors, but they demanded that the Dock authorities 'should not displace or directly or indirectly show resentment to the men who have participated in the strike.'

"Messrs. Burns and Tillett then left us, promising to use their best efforts to induce the whole of the men to agree to what they

had accepted.

"Later in the evening we received a communication from the representatives of the men asking whether 8d. per hour for overtime was also conceded. To this we replied that we had 'made it clear' to the Directors that this was to be so; but we added that the men should 'include this as one of the terms of their acceptance'

"In all particulars, therefore, the men secured every point for which they had bargained except that the time for the new rates of payment was deferred until the 1st of January in order to permit the Directors to make such 'readjustments in the administration of their business as would enable them to meet the rise in wages.'

"We are now at a loss to understand how Messrs Burns and

Tillett can have appended their names to a manifesto which is a repudiation of what we all understood they had agreed to; and, should they persist in continuing the strike, we feel that they will justly forfeit the sympathy which has hitherto been shown them and their cause.

"Having expressed on frequent occasions our good feeling towards the men in their endeavour to obtain adequate remuneration for their labour, we now trust they will listen to counsel which we be lieve to be for their good.

"We are, &c.,

" JAMES WHITEHEAD, Lord Mayor.

"HENRY E. CARD. MANNING.

"F. LONDIN.

"P.S.—We, perhaps, ought to add that Sir John Lubbock's proposal to the effect that as many men as possible should be entered on a list by the Dock authorities and that the rate of pay to these should be increased to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour, with a guaranteed minimum of 17s, a week was put by us before Messrs. Burns and Tillett and unhesitatingly rejected, while ours was adopted."

The Times itself said: "The letter which we publish this morning from the three important dignitaries through whom the negotiations were conducted will put the public in full possession of the facts. The proposals to the Directors were not made until Messrs: Burns and Tillett, as representatives of the men, had accepted them as satisfactory and had engaged to use their influence to induce the men to agree to them. It was in reliance on an assurance as to this that the Directors conceded what was asked of them, adding, however, certain minor stipulations, particularly to the effect that the men who had been at work during the strike should not be subjected to any annoyance or ill-treatment by the others. Burns and Tillett made no objection, and again promised to use their best efforts to secure the general acceptance of a compromise which, as the letter shows us, had been changed from its original terms so as to be more favourable to the men. When a further question was raised whether the eightpence per hour for overtime work was also granted, the reply to the men's representatives was that this was certainly a part of the arrangement. It appeared, therefore, that the business was now over. The demands of the men had been met as far as their leaders had thought it necessary to insist that they should be, and it only remained for the general committee to signify their approval of what had been done, and to announce formally that work at the Docks was to be resumed. This pleasant illusion has been dispelled. The terms, after all said,

cvi.

have not been accepted, and Messrs. Burns and Tillett have given their public approval to the refusal of the committee to agree to The speeches delivered yesterday in Hyde Park read strangely side by side with the Lord Mayor's letter, The willingness of the Dock Directors to submit to a compromise of the dispute has been treated as a confession of weakness; the concessions which they were prepared to make are valued only as a sign that more may be gained if the men stand out. The engagements entered into at the Mansion House are set aside and repudiated in mocking words. Messrs. Burns and Tillett deny that they in any way countenanced them, and their word, as Mr. Champion declares, will be believed by the men rather than that of the Lord Mayor and the whole bench of Bishops. After this specimen of good faith and of gratitude to their best friends, we find it hard to attach much importance to an alleged renewal of the negotiations, in which the Lord Mayor is again to be an intermediary between the Dock Directors and Mr. Tillett. . . . Saturday was an eventful day. It began with a display of picketing, and the City learned for the first time what the thing really is. A body of men, on their way to work at the Docks, were detected by the pickets, who began at once to hustle them and to do all they could to intercept them by main force. The appearance of Mr. Burns on the scene, and his intervention with the pickets, put an end for the time to the open violence with which the would-be workers were threatened. The pickets protested that they were doing the work they were set to do, as no doubt they were. But it would hardly have been prudent to allow them to go thus to work in Billiter Street, and Mr. Burns acaccordingly did his best to prevent this, and with a fair measure of success. It is not the first time, our reporter tells us, on which Mr. Burns has given proof of his influence with the men. When some ill-conditioned, half-hearted fellow complains at a public meeting that he is not allowed to go back to his work, Mr. Burns' way is to put himself in a fighting attitude and thus to restore harmony. On Saturday morning, in Billiter Street, there was not so opportune an occasion for interference of the kind, and Mr. Burns accordingly, though as ready to fight as ever, thought it best to fight on the other side, against the pickets, and not against the blacklegs. He was as successful in every way as he could have wished. The pickets were quieted for the moment, but they returned presently to their duty. The imported workers were followed into the railway station, were attended on their way to the Docks, and were duly hustled and knocked about when they attempted to enter. Finally, out of some 29 men, 16 effected their escape and went resolutely to work. But they had suffered losses by the way. Some of their party may have yielded to argument; others to downright force. One poor fellow had quick-lime thrown in his eyes, and he has been blinded for life—an incident in the campaign which the leaders of the men are loudly professing to regret, and which they have been doing their utmost to explain away. It is the kind of result which we may expect from the organized system of interference which picketing avowedly is. When men who love bawling and hustling on their own account are paid for bawling and hustling and are taught to look upon them as duties in their common cause, we cannot be surprised that they occasionally overstep the line and do their appointed work a little more effectually than their employers can venture to approve."

The Times further said that the men had done their best in more ways than one to put themselves publicly in the wrong, and that their breach of the Mansion House compact was "an act of folly," no less than of bad faith. "It has become clear, too, as the strike has proceeded, that the men have not been satisfied to allow to others the freedom of action which they were claiming and exercising for themselves. Either the line between moral and physical persuasion has not been drawn or the distinction has not been kept. This has been notorious for some time, but never has there been so distinct a proof of it or one which will so forcibly compel public attention to it as was offered on Saturday, when a would-be-worker at the Docks was blinded for life by having quicklime thrown in his eyes."

The *Times*' Special correspondent stated that "the hearts of those at the Wade's Arms are at the present moment in a state of elation. From America they have received abundant sympathy but no dollars; from Churchmen and Nonconformists in general they have received much sympathy and some money. The receipts from public collections have been, I should imagine, growing less; but the great source of support has been Australia. Yesterday £4,000 came from that source alone, £3,000 being addressed to Mr. Burns under cover at the *Times* Office. This, no doubt, is a great increase to the strength of the men; indeed, it may almost be said that if they are supplied with money in such an abundance as this they may be tempted to remain on strike for an unreasonable time."

Both parties to the dispute absolutely held out against any further concessions or compromises. The Dock Companies, although willing to concede the 6d. per hour and 8d. overtime, would not put it into operation until New Year's Day, whereas the men insisted upon its dating from October 1. The Lord Mayor and his Com-

mittee, pocketing the slight which had been put upon them by the strikers, continued their well-intentioned efforts to effect a settlement. The Committee of Conciliation, consisting of the Lord Mayor, Cardinal Manning, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Sydney Buxton had a prolonged conference with Messrs. Burns, Tillett, Mann, Champion, Iles, Toomey, and Walsh. As the Lord Mayor, however, immediately left London until Friday, and the Bishop of London returned to Wales, it was evident that they did not expect much progress towards a settlement. The Lord Mayor handed over to the Strike Committee £1,200 which he had received from Adelaide "for the benefit of the strikers," and £ 500 from the Amalgamated Miners' Association, Broken Hill, Australia, "for the use of Dock labourers"; and he also forwarded to Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., £1,000 received from Brisbane for the relief of sufferers in connection with the Dock strike, and £ 100 from Lord Brassey to be administered by the Relief Committee in East India Road.

More men were working in all the Docks in spite of the efforts which were made to get at them by the pickets.

Burns received a report to the effect that a wharfinger having paid the new terms until the men had cleared off the greater part of the accumulation of goods on his wharf, proposed to reduce the wage to 5d. an hour. Burns at once despatched a messenger to the men connected with this wharf, telling them if they did not receive the price agreed upon they were at once to cease work and picket the premises.

The Dock Directors stated that they were compelled to refuse further information as to the state of affairs in the Docks, because they had found that the publication of these facts universally resulted in an increased activity on the part of the pickets. The Directors also said: "As to the question of picketing and interfering with the freedom of men going to work the Directors considered that what was going on now in the east of London was a disgrace to any civilised community. Whatever powers were existing to give freedom of action to working men were in abeyance in the east of London, for the men there were really living under a reign of terror. The Lord Mayor, it was stated, had asked that men should be allowed to go into their old places when the strike had been brought to an end. The Directors said that, with all respect to his Lordship, they could not concede that point, for, as a matter of fact, the places of many men who had gone out on strike

had been filled up. There did not exist any vindictive feeling whatever towards the men who had gone out, but the company could not and would not displace those who had come in. As to the proposal that the 6d. and 8d. an hour should begin on the 1st of October, the Directors said that they had gone to the extreme limit of their concessions in the offer they had made to commence the rise of pay in January next. The Lord Mayor, a Director said, came to the Directors with what was known in trade as a 'firm offer,' and as such it was accepted. Beyond that the Directors could not go."

At the Corn Exchange, Mark Lane, a meeting of the grain-traders was held and a resolution passed calling upon the Government to put down picketing and to stop the intimidation now rampant in

connection with the strike.

Subsequently a deputation from the meeting, consisting of Mr. John Aste, Chairman of the Corn Exchange, Mr. Grimsdale, and Mr. Podger, had an interview with Mr. Sanders, one of Mr. Matthews's private secretaries, for the purpose of asking that some official steps should be taken to put an end to the intimidation now being practised by the various pickets. The deputation laid the whole matter before Mr. Sanders, who promised to communicate with the Home Secretary, with the view to an appointment.

The new proposal to fix December 1st as the date for granting the full demands of the men found little favour. Tom Mann expressed his entire opposition to such a compromise being proceeded with, and said the men would reject it. He endorsed Tillett's proposal as to October 1st, but he felt the gravest doubt as to whether he should be able to prevail upon the South London men to accept it.

Among the matters dealt with by the South Side Strike Committee was an application by Mr. Lafone, of Butler's Wharf. Mr. Lafone wished to send a barge down to Tilbury Docks for a consignment of tea. The Wade's Arms Committee refused a similar application from the same gentleman on Satarday on account of Mr. Lafone's having unloaded timber as well as general goods from a vessel at his wharf on that day. The South London Committee, though assured by him that it was impossible to get at the goods without removing the timber and though he offered to pay the Dock rates for unloading timber, refused the application. This action of the committee will, it is said, result in 200 of Mr. Lafone's men having nothing to do.

Fifty men who had agreed to go to work in the Albert Docks left the Dock-house in a body for that purpose. They travelled by the 10.37 train from Fenchurch Street, but so energetic were the striker's pickets that only eleven of the "blacklegs" reached their destination.

At a meeting on Tower Hill, Tillet said that he resented very much being made use of by the Lord Mayor in the way shown in that morning's papers: "There had been an exhibition of spleen on the part of the Lord Mayor which was unworthy of a great citizen. They respected his Lordship's position, and hoped that he in turn would respect theirs. He hoped the Lord Mayor's mind would be as large and generous as the minds of other men whose interests had to be considered. He could tell the Lord Mayor that he put no more value on his influence and position, if it was not for the right, than he did on that of the humblest of the starving Dock Labourers."

Referring to the state of affairs in the Docks, Tillett said: "The men there only had to say they would knock off work when the foremen had to grovel and lick round them in order to keep them on." He proceeded to thank the members of the Press there for contributing three guineas towards the Strike Fund, and said they would get a harvest of pence and silver that day which had been collected at the various chapels on the previous day. "The Dock Companies were now hoping to defeat them through their stomachs, but the Company had been defeated by the public, who had filled the Dockers' stomachs. . . . They wanted the Dock Directors to give up some of their luxuries so that they might have some of the necessaries of life."

Burns said he had received £71 from British Trade Unions, sums of money from various parts of the country, one large cheque from Australia. He estimated the street collections of the previous day at £500 to £600, and added, "One could afford to have a little impudence on receiving £5,000 by one post."

"He had seen a letter in the newspapers that day from the Lord Mayor. He had not said a harsh word in this dispute about any man except Norwood and Williams. On them, he confessed, he had been somewhat rough; but one had to be rough on rats at all times. . . . The fact was their willingness to settle had been regarded as overtures to surrender. Their sweet reasonableness had been construed as the conduct of men who were goaded on to accept terms by hungry, despairing men at their backs. That was not so. They were better organized than ever. Money was coming in as fast as they could reasonably expect, and in proportion as whar-

fingers and shipowners accepted their terms so did their liabilities diminish and their prospects of victory increase. The *morale* of the men was excellent, and that morning he had seen enough to justify him in pushing forward their claims to the bitter end."

A large meeting of the pastors and officers of the "Free Churches" of London, was held at the Memorial Hall—"For the purpose of promoting extended and concerted action in relation to the strike." Rev. Dr. Hannay, who presided, said that "It was not proposed to record or suggest judgment on the present strike either on the one side or the other, although no doubt the majority of those present had formed a definite opinion on the question, and probably in the main in one direction." Dr. Clifford said: "The heroic conduct of the strikers deserved cordial recognition, and philanthropists who had watched them had been constrained to entertain hopes for their advancement which had never been held out before. The spirit which animated the Dockers throughout the strike was admirable, and was due in a great measure to the conduct of the leaders—Burns and Tillett."

He proposed the following resolution: "That in the judgment of this meeting of ministers and members of Free Churches in London (1) it is certain that the severity of the distress consequent upon the Dock labourers' strike will be more acutely felt for several weeks after the strike has ceased to monopolize public attention than it is now, and that, therefore, it is desirable that all our Churches should arrange to increase their contributions to the relief fund by collections and subscriptions as promptly and as largely as possible; (2) that with the view of stimulating practical sympathy in receiving and distributing funds, this meeting resolves to appoint a committee to enter into correspondence with the Churches, calling their attention to the urgency of the need, and offering to distribute where necessary any funds through the Churches, the Strike Committee, and other existing agencies."

The Rev. J. M'Neill, in seconding the motion, said, "it was necessary to let the country know that the Dock men were not a mixture of Bill Sikes and his bulldog; but that, on the contrary, they had as much human nature in them as Mr. Norwood. The concession should be made, and made at once. It appeared at first sight to be a pity that the cause of the Dockers was headed by something that was without godliness; but John Burns did not seem to be far from the Kingdom of Heaven, and he was not sure that all the Dock Directors were in it."

The Rev. Mr. Carlile said that there were 40,000 men then out of work on the Surrey side and the scenes were most pitiful.

Dr. Lunn, of the Wesleyan Central Mission, proposed to move, as a rider:

"That this assembly is of opinion that the time has come for a public expression of opinion on the part of the Nonconformists of London in support of the Dockers in their present struggle, and that the Committee be requested to give expression to that sympathy, and to raise funds for the help of the Dockers and their families."

After a discussion, this rider was not pressed, and the main resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. M'Neill next moved:

"That this meeting of pastors and officers of the Free Churches of London requests representatives of all denominations present to wait upon the Dock Directors and the Lord Mayor at once, and represent to them that we are convinced that it is of the utmost urgency that the claims of the men, as expressed in their latest proposition, of 6d. an hour at once, or on the 1st of October, should be instantly conceded, and so end this painful struggle."

Rev. W. Cuff seconded the motion, which was carried.

The dustmen in the employ of Messrs. Hobbs and Co., Paddington, struck work for an advance of wages and sought the assistance of John Williams, the Socialist leader. who held what he called a Parliament of Labour outside Messrs. Hobbs' gates. He said the responsibility for this strike must rest with Messrs. Hobbs and Son. "What the strikers ought to do was to cripple the trade of the yard entirely. Could they get the day men out? (Yes.) No force must be used; but under the law of conspiracy relating to Trade Unions they had power to place pickets at the gates."

The Great Eastern Railway Company's men at Parkstone Quay, having declined the offer of Mr. Birt, the General Manager, of  $\mathcal{L}_{I}$  is. 6d. for a week of six days, twelve hours a day, with extra pay for overtime and Sunday work, free passes on the line, and privilege tickets for their wives and families, the Company at once took steps to replace them, and the offer of permanent employment at  $\mathcal{L}_{I}$  is. and overtime quickly secured the 300 men required from villages and towns in East Anglia. None of the men who struck were taken on again.

The strike of grain carriers at the Bramley Moor Dock, Liverpool, terminated. The 6s. per day and 1s. an hour overtime being granted by the masters.

Major Banes, M.P., in a letter to the Times, on the action of Mr.

H. H. Lafone, said that he had posed as the representative of the wharfingers, and yet had for purposes best known to himself, "been in constant communication with the Strike Committee, and at the same time furnishing the Press with information that has led to reports so inaccurate and misleading that, in my opinion, the prolongation of the strike and the bitterness engendered are more due to that fact than anything else." Major Banes also intimated that Mr. Lafone had "little interest or practical experience as a wharfinger, being simply the representative of the Land Security Finance Company who hold Butler's Wharf."

Messrs. Hollingworth, Perry, Barnes, Knight, Mahoney, Kelly, Lynch, and Lockett, who described themselves as "The leaders of the men who cart, pile, and deliver wood cargoes after being discharged from the ship in the Surrey Commercial Docks," stated in a letter to the Times that at the time of the strike the men at these Docks were in full work earning from forty shillings to fifty shillings a week. "The whole of these men, both gangers and strappers, when they suddenly left work, stated that they went out under compulsion from the strikers, who came over from the north side of the Thames, and we believe that they would at once resume work if allowed to do so. Why are they not allowed to return, especially as the strike leaders professed to have intervened only on behalf of men who are receiving 5d. an hour? Failing a rational answer to this question the public would do well to consider whether they are acting rightly in subscribing money for the support of men who could be earning from 40s. to 50s. per week."

Mr. Andrew Low, in a letter to the *Times*, said that it was very easy for the Lord Mayor, the Bishop of London, and Cardinal Manning to interview Dock Directors and instruct them how to conduct their business, but he suggested that these eminent personages should accompany the next gang of labourers who were sent to the Docks and witness the treatment which they received from the pickets. "Let them address a few words of advice to those interfering with the men who are anxious to work for the Dock Company's pay. Let them instruct them in the duty of Christian forbearance to men who have as much right to work as they have to remain idle, and see what effect they will produce. They are, at all events, certain of a large audience. No doubt after an experience of this kind the Dock Directors will be more ready to listen to their counsel, if they are still in the humour to tender it."

Mr. Low further said: "Some of the Dock Company's officials this

morning found 29 men who were perfectly ready to go to the Docks and work for 3d. an hour. They got them with difficulty through the pickets at Fenchurch Street and into the train, but four of the pickets went into the same train with them, and, on arrival at the Docks, made signals to the men picketing outside the station, who broke into the station and so hustled and annoyed the men that 13 of them were lost, and only 16 got safely into the Dock."

September 10th.—A telegram from Melbourne stated that the donations collected throughout Victoria in aid of the London strikers amounted to £10,000, and those in New South Wales to £4,000.

A deputation of lightermen went to the Home Office to complain of the resolution passed by the corn brokers, in which they appealed to the Home Secretary to afford protection to men who were willing to work. The lightermen stated that they had in no case practised intimidation. Picketing they admitted; but they contended that it had been confined within legal bounds.

An exciting scene took place at Fenchurch Street Station shortly before noon. Thirty "blacklegs" on the way to the Docks were followed to the railway station by a crowd, Superintendent Foster guarding the dockers with a force of police. On reaching the barrier on the departure platform several men made a rush, but were prevented from getting through. They returned to the street groaning and hooting. Earlier in the morning a body of 40 men went by the Great Eastern from Fenchurch Street to the Docks.

At the Millwall Docks there was a new departure. Shipowners had asked the Dock Directors whether permission would be given to men from the outside to discharge ships. Consent was readily given. The Strike Committee allowed the men to work on the ships on condition that the ships' cargoes should not be discharged into the Dock Company's warehouses or barges.

On behalf of the Dock Directors it was stated that the amount involved in the dispute had been put by some people at £30,000 per annum, by others at £150,000 per annum and by a strike leader at £70,000 per annum. A Director said it had been stated "that such a small amount should not be the cause determining the continuance of this dispute." People who made such statements, he added, forgot the two small words "per annum." The sums mentioned, capitalized on the 3 per cent. tables, meant from one million to five millions sterling.

Cardinal Manning, accompanied by Mr. Sydney Buxton held a three hours' conference with the Strike Committee in the Wade Street Catholic School-house, the proceedings being private.

At a meeting on Tower Hill Tillett said: "If ever they were in a position to congratulate themselves, it was at the present time. On the previous day close on £7,000 came in and they had promises of more to follow. The day before there was an influential meeting of the Nonconformist body, and the debate which took place was almost too much on one side, for they now had nobody to fight. . . . All through these troublous times there had been mutterings and murmurings of resentment, but ill-feeling had been kept under by great restraint, and he had never lost sight of the fact that there was great danger to the great commercial heart of this world through the strike being prolonged. He had never whittled down his own responsibility, and if the Dock Directors had looked all round, instead of croaking about sending the trade of London away, they would have acted as the men had done and met them fairly and squarely, and allowed them to return to work. If the trade of London had been dislocated and the traffic diverted, the responsibility for it must fall upon the Directors. What would it cost them to accede to the men's demands? Not more than £6,000, and what would be their return? The Directors would clear not only £5,000 but £10,000 the first day that work was resumed. Yet for the sake of their dignity, or rather their ass-like obstinacy, they would not make the concession demanded. Where was their dignity? Like the bullies and cowards that they were, when they got a good thrashing they called out 'Police."

Burns at the same meeting said: "He had to announce that they had received another £ 1,000 that morning from Australia. Since Monday morning £7,000 had come from Melbourne and Adelaide alone. That did not look like losing. The subscriptions in the streets were as large as ever, and the collections from the churches and chapels were coming in very fast, while the amount of support from ordinary sources was not at all disappointing. He had one word to say about the English-speaking races in America. The Australians had responded to the Dockers' appeal with a generosity that was really striking. The Americans had also responded to the Dockers' appeal. In characteristic fashion they had sent a lot of long-worded sentiments and sympathy, but as for 'spondulicks' or dollars, nary a red cent. Now. that was not in keeping with the nation that boasted of the stars and stripes floating above its head. He was indeed surprised. and he was ashamed of the American workmen, who boasted so much about their solidarity, their self-sacrifice, and their labour organizations. They had left unsupported the pioneers of a labour movement the effect of which would be felt all over the world. He was ashamed that the American workmen, with all their boasting and bluffing, had not sent a single shilling to help the Dock labourer in his trouble."

The procession passed through the City, and it was noticed that there was a considerable diminution in numbers. The dockers, however, were very enthusiastic and groaned vigorously on passing the Dock office in Leadenhall-street. When the men on their return journey reached Philpot-street, E., two babies, born a week ago, were brought into the street for the strike leader to kiss. Mr. Burns received the infants from the nurses and bestowed the wishedfor caress on each child, amid enthusiastic manifestations, especially from the assembled women.

Tom Mann, at a meeting in Southwark Park, said the way the public had supported the movement was something startling. Cardinal Manning, and those acting with him, had in effect said to them at the Mansion House: "Do not insist upon the terms being granted at once. The Directors are already in the gutter, but do not stamp on them." Referring to the letter which had appeared in the Times from the deal gangers, Mann said it was evidently intended to make the men look despicable and endeavour to stop the public contributions. "They made out that the men might now be at work in the Docks earning good money but for their 'cussedness.' These men were traitors and rascals, and must be regarded as their enemies. Let them use no violence towards them, but let them treat them as social lepers who had done their best to destroy them."

Mr. E. S. Norris, M.P., in a manly letter to the *Times*, in which he said that he would rather risk his seat than disguise his opinions in this crisis, paid a tribute to the intelligence and honesty of the working men of the East End. He said:

"As one of the Joint Committee, may I take this opportunity of saying, for myself at least, that the coarse abuse levelled at the chairman individually is unfair and untrue? We are all acting in union and prefer to share the responsibility, and we reject the abuse. You, Sir, severely deprecated some days ago such forms of coercion as have been attempted and used towards us, and even in the intervention from the Mansion-house pressure of no ordinary nature has been applied. Where is this to end? The country surely will not

tolerate in perpetuity that which interferes with freedom of contract and the mutual relations between supply and demand."

Mr. James Taylor, of Middlesborough, in a letter to the *Times*, said that he had been a wharfinger for over 45 years. He pointed out that the wharfage business of London had suffered enormously during the last twenty or thirty years, the sugar trade having all but left it, and also the rice trade, and the ale and porter trade, while the warehousing of grain for trans-shipment coast-wise was all-but obsolete. He further pointed out that the competition of Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle, &c., told heavily against trade in London, and that improved Continental lines of steamers to America and the East now carried goods which formerly came to London for trans-shipment, giving the three-fold labour of putting into lighters, conveyance by lighter, and shipping into the export vessel. As regards Dock labourers and their work, Mr. Taylor said:

"The work is not exhaustive; it is intermittent, it is carried on in the open air, and any strong man can easily work overtime on occasion. The proposed rate of payment would enable men to earn 6s. to 7s. a day if fully employed. Compare this with the work and pay of our ironworkers, of miners, of men shut up in the mills, in factories, and chemical works, or with the long hours, hard work, and small pay of the agricultural labourer, and the position of a Dock labourer with the new rate of payment is far beyond them all. . . . . I see it is estimated that the number of men out on strike, with their allied and kindred trades—lightermen, carmen, coal workers, &c.—will reach 200,000; the increased pay demanded is equal to 1s. per day, that is £10,000 per day. This demand, if conceded, is enough to dislocate the shipping trade of London. It is impossible that, in the face of superabundance of labour, it can permanently be maintained, and to just such an extent as the demand is forced will the men be injured on whose behalf the agitation has been made."

Mr. A. A. Frey, in a letter to the *Times*, corroborated the statements of Mr. Taylor as to the loss of trade experienced by London, which was no longer the depot of the world. In spite of this loss of trade the rates of lighterage had been reduced 25 per cent. Mr. Frey said that general lighterage business, under the most favourable conditions, does not give a return of 5 per cent. on capital invested. He also protested against the system of picketing "with its threats, its entering of men's names who are at work in the Black Book, also

the stoning of men on the barges. The farce of the police launch incessantly following in the rear of the strikers' hired tug, has already been commented upon by the Press. Surely picketing of this sort is intimidation, and illegal, and should be prevented."

A correspondent of the *Times*, who described himself as a trustee shareholder in the London and St. Katharine Docks, said:

"1. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the wages which the men have been receiving represent the full market value of their services.

"2. The many millions of money which were spent in creating the Docks were spent not to found a 'trust for the public,' or for the 'Port of London,' nor to establish a philanthropic institution, but to create a commercial undertaking to be managed on business principles and to produce a profit for the shareholders.

"3. The earning of a dividend is of the utmost importance to many of the shareholders, a substantial number of whom are widows and orphans in very reduced circumstances, and who are

deserving of the sympathy of the public."

He thought the reasonableness of the Directors position was evident from the fact that but for intimidation they could get as many men as they wanted on their own terms. This Dock Shareholder further thought that "Persons who are charitably inclined might do well to put their inclinations into practice at their own expense and not at the expense of unfortunate people whose only crime is to be shareholders in a Dock Company"; and further, that "the essence of mediation is a compromise, and that pressure exercised on those who have already given up much to compel them to give up everything to those who decline to give up anything is not mediation at all." He thought that the Docks might just as well be shut up for a year or two as to be open at a loss.

At the Thames Police Court, George Owen was charged with intimidation. He threatened William Tinker, a carmen in the employ of Messrs. Fardell, and attempted to unharness his horses. He was sentenced to two months hard labour.

At West Ham, William Bitts, Dock labourer, was charged with intimidating James Scanlan, a Dock constable, "by besetting the place where he carried on his business at Connaught Road, Royal Albert Docks." When the constable opened the Dock gate to let in a van Bitts rushed into the Docks, and was afterwards found concealed beneath some tarpaulin. When asked what he was doing there, he said: "I am here to mark those who work."

He was told to leave the Docks, and he then said to the constable, "When I get out of the Docks I will knock your brains out." Mr. Bagallay, the magistrates said it must be clearly understood that picketing was illegal; that was, picketing in the sense of intimidating men to prevent them from going into work, either by using language of a threatening character, or by hanging about the Docks. He sentenced the prisoner to two months hard labour.

September 11th.—The Times' Special Correspondent stated that one of the sights of the morning was to see the imported labourers formed up in column, and escorted by the City Police, running the blockade of the pickets. Three batches of labourers were thus conveyed to the Docks this morning. The strikers, however, claimed that they had intercepted 150 men from Liverpool at Willesden, and that as soon as they reached Euston they started back to Liverpool. The Times' Correspondent said: "It is an extremely difficult thing to obtain evidence of individual cases of intimidation for the simple reason that the men are afraid to give it." The same Correspondent said: "Mr. Tillett I regard as a serious obstacle to compromise in any form. His speech in the Park on Sunday shows him to be extremely anxious to claim credit for himself, and to pose as a leader, and though he is intellectually a pigmy beside the others, his feeble jokes and assertive manner are not unpopular among the men."

Mr. Hankey, Deputy Chairman of the Docks Committee, and Mr. Boyle, had an interview with the Chief Commissioners of Metropolitan Police, "in order to ascertain whether steps could be taken to put down intimidation." They stated that since Saturday, in consequence of more vigorous action on the part of the City Police, the Directors had been able to send men down to the Docks with much less molestation on the part of the pickets than before. Mr. Neville Lubbock entered his protest against the men who had returned to work being denominated as "blacklegs." He thought they were perfectly honest men, and had a right to go to work if they thought fit. He was not sure that the term might not be properly applied to those who were endeavouring to intimidate honest workers.

Pickets were exceptionally active in the City during the day, and a great body of them surrounded the Dock-house. As soon as any new men emerged from the Dock-house they were surrounded by pickets, who, by means of persuasive words, followed sometimes by

taunts, endeavoured to induce the new-comers to abandon their journey to the Docks. Such expressions as "Have you got no shame in you?" and "You will be marked men," were frequently heard, and every now and again some intending worker, yielding to the influence of these ejaculations, would fall out of the ranks.

Pickets were stationed outside the Docks, and prevented any labourers going in by the public entrances.

There were strong bodies of pickets on the river as well as on land. The Sayes's Court Committee passed a stringent prohibition on mid-stream unloading which applied from Westminster Bridge to the Nore.

It was announced that the strikers had now between £11,000 and £12,000 in hand, between £5,000 and £6,000 having been received from Australia this day.

In consequence of the steamers Ormuz and Tainui, bound for Melbourne and New Zealand, having shipped "blackleg" crews of seamen and firemen, the secretary of the Seaman's and Fireman's Union was instructed to communicate with the Federated Seaman's Union of Australia, requesting that body to refuse to load or unload ships so manned. Mr. Tillett addressed a meeting at Tilbury. He states that there are 36 ships lying in the stream there unable to sail for want of crews.

At a meeting on Tower Hill, Tillett said, referring to the money they had at their back, "that meant cannon, shot and shell, and unless the Dock Directors gave in they were going to bombard the Dock House at once. . . Their position was now far stronger than it was last week, for they had on their side money, public sympathy, and justice. If the Dock Companies did not give in, the men would be able to prolong their holiday and receive as much for standing about as they got for sweating in the Docks."

Later in the day Tillett said they were getting gold from the diggings, and Australia was a perfect mine. They had had yards and yards of sympathy from America, but not a single dollar. With all their boastings about the eagle and the stars and stripes on their banner, with all their vauntings about their labour institutions, the Americans had not sent their fellow working men anything with which to provide the ammunition of war.

At a meeting of London Congregational ministers held at the Memorial Hall, the Rev. G. D. Macgregor, chairman, moved, and the Rev. Dr. Parker seconded the following resolution, which was carried: "That this Board desires to express cordial sympathy with the Dock Labourers in their present struggle, believing that their claim is substantially just and reasonable."

A correspondent of the *Times* said: "Watching the strikers' procession just now in Tower Street, one of the men, who evidently knew me, as I am constantly in the Docks, broke through the ranks and told me that he and two-thirds of the procession would gladly return to work, even at 5d. per hour, if the rest, who were not 'Dockers' at all, did not intimidate them."

September 12th.—Prospect of a settlement of the strike again appeared more favourable. Cardinal Manning had a long interview with the Dock Directors, who afterwards said that they considered that the terms they agreed to as to the 6d. an hour being conceded from the 1st January next were the only terms they would be justified in abiding by, and what they had now to say was that if the leaders of the strike had other terms to propose they should first agree among themselves and submit them, when the Directors would consider them. The Directors had had nothing from the men sufficiently "firm" to act upon, and could not discuss any other subject or point than the 1st of January proposal unless they had from the men a direct offer. The Directors accepted Cardinal Manning as a mediator on behalf of the men, but they could not go into the discussion they had had with his Eminence except to say that they had discussed all the points with him.

The Mansion House Committee of Conciliation issued the following announcement: "Cardinal Manning and Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., who have been in constant communication with the Lord Mayor and Sir John Lubbock, M.P. (President of the London Chamber of Commerce), had a prolonged interview with the Joint Committee at the Dock House, and afterwards with the representatives of the Strike Committee at the Mansion House. On both sides a most amicable feeling was shown. It is, of course, impossible to make any definite announcement as to the termination of the strike until the final agreement between the Joint Committee and the Dock Labourers shall have been signed and published by them. We believe, however, that any delay now existing is only because the questions pending between the other parties interested have not as yet been finally settled. It is, however, hoped that to-day a satisfactory solution of these points may be arrived at and the strike terminated. Apart from these extraneous questions we understand that all matters have been amicably arranged."

This memorandum was submitted by Mr. Burns to the Strike Committee, and was discussed at length.

Mr. T. Sutherland, M.P., said that the Dock Directors apparently thought that the increase in their working expenses by the concession of the 6d. per hour would have to be borne by the shipowners in the form of increased rates. This, he was of opinion, was not a proposition which the shipowners could endure. It would, he seemed to think, have one of two effects—it would either drive away the trade from the Port of London or it would force a new Dock Company into existence.

The master-lightermen continued to insist that the raising of rates which would necessarily be involved in a concession of the men's demands would have the effect of driving away trade from the Port of London, and in support of their contention they pointed to a great strike among the men which took place some years ago, and which so effectually drove away from the port the cotton trade, and one or two other trades, that they have never returned.

In some granaries on the south side of the river the men went to work under a mistaken notion that the Lafone settlement applied to their case, whereas under the terms of the South side Manifesto the casual hands were entitled to demand 5s. 10d. per day.

The police escorted a load of beds and bolsters, and a large quantity of beer into the Lady Dock. The pickets were naturally irate at this, and a telegram was at once despatched to the tradesman who had supplied the articles imploring him for the sake of the men on strike not to send any more. A local publican, who is supplying a large number of meals to the "blacklegs" in the Docks, has been denounced by the men.

At the Tower Hill meeting Tillett said:

"The usual shoal of falsehoods had come from the Dock House, and the leaders of the strike were doing their best to give morality to the men whom the Dockers had demoralised. They had been able to spoil Mr. Norwood's little game, and the recent events would be a lesson to him and to them also. The Dock labourers in Liverpool were getting 5s. a day, and half-a-crown whether they worked one, two, or five hours, and these docks charged a less rate than the London Docks. Let each man do his part willingly, cheerfully, and, above all, he urged them to restrain themselves. They

must not forget that a look from a docker's eye was sufficient to paralyse a blackleg, and they would be able to talk to these men when they returned to work."

Burns said that his absence from Tower Hill on the previous day was partly owing to the fact that he had to go to the bank to receive  $\pounds 2,000$  that had come for them from Australia. After that meeting he was going to the bank to get another  $\pounds 2,000$  that had been received from Melbourne and Sydney. He declared that the men who had been to the Home Office with the alleged charges of intimidation, had failed most signally. "Having failed with Mr. Matthews, they went to Mr. Monro. Now that gentleman was a sensible fellow, and the fact that he had through the strike kept his men in the background was an evidence of his good sense."

An important meeting of master-lightermen was held at the Corn Exchange Tavern. Mr. Wiggington again sent a very urgent request that he might be admitted to the meeting, but the meeting unanimously declined to admit him. A committee was appointed to deal direct with the lightermen. Mr. Groves contended that the masters were the men's best friends. "The masters had had a very great struggle in the Port of London for the last seven years to maintain any trade at all. The rates had worked down to almost nothing, and the earnings net had not exceeded 5 per cent., after allowing for the charges of the business. If the basis of business was destroyed by unreasonable demands in the labour market, the labour market must perish with business. The matter resolved itself simply into a question of supply and demand. (Cheers.) If prices were put up, the trade in the Port of London in the next three years would drop off one-half. Since the great strike of 1872, the cotton, rice, and indigo business had gone, and London could not now rank as the central port of the world. It really had not got much trade beyond what was required to support its four millions of population. The business which came to London as a central market would shortly be driven away, and the new port at Grimsby, and places like Liverpool and Southampton would get it."

The plate-layers of the Great Western Railway Company in the London district sent to the Directors the following memorial:

"We respectfully demand of the Directors that our wages be increased from 3½d. per hour, or 18s. per week, to 5d. an hour, or 25s. per week. We submit that ours is a skilled labour, requiring intelligence and care; that we incur great hardships through want of rest, having to attend sudden calls at all times and in all sorts of

weather; that we incur great personal risk of life and limb in the execution of our work. Consequently we consider we are entitled to be classed with other bodies of skilled labourers who receive not less than 6d, per hour, and even up to 1s. per hour. We venture to assure the Directors that it would be to the Company's interest to enable their workmen to support decent homes and to live better, so that they might arrive at their work strong and vigorous instead of, as is too often the case, going to their heavy labours in a feeble condition from want of proper support. We also respectfully request that your honourable Board will direct that our wages be paid weekly instead of fortnightly."

The freedom of the Borough of Kendal was presented to the Lord Mayor of London (Sir James Whitehead), who in his reply said, referring to the Dock Strike, that he had been able to bring the parties to reasonable terms and conditions, and the only thing required now was to fix the time when the increased remuneration should be given. "At the present time, unfortunately, there were strong feelings indulged in by both sides, and although he confessed his feelings were with the men for adequate payment, yet he thought they were at present showing an unreasonable disposition towards the Dock Directors."

The *Times* in its leader said: "Matters have gone too far for any other solution to be possible than the granting of the new rate of wages at one date or another," and it added:

"Whether the solution will benefit either side is quite another question and one that need not be discussed at the present moment. The men and their leaders have deliberately made their demand, and stuck to it persistently, supported by a good deal of public sympathy and by large subscriptions from England, and from the colonies. If they find, in the course of a few months, that a closer organization of the work by the shipowners and Dock Companies has led to a very great diminution in the demand for labour; if they find that the business of loading and unloading becomes more and more a matter for skilled labourers, to the complete exclusion of the "casual" who now looks to the Docks as his only way of escaping the workhouse; if all this happens, and if simultaneously the trade of the Port of London were to decrease very seriously the strikers will only have themselves to thank. But this is not the immediate question."

At the Thames Police-court, Asher Cohen, tailor, was charged with intimidation and assault. He met an apprentice outside the workship in the morning, and said: "You must not go in, we are out on strike." The apprentice was going into the work-

shop when Cohen punched him in the face, and knocked him down. The proprietor of the workshop said that Cohen was continually annoying him, and ordering his men to come out on strike, saying that if they did not do so they would be killed. Mr. Lushington sentenced Cohen to three months hard labour.

At Greenwich Police-court, James Sears was charged with threatening and intimidating a fireman on the steamship Hotspur, lying in the Surrey Commercial Docks. The prosecutor was unloading timber in the Docks with others, when the prisoner went up and said that if they worked on the morrow they would have their necks broken. Chief Inspector Popes said the prisoner had no right in the Docks. There was a constable at the gates in consequence of there being so much intimidation, but he was called to other parts of the Docks. Mr. Marsham sentenced the prisoner to one month's hard labour.

At Woolwich a Dock labourer, named William Daley, was charged with threatening and assaulting certain men who worked in the Royal Albert Docks. The prisoner was one of a dozen pickets who were armed with big sticks. He said to the prosecutor, "You must go back, you are a blackleg, and shall not go into the Docks. If you don't go back we will do for you." The men replied that they were going into the town and not into the Docks, when the pickets fell upon them with their clubs, and felled them to the ground. Mr. Marsham sentenced the prisoner to three months hard labour.

The *Times*, in its leader of this date, said: "That the two parties to this ruinous conflict should be allowed without interference to inflict upon neutral persons, upon the capital, and upon the nation an accumulating loss is a remarkable testimony to the freedom of our institutions." Commenting on the efforts which were being made to settle the strike the *Times* continued:

"As regard the Dock labourers, it must be admitted that, as long as large sums continue to arrive from Australia and other sources, their power of endurance will not be seriously impaired. It is significant that able-bodied paupers at the East End workhouses are unusually few for the season of the year. Can they have found it more profitable to go out on strike? The central question for the strikers is not so much how they can keep themselves and their families fed, although there must be many among he throng whom the relief distributed fails to reach. It is rather how the Dock Companies are to be prevented from obtaining out-

side labour. We are glad to observe that the intimidation overtly practised by the pickets and unofficial loafers who besiege the Dock gates has received a check. The police authorities have become more alive to the duty of protecting labourers, willing to work, from threats and molestation; and the Dock Companies themselves have met the organization of the strikers with an organization of their own."

In the same article the *Times* said: "It is dawning upon the public mind, indeed, that whatever may be the issue of the strike, the casual Dock labourer will be a loser."

September 13th.—Prolonged conferences betwixt the Lord Mayor, Cardinal Manning, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Directors of the Dock Companies, the Shipowners, the Master-lightermen, the Working-lightermen, and the Strike leaders. The Mansion House Committee said:

"The result of their negotiations, shortly stated, is that there are practically no differences now existing between the Joint Committee of the Dock Companies and the various classes of men in their employ, and that as soon as settlements have been effected by mutual agreement or concession in the few other interests concerned, all classes of dock, river, and wharf labourers, can go in on the understanding that such of the new terms as are deferred, shall come into force on the 4th of December next, as proposed by the Mansion House Committee."

The Dock Directors said the public seemed at last to be realising the fact that the result of the strike would be injurious to the Port of London, injurious to the men employed, and likely to increase the distress in the East of London. The resistance shown by the Directors to the demands of the men had, from the first, been dictated by the conviction that these results would follow upon the success of the demands. The Directors further said there was much less difficulty in conveying men into the Docks owing to the assistance given by the City Police, whose chief considered that men willing to work should be protected. Regret was expressed that this idea did not penetrate the mind of the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police.

After Burns had consulted with the Dock Committee, he announced the conclusion of the strike so far as they were concerned. He said they were unable to take any steps towards issuing a Manifesto until they knew that the lightermen and watermen were also willing to work. On the part of these latter, however, it was

announced that they were in favour of continuing the strike unless their own terms were conceded. But ultimately the lightermen passed the following resolution:

"In order to assist in terminating the strike, we are ready to accept the principle of payment of 6s. for a 12-hours-day's work, and one job to constitute a night's work, all other questions to be submitted to an equal number of masters and men to be decided upon mutually, and an umpire to be nominated by the Lord Mayor. If these terms are accepted to-morrow (Saturday) by the masters we are ready to return to work on Monday morning, the arbitration to commence forthwith."

Considerable dissatisfaction existed among the South-side strikers in consequence af the General Steam Navigation Company's men having gone into work at less than the manifesto scale of charges, and attempts were being made to draw them out again. The men had started work at 6d. an hour all round, with nothing extra for overtime instead of 7d. per hour, and 9d. overtime. Tom Mann denied that he had advised the men to accept the lower rate, and said he considered it the duty of the men who had resumed work to leave at once until the terms of the manifesto were agreed to. The Council at Sayes's Court passed the following resolution: "That this Council considers that the action of the Steam Navigation Company's men in returning to work is detrimental to the interests of those employed in the same class of work who are now on strike, and pledge themselves to support all bona fide men now out from the said Company."

At the New Cross Station on the South Eastern Railway twelve pickets from Deptford dropped upon a party of "blacklegs," who were going down with their gear by rail to Charlton to work as stevedores on a vessel lying out in the river there. The men on being discovered took to their heels and left their gear behind them at the station, to the intense amusement of the passengers.

At a meeting held at the City Temple, Mr. W. M'Arthur presiding, the Rev. Dr. Clifford moved:

"That this meeting expresses its hearty sympathy with the cause of the Dock labourers, rejoices in the moderation, self-control, and patience which had characterised their efforts to obtain a just wage, and records its satisfaction that the long continued strike appears to be reaching its termination on a fair and just basis," (Cheers.) The Rev. J. M'Neill seconded the resolution. Mr. Drury, amidst great uproar proposed as an amendment: "That by their refusal to

act in a conciliatory spirit towards the London and India Docks Joint Committee, in the face of the concessions granted by the latter; by their manifesto of the 30th of August, calling upon all trades and every calling to strike, but afterwards revoked; and by the intimidation largely carried on, thereby preventing men who wished to work from earning their living, the strikers have forfeited their right to public sympathy." (Uproar.) Mr. J. Evans seconded the amendment, which was only supported by the holding up of two hands. The resolution was carried. It was then agreed, on the motion of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, seconded by Dr. Parker, that appeals should be made to the Nonconformist churches in London for practical sympathy in the shape of contributions.

It was announced that the condition of a large number of the smaller class of tradesmen, whose prosperity depends upon the custom of the Dock labourers had become very serious, and several had been completely ruined through the strike.

The following large subscriptions in support of the strike came to hand: £273 10s. from the members of the Victoria Parliament; £500 from the Bendigo miners; £500 from Hobart Town; £200 from Launceston, Tasmania; and £2,150 from Melbourne.

At a meeting on Tower Hill, Burns said:

"He could assure the members that the picketing organisation was just about perfect, and as a matter of fact they had practically the trade and the commerce of London in their hands. . . . The victory was soon coming; they had their man down, but for the sake of their wives and children they would forbear jumping on his chest. . . . The strike would leave some permanent effects. They had had five weeks of agitation such as London had never before seen. That was only the preliminary for better education among them, and for that to be followed by better organisation. . . . Another lesson was that the old purblind political economy of the past had broken down. The strike proved unmistakably that the lowest workmen, degraded though they might be, had still a great deal of manhood left in them. It also showed that there was a great deal of the old Adam in them. . . . At one time he despaired of the middle classes of England helping or ever thinking of their condition Educated men had played on their poverty and lack of combination in the past. There was now a feeling of remorse on their part at the poverty their selfishness had involved. Unrestricted competition had now received a deathblow at the hand of the Dock labourer."

September 16th.—Mansion House Committee of Conciliation reassembled to investigate certain hindrances which were operating to prevent a resumption of work in some of the docks. Mr. R. A. Hankey and Mr. Neville Lubbock, members of the Dock Committee, informed the Mansion House Committee that difficulty was being experienced by the refusal of the strikers to go to work with those who had been working while the strike was in progress, thus violating the 6th clause of the agreement, namely: "Strikers and their leaders to unreservedly undertake that all labourers who have been at work during the strike shall be unmolested, and treated as fellow labourers by those who have been out on strike." On the other hand the strike leaders protested that they had been working hard to remove all friction, and that nothing was further from the wish of the men than to molest those who had thought differently from themselves, or to coerce them into joining the Union. They further complained of the overbearing demeanour of some of the officials in the docks, and of their engaging strangers in preference to strikers, thus disregarding the 7th head of the agreement, namely: "In employing fresh men after the strike is ended, the directors will make no difference between those who have and those who have not taken part in it, and will not directly or indirectly show resentment to any of the men who have participated in the strike."

Mr. Burns addressed 4,000 dockers, and told them that "the victory which was won by them on Saturday was only a preliminary to greater victories which would be obtained through the organization which they had now so satisfactorily started."

At the Albert Dock many men refused to accept employment on the terms of the agreement. In the afternoon a disturbance took place inside this dock, which threatened to become a riot. The new hands addressed insulting remarks to those who had been at work during the strike, and ultimately assailed them with stones and pieces of wood, and also drenched them with water. Some of the men were bodily injured. The few dock police present were utterly incapable of dealing with the disturbance.

At the East and West India Docks the strikers declared that they would not do a stroke so long as the "blacklegs" were kept on. Some of them interviewed Mr. Beck, the Superintendent,

and stated that they objected to work with non-union men. Mr. Beck replied that they had no right to attempt to hinder these men from earning a livelihood. In order to carry on the trade during the strike the Dock Company advertised for able-bodied men, to whom permanent employment was offered at one pound a week. Any of the strikers could have accepted these terms, but instead of doing this they gave themselves up to Messrs. Burns and Tillett, and these men had now agreed to a compact in which the employers promised to show no resentment towards the strikers whilst the latter undertook to show no animosity to the non-union men. The Company would carry out their part honourably; but if they were asked to turn out non-unionists before the strikers came in the reply was—" No; we will not do it." The Company would not take on any more permanent men unless there should be another strike, and then of course they must do so, for they were determined to carry the work on strike or no strike. Some of the men said they did not wish the "blacklegs" to turn out but to become unionists, whilst others said they need not be got rid of at once but should be gradually weeded out.

At the Royal Albert Dock 500 strikers entered and proceeded to their work. On finding that 250 non-unionists were engaged they declared their determination to have the "blacklegs" removed, stating that they would not work with them. The dock superintendent was so alarmed that he withdrew the "blacklegs" from work, stating that he did so only temporarily to avoid disorder, and protesting that the Company were determined not to throw over these men.

At the Victoria Docks a party of non-unionists were working in the hold of the City of Stockholm, when a number of unionist "coalies" arrived, and seizing large lumps of coal called upon the "blacklegs," with fearful oaths and curses, to come out. Ultimately the latter left the ship. Similar incidents occurred in the Millwall and Surrey Docks.

John Burns, speaking to the men at the West India Dock, said: "If the Dock Company thought they were going to violate the terms of the agreement which they and the men's representatives had signed, by God he would have another strike and clear every man out. If the Dock Company committed a breach of faith, then he would paralyze the trade of the Port of London. Unless

the Company stuck to the agreement he would be like Shylock, and insist upon his pound of flesh. But it was asked whether they should work with men who did not belong to the Union. To that question he gave an unhesitating 'No.' They had no right work with men who did not belong to the Union."

Mr. Sydney Buxton, presiding at a meeting in the Town Hall, Poplar, on this evening, said: "He hoped that the strike had brought to an end the sweating system in this trade, and also in nearly all other industries. They had done more in four weeks to destroy that system than a hundred Royal Commissions could do in 50 years. He hoped that before many years had passed, the docks, instead of being in the hands of private individuals and worked simply for the benefit of the shareholders, would in some way be under public control and worked in the interests of the port of London, and consequently in the interests of the working man. At the same meeting Burns said: "The ship-owners had met that day and had put before the Company the advisability of paying the expenses of the blacklegs to their homes. If many of them were at home they would be in Millbank or Wandsworth prisons. He believed the suggestions of the ship-owners would be largely carried into effect. . . . Leave the blacklegs to the ship-owners, stevedores and others, and in three days they would be as rare as the Dodo or the Mastodon. They must take unto themselves the wealth they carned in order to keep their mind, body, and soul in decent condition, so that when they died they could say that they lived better lives than those who preceded them."

September 17th.—At the West India Docks, 150 of the strikers left their work at 8.30, at a signal which was suddenly given, and attacked the "blacklegs." Some of these latter were chased all over the docks and were very roughly treated, two or three being removed to the hospital. The few dock constables present were utterly unable to cope with the rioters. Ultimately a few Metropolitan police arrived and the disturbance was suppressed, the 150 men being marched out of the docks. After their ejection they asked to see Mr. Beck, who stated that he would have nothing to say to them in consequence of their disgraceful conduct. He had only to tell them that now they had been turned out of the dock they would never be allowed in again. He also assured the men who had been attacked that the Dock Company would stand by them, and as far as they were able would protect them from further violence.

At the Albert Dock even more serious disturbances occurred, which were commenced by the loafers who did not profit by the

resumption of work. A number of men who had broken the agreement were paid off at this dock.

Mr. Williams and other dock officials went to the Mansion House to see the Lord Mayor on the subject of these disturbances, but he was not in. His secretary promised to telegraph to Messrs. Burns and Tillett.

Some of the dock managers stated in the afternoon that 250 permanent men were penned in a corner at the Albert Dock and surrounded by a threatening mob, and that about 60 Metropolitan and dock police were endeavouring to protect them. The mob were on the Dock Company's property.

At the Tilbury Docks none of the permanent men offered themselves for work, as they were afraid to do so. At the Victoria Dock 110 of the permanent men did not put in an appearance.

Sir H. Le Marchant and Mr. Boyle, dock directors, and Mr. Williams, the manager, called upon Mr. Monro, the Chief Commissioner of Police, and asked that an increased force of constables might be placed at the docks. Mr. Monro required a written statement of the grounds on which the application was made, and this was at once drawn up by Sir H. Le Marchant. Mr. Monro then stated that he had telegraphed to the district police superintendent to inquire if there was a riot, although Mr. Williams who had just come from the docks had given him full information as to the rioting that was going on. Mr. Monro stated that he could do nothing further and that the dock directors must apply to the local police.

A leading ship-owner who visited the Albert Dock stated that he had never witnessed anything more serious than the state of affairs there, although he had seen rioting in China and elsewhere.

The Joint Committee passed a resolution instructing superintendents at all the docks and warehouses "to protect to the utmost of their power the men who had been at work during the strike, and, if necessary for this purpose, to suspend operations in any warehouse or on board any ships."

September 18th.—The dock officials adopted the policy of keeping the strikers and the non-unionist workmen apart, the two classes working in separate gangs.

Early in the morning two dock directors and Mr. Bailey, one of the managers, visited the Albert Dock before the gates were opened. On their return to the Dock House they intimated that practically a dead lock prevailed at the Albert Dock.

Mr. Norwood, Chairman of the Dock Committee, wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor, in which he stated that the disgraceful scenes which had occurred in the docks on the two previous days were still proceeding. He said: "Two of my colleagues who were at the Royal Albert Dock this morning when the gates were opened and have just returned from there, report that the men on strike still refuse to acknowledge that they are bound by the arrangement arrived at on Saturday, and demand, with violent threats, the dismissal of the men who have stood by us during the strike as the sole conditions of resuming work. . . venture to press very urgently upon your lordship that my Committee have a right to call upon you and your colleagues of the Mansion House Committee to interfere by expressing publicly and at once your disapproval of this breach of faith, and by every means in your power to aid us in our efforts to protect our men and to resume the business of the port. My Committee feel bound by every consideration of good faith to protect the men who have stood loyally by them in their hour of need. And this must be my excuse for thus addressing you." In answer to this letter the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Manning had an interview with the dock directors and expressed their readiness to do all they could to secure a proper fulfilment of the agreement.

Mr. Norwood wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Police in the following terms: "I desire on behalf of my Committee once more to draw your very urgent attention to the fact that at the Royal Albert Dock a large number of workmen are at the present time being intimidated and subjected to threats of the most violent kind, with every probability of the threats being carried into effect, for no other reason than that they are working for their lawful employers, and that my Committee are powerless to cope with this condition of things unless adequate protection to life and limb is afforded by the guardians of the public peace under your direction. I must venture to add that my Committee feel that they have very grave cause to complain in their own, which in this matter is also the public interest, of the lack of any efficient support from the Executive ever since the commencement of the strike in dealing with wholesale picketing and other illegal acts of intimidation openly committed and proclaimed in the public thoroughfares, and that in regard to the immediate subject of this letter, unless effective measures are taken after

the ample warning that you have received, my Committee will confidently appeal to public opinion as to whether the forces of law and order have been effectively used."

Mr. W. W. Green, writing to the *Times*, said: "I was amongst the crowd outside the Wades Arms on Saturday night, when Burns declared the strike over, and as the large gathering dispersed I said to one of the men, 'I suppose you are glad it is settled?' 'Well, I don't know as I am,' was the reply, 'I am not a docker.' 'No,' replied a working chap, who overheard the remark, 'you are one of those thorough loafers who have lived well on this strike, and would like to see it last until Christmas.'"

The Times in its leader said: "The nominal termination of the dock labourers' strike has been followed by a period of disorder arising from the behaviour of the men who have been on strike towards those who have, notwithstanding the strike, accepted employment from the Dock Companies. These men had merely exercised the liberty of every British subject to follow his lawful calling. Yet they were for two days the objects of brutal violence at the hands of the late strikers, who, moreover, attempted to secure their dismissal by refusing to work so long as the 'blacklegs' were employed. We regret to say that this organized intimidation was partially successful. Although the dock directors were staunch to the men who had helped them during the crisis, these preferred in many cases losing the permanent employment which they had obtained to facing the brutality of the returned hands. . . . We confess that it seems to us more probable that the offenders will find a more cogent argument in the presence of a strong police force than in the logical demonstrations of the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Man-They can have been under no illusion as to the meaning of the agreement signed on their behalf. If they have chosen to ignore it, it is to a great extent because Mr. Burns has lost no opportunity in the course of the strike to denounce the blacklegs,' and has taken no great pains, since the strike ended, to enforce upon the men the observance of this clause of the agreement." Referring to the action of the Chief Commissioner, the Times said: "It is a matter of some importance as opening up the question whether the police authorities have really done their best to repress intimidation during the strike. Early in its career Mr. Matthews, when questioned in the House concerning the prevalence of intimidation, gave a somewhat oracular reply, which may have tended to blunt the zeal of the police. We are bound to admit that Mr. Norwood's complaints of the lack of effective support from the Executive in dealing with open intimidation at the dock gates have much to justify them."

September 19th.—Mr. Monro, in a letter to Mr. Norwood, contended that the Metropolitan Police had during the strike afforded "the utmost protection within their power and within the law to life and property," and that the public owed them a debt of gratitude. He added: "As to the question of picketing, you will not expect me to enter into a discussion of legal questions connected with picketing in general, or to define the limits within which picketing may or may not be within the law. The police have acted throughout in accordance with their view of the law on the subject, and I am not prepared, as at present advised, to depart from the policy hitherto pursued. For this policy, and for the action of the police taken in accordance with this policy, I am fully responsible, and should, unfortunately, your views differ from mine as to such policy or action I can only regret the circumstance, and leave the decision of the questions on which we may differ to any higher authority to whom you may be advised to appeal." In reply, Mr. Norwood stated that his Committee made no complaint against the police as individuals, but they complained "That the directions or absence of directions from head quarters, and generally the utter inadequacy of measures taken by you for the protection from violence of workmen peacefully engaged in following their lawful occupation, have afforded direct encouragement to disorder and violence, and have practically paralyzed the efficiency of the police force in discharging their primary function of preserving the public peace and preventing outrage. My Committee observe that you accept the full responsibility for this policy, but as the result of pursuing this policy has been that, for many weeks, disorderly crowds have been permitted to assemble at the dock gates and elsewhere, and to practise every form of intimidation, while more recently large numbers of unoffending workmen have in broad daylight been subjected to personal violence with impunity by their assailants, my Committee are unable to recognise in the position taken up by you an appreciation of the obligations of your office in a great public crisis. . . . You have thought it consistent with your sense of public duty to look on while the condition of things which I have described has been perfectly notorious, and to act only after outrages have been actually committed, and again, only where my Committee (the limits of whose power to do so are obvious) have been able to bring you particular instances with chapter and verse."

Mr. John Burns stated at a meeting of cabmen at St. Andrew s Hall, Newman Street, that £40,000 had been received in support of the Dock Strike, and that there would be a balance of £8,000. Of this £2,000 or £3,000 would be used for the relief of existing necessitous cases, and they would probably pay back the sums which had been given them by Trade Unions. "Some of the money would be used, too, in starting Trade Unions among the workmen of the port of London, who had hitherto been unorganised."

Schtember 21st.—The Star said: "It is only right to compliment Mr. Monro on his attitude towards the Norwoodites. A party of these individuals, Sir Henry Le Marchant at the head of them, went crying to the Chief Commissioner on Tuesday with one of the cock and bull stories of riotous behaviour at the docks which they have been so sedulously propagating from the Press all through the strike. Their terrible yarns, however, about rioters in possession of the docks, and their appeals for extra police to disperse the 'mob,' were met by the Chief Commissioner with the politest and blandest contempt; and when Sir H. Le M. enquired in indignant amazement whether Mr. Monro actually declined to act, the answer was 'distinctly yes.' The fact, of course, was that while these people were declaring a riot to be still in progress absolute tranquillity prevailed at the docks."

September 26th .- The St. James' Gazette said: "Mr. Norwood has smitten Mr. Monro hip and thigh. Challenged to prove that a system of organised intimidation was in force at the docks, Mr. Norwood has produced the reports of two cases tried at the West Ham and Thames Police Courts. At West Ham, on Sep. 19, Mr. Baggallay made the following remarks: 'It was really time for the authorities to take steps to put a stop to these offences. The poor fellows were entitled to be protected either in going to their work or at their dinner. It was evident they were not sufficiently protected.' At the Thames Court, on the 24th, Mr. Lushington said that he had 'ample proof' that from the beginning the strike had been attended with riotous violence and organised intimidation.' . . . That is one part of Mr. Norwood's reply to Mr. Monro. But the second part is more crushing. Most incautiously and most wrongfully the Commissioner of Police had written that his conduct was to be 'judged by the public.' Says Mr. Norwood: 'My Committee are led to infer, with extreme reluctance, that you regard popular approval as the standard by which to test the efficiency of the discharge of your public duties."

October 3rd .- A special meeting of the shareholders in the docks was held at the Cannon Street Hotel to receive a report from the directors on the recent strike. Mr. Norwood presided and delivered an exhaustive address, dealing with every aspect of the question. He said that though the ostensible object of the strike was to improve the condition of the casual docker—" There could be no doubt in the minds of those who had the opportunity of closely watching its various phases that the recent strike was a deliberately planned Socialistic movement, directed in the first instance against the docks as presenting apparently the weakest link in the chain of employment, but really designed to embrace within its operation all branches of the wage-earning classes of the Metropolis. He had received information from more than one independent source that the strike was finally determined upon by the Socialistic section of the Labour Congress held in Switzerland a few weeks previously, and that the outbreak was the topic of conversation in labour circles in Germany some days before it actually occurred here." He showed that August was selected as the time of attack because the pressure of business at the docks is then very great, while the supply of casual labour is lessened by hop picking and harvest employment, in addition to which some of the principal dock officials are absent on their holidays. He also pointed out that the strike was directed by avowed Socialistic leaders. He declared that the Committee "had to contend throughout against a hostile public opinion, formed for the most part in utter ignorance of the merits of the case, and fed by gross mis-statements. An ideal docker was evolved out of the inner consciousness of kind-hearted sentimentalists very different indeed from the actual casual. Merchants and others in the City actually furnished material as well as moral aid to the strike, and many days elapsed before the voice of common-sense and experience found expression, even in the public Press." Mr. Norwood further stated that Liberal and Radical associations had the impertinence to send resolutions to the Committee on the strike, and that Radical politicians and newspapers "supported the strikers with more than usual bitterness and personality." The younger clergy were as a rule sympathisers with the strike. Even a section of the shipowners assumed a hostile attitude and greatly embarrassed the Joint Committee, and at the same time led the strikers to regard the shipowners as their allies. Referring to the "constant and ill-timed interference of outside and irresponsible persons," Mr. Norwood said that "though they generally admitted their ignorance of the details of dock management, and altogether ignored the economic effect of supply and demand on the price of

labour as on other commodities, they were all equally confident that the cause of the strikers was a just one, and that the rich Dock Company could and should accede to the 'small increase' of wages demanded. It was, in fact, a repetition of the old formula-philanthropic A generously relieving the wants of B at the expense of C." In concluding his address Mr. Norwood dealt with some characteristics of the strike which appeared to him "to demand serious attention in relation to the future." These were: 1. The strange apathy exhibited by the City in regard to the disturbance and loss of business and the permanent injury to trade; 2. The absence of courage exhibited by all classes during the crisis; 3. The attitude of the Government and its Executive towards organized intimidation and violence. Mr. Norwood declared that during the strike London was "the wonder and the laughing-stock of the civilized world." He predicted that the success of the strike would result in further labour disturbances, and that the Post Office employe, the railway servant, and the police constable would soon be discontented with their position. (This prediction was fulfilled to the letter before many months were over.) Mr. Norwood's closing words were these: "History, it is said, repeats itself. Given, for instance, a timid, popularity-seeking Government, an incompetent Home Secretary, an apathetic plutocracy and a sentimental public on the one hand; and an able and unscrupulous professional agitator, backed by all the strength of the Trade Unions to lead the movement on the other, and the result is not very difficult to surmise. Mr. Burns has shown us how the maritime trade of the port can in a few days become paralyzed. A little more picketing with its attendant intimidation and violence, and every railway out of London would be stopped, the City plunged into darkness, the food supply arrested, and the Metropolis compelled to submit, for the time at least, to any conditions that the strikers might impose upon it. This may be thought a fancy picture, but I venture to assert that it is well within the reach of possibility unless steps are taken, and that promptly, to confront the extreme pretensions of labour."

November 15.—A statement was issued by certain ship-owners, who were anxious that the public should know what serious results had followed the disputes at the docks, to the effect that foreign trade with the port of London had been reduced to the extent of many thousands of tons, and that many shippers, rather than risk a repetition of the inconvenience and loss to which they had lately been subjected, were sending goods intended for London to other ports, notably Hull and Harwich.

It was stated that four Australian liners bringing wool cargoes would deliver at Grimsby instead of in the Thames, and that the great bulk of this wool trade was expected to leave London for Grimsby.

November 16 .- Mr. H. J. Morgan, Secretary of the Dock's Committee, wrote to the Press stating that "There were still difficulties existing at the docks between the labourers and the Company in spite of the agreement of the 14th September." He added: "My directors, with the view of insuring peace in the interests of the port of London, have made further material concessions beyond those contained in the agreement. From the first there have been violations of the agreement. The majority of the labourers have constantly refused to work with the socalled 'blacklegs.' The Company have notice of a demand on the part of the men for payment for meal times, which demand was expressly negatived in the agreement. Last Monday a strike took place at the Tilbury Docks because the foremen and clerks employed there refuse to join the Union; my directors having left them entirely at liberty to follow their own wishes in this respect. . . . We are now threatened with a general strike at all the docks under the management of the Joint Committee if the foremen and clerks referred to maintain their determination to refuse to enter a Union."

November 18.—The St. James's Gazette asked: "What has been done with the £48,000 subscribed for the Dock Strike? We are informed on the authority of a news agency that the audit of accounts has at last been completed. We shall be glad to hear how much of the money was expended, to what person each disbursement was made, and what value was received, or what services were performed, in return for cash paid—e.g., What proportion of the money went to the relief of the dockers and what to the payment of pickets?" The same journal quoted as follows from a report of the proceedings of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council from the Melbourne Age of October 27.

"The Secretary: 'Information has been received that Mr. Burns is using the funds received from Melbourne to assist other objects than the dock labourers on strike.'

"Mr. Gration: 'It is time he was stopped at that game.'

"The President: 'Of course it must be recognised that Mr. "Burns is a free lance. He has nothing to do with the dock "labourers, but is ready to fight anybody's battle.'"

On this morning there was not a single applicant for work at the Tilbury Docks, the men refusing to work because the foreman and clerks at Tilbury would not join the Docker's Union. At the other docks these men had formed Unions of their own, which satisfied the dockers.

November 19th.—The St. Fames's Gazette, which all along maintained that the dock strike was "a reasonable one and undertaken for a reasonable object," said in its issue of this date: "It cannot be denied that the course of events in the Port of London is tending to justify the more gloomy anticipations of those who asserted that the ultimate consequences of the dockers' strike would be evil. . . . The success of the movement has, to begin with, apparently turned the heads of a great many of those who took part in it. The lightermen and some others seem to have become more than a little intoxicated with a sense of their power. They are beginning to demand and dictate in obedience to a mere passion for dominion, or a purely selfish regard for what they believe to be their own interests. Again, one result of the strike has been the formation of a Committee which is obviously striving to establish itself as a permanent body. Its aim, to judge from what we see of its actions, is to seize dictatorial power over the management of the trade of London. can at least account in no other way for this decision to force on a strike at the Tilbury Dock. There is no question here either of wages or of organization of work. A strike has been set going purely to force the clerks and foremen into the Dockers' Union. Nothing can be more contrary to the professed principles of unionism than this tyrannical effort to compel men to join the organization of another trade. . . . In short, striking is tending to become a permanent occupation-to the profit, possibly of Committees and of loafers who benefit by strike pay, but to the reverse of profit to the genuine workman. . . . In view of the excitement of the misled labourers and the pertinacious folly of those who mislead them-in view, too, of the ruinous practical consequences of both to the labourers themselves (for the loss of trade by London will mean at least temporary starvation to them)—it is, we trust, not untimely to ask those whose voices would be listened to, to utter a word of warning. Her Majesty's Ministers—who are after all responsible for the peace of the country—might, even without exceeding their office, give a little good advice. . . . But there are others who have been officiously busy in these matters, on whom we think it is incumbent in honour to speak. Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir James Whitehead, Cardinal Manning, Lord Brassey are the foremost among the persons of whom we are thinking. They have taken upon themselves to act on all these matters as members of a Committee of Conciliation, as arbitrators, or what not. They have given "awards" and applied "pressure." It is not competent to them to withdraw as mere private persons now unless they are prepared to accept the ignoble position of those who, after helping to set mischief in motion, are too cowardly to attempt to stop it. . . . If they are honest men, if they have been really inspired by a desire to help the poor, if they have not been mere time-servers, mere popularity-hunters, mere seekers for expedients to ward off a present difficulty, let them come forward and warn their clients of the inevitable consequences to themselves of the unwisdom and the purblind selfishness of which they are now guilty."

June 11th, 1890.—Mr. Tom Mann, President of the Docker's Union, speaking at a meeting of that body, held in the large hall, Hack Road, Victoria Docks, said: "There were 900,000 workmen in London; less than 200,000 were organized. Suppose they were all enrolled in labour organizations in how much better a position would they be placed? The sphere of Trade Unionism ought to be so increased as to take in all workmen, and then they could demand the full fruits of their labour."

July 30th.—The proprietors of the London and St. Katherine Docks met at the Cannon Street Hotel, Mr. Norwood presiding. He stated that the amount of net profit, after payment of interest on debentures and preference stocks, was £46,000, and that the directors recommended the payment of a dividend on the capital stock at the rate of 11 per cent. per annum. The foreign trade had fallen off owing to labour difficulties. The increase of wages alone amounted to £70,000 for the half year, though at the time of the strike the dockers' leaders had estimated the rise at £30,000. The increase of wages had more than neutralized the increase in rates which the Company had found it necessary to impose. Taking everything into consideration they were £12,000 out of pocket. Notwithstanding this, the men were lazy and worked worse than they had ever done, giving less for 6d. an hour than they used to give for 3d. They put no heart into their work. The ship workers used to make 10s. or 12s. a day; now they made 15s. or 20s. Still the work was bad, and ship-owners complained that they could not get their large ships discharged. Frequently men would knock-off for a slight shower, though they were working under cover for the whole time. In fact, the men were so prosperous that they did not wish to work six days a week. They liked to have a day or two for pleasure and drinking. But in spite of all this the directors were powerless to act in face of public opinion. The public attitude at the time of the strike was a disgrace to the annals of London. They had been through a great Socialistic revolt of labour which might have been stamped out if they had not foolishly allowed it to spread. . . . Unfortunately, at the time of the great strike they were not allowed to manage their own business. Ecclesiastics, dignitaries of the Church, and political adventurers of all sorts had invaded the dock district and hampered the action of the directors. What business had the Bishop of London, Cardinal Manning, Alderman Whitehead, and other officious persons, to interfere in the Company's affairs? . . . He was prepared to give 6d. an hour, but he wanted sixpenny-worth of work in return. The Company intended to stand by its non-union employes. . . . The Socialistic Trade Union man was not merely seeking to ameliorate his condition; he had ulterior schemes in his head, vague and vast schemes of social trouble and revolution."

The East and West India Dock shareholders also met. Mr. R. A. Hankey, the Chairman, stated that their labour bill had increased by £90,000 during the half-year. One of the shareholders, Mr. Meade, stigmatized Sir James Whitehead, Cardinal Manning, and the other mediators as "inexperienced meddlers," while another shareholder, named Hodgson, characterized them as "incompetent muddlers."

July 31st.—The Star, commenting on the meeting of the dock shareholders, declared that the port of London was sinking deeper and deeper into the slough, and added: "The present state of things clearly cannot continue. The ship-owners were complaining the other day that trade is leaving the port, and the evidence shows this to be so."

The St. James' Gazette said: "All competent opinion is unanimous on the point that the work done at the London docks is not now done as it used to be done before Mr. Burns 'enthused' the dock labourers. Men work slowly and badly; they refuse to obey orders; and ship-owners and consignees are discovering that London is becoming a worse place every week to have cargoes unloaded. What is the result? That the trade of the port of London is decreasing and will continue to decrease."

August 9th.—700 men were out on strike at Tilbury Docks, the reason being that three non-union men were employed. These three men had been told several days previously that if they did not join the Union no man would work with them. A deputation from the men, headed by Mr. Nicholls, the district representative, waited upon Mr. Coton, the acting Superintendent, asking that in future none but unionists should be employed.

Mr. Coton replied that the dock officials could not give such an undertaking. Thereupon the men unanimously decided to remain out, and requested their officials to at once make preparations for a continued strike as they were determined to insist upon their demand that only Unionists should be employed.

August 14th.—The Millwall Dock shareholders met under the presidency of Mr. C. H. Parkes, who said that in consequence of the strike they had lost a certain amount of trade, and had besides been obliged to give up certain work—unloading cotton seed for instance, as the result of which their men had received f.7,000 less in wages. He said a minority of the men were "unreflective" and "loud talking," which was a very disagreeable fact. If a gang of men were dissatisfied they actually knocked off work at once, causing much inconvenience. He expressed the opinion that only a very deep depression of trade, which would enable the Company to remodel their wages arrangement, could permanently settle the labour question. In the meantime they meant to use machinery more. The trade at the docks had decreased by 135,177 tons, and the receipts by f.7,471. He compared the Company to a vessel which had weathered many storms, but which was now being forced on the rocks by its own crew. A dividend of 3 per cent. was declared.

August 17th.—A meeting was held in Hyde Park to celebrate the anniversary of the Dock Strike. Mr. Tom Mann, speaking from one of the platforms, said that the membership of the Union had increased in six months from 30,000 to 56,000, and contended that the strike had resulted in adding £300,000 a year to the wages of the river-side workers. "The chief difficulty confronting them now was the question of 'blacklegs.' These men came from the agricultural labour class—men who in their own industry only earned 9s. or 10s. a week, and were thus easily tempted. At an early date they intended to call a Congress of all the Unions representing town industries in order to move against this common danger, and they would send missionaries over all the rural districts to see what could be done with the labourers."

Mr. John Burns stated that the income of the Dockers' Union was £28,000, and that "every docker in London was bound to be a member of the Union. 'No ticket, no work'; that is our principle of working now." Out of the 180 strikes conducted by the Union during the year, 178 had been won. He said they in-

tended within the next 12 months to take over co-operatively the whole loading and unloading of ships out of the hands of the contractors, shippers, and middlemen who were doing it now. He declared that there were 300,000 more Trade Unionists in London alone than there were before the strike, all gaining a big increase of wages. "The development of the labour movement amongst the Government services was a significant thing. The stand which the soldiers and sailors were making against tyranny would henceforth relieve the Army and Navy of the brutal treatment and the pettifogging and irritating regulations from which they had suffered. The sort of treatment which the Army had been receiving would not be tolerated by an educated soldiery." He warned the rich and the aristocracy that they must be prepared to part with much of their wealth and many of their privileges in aid of their less fortunate countrymen.

Mr. Ben Tillett said that the Dockers' Union had within a year put out one arm to the North of Scotland and the other to the South-west of Ireland, and had embraced the whole United Kingdom. Besides its own extension it had been the mother of over 100 other Unions, and had added hugely to the wages of them all. He declared that the victory at Cardiff, from which place he had just come, was one of the most complete on record, and he contradicted a statement to the effect that Sir W. T. Lewis had discharged a number of his men because they were Unionists. "Sir W. T. Lewis dared do no such thing."

Mr. W. Thorne, of the Gas Stokers' Union, said that the members of his Union had added £100,000 to their wages during the year.

Mr. C. Blackwell (glass blower) expressed his desire to get rid of the capitalist altogether. He denied the possibility of capital and labour getting along amicably, "and inasmuch as it was the employer's object to obtain as much work for as little pay as possible, it was the duty of the worker to do as little and receive as much as he possibly could."

Mr. F. Hammill (engineer) threatened to introduce the boycotting system into England so far as the "blackleg" was concerned, and denounced the treatment of labourers in the Government establishments, remarking that with discontent in the Army, the Navy, the Police, and the Post Office, if Government did not grasp the situation and grant concessions, upon them must rest the responsibility for the open and sanguinary revolution that must ensue.

The following resolution was passed at the various platforms in the Park:-"That this mass meeting of workers express unbounded satisfaction at the solid advantages secured by means of the great dock strike of last year, observe with pleasure the rapid organisation of labour, and the repeated successes secured by the Trade Unions throughout the country, and pledge ourselves to use every effort in the future to better the condition of the workers. At the same time we observe with regret the strike failures sustained by Trade Unions during the past year, and believe the same to be mainly owing to the plentiful supply of blacklegs obtained by employers from the ranks of the lowest paid and unorganised, and are of opinion that the source of supply should be cut off by the organisation of all labour, and finding employment for the unemployed by reducing the hours of labour to a maximum of 48 per week, whereby more men will be employed; and pledge ourselves to use every legitimate means, including Trade Union effort and legal enactment, to bring this about. We also hereby record our grateful gratitude to Australia for their assistance to us last year."

August 18.—The Star, referring to the jubilation of the dockers on the previous day, said: "The whole record of industrial agitation shows nothing so remarkable as the transformation wrought during the past year in the conditions of life of the London riverside population. . . . To-day the docker's name all the world over is the watchword of the new awakening of labour, and he who then seemed furthest from the reach of organization is the standing example of its power. . . . The labour world has benefited in a much wider sense from the revolt and triumph of the dockers. The complete emancipation of labour has been brought nearer." The same journal had said on August 16th: "Since the docker has arisen and fled from captivity he has brought with him the great army of the 'sweated,' the obscure millions of this great city, and of the oppressed of the vast labour world outside. The music to which the dockers march to the park to-morrow is the Song of Labour's Redemption, a true nineteenth century 'Song of Miriam.' . . . Every man who is worth his salt will join in the docker's Psalm of Thanksgiving to-morrow, but don't let him forget the First Lesson as well." (The First Lesson was to "Stick to his Union, keep up his subscription, back his leaders, and take their advice.")

August 19.—The following resolution of the Executive of the Docker's Union was published: "That, recognising that our metropolitan membership is quite equal to the labour require-

ments of London, resolved that instructions be sent to each branch secretary in the metropolitan area that no candidates for membership be accepted after 13th August, 1890, except by special sanction of the district committee; and each district committee be informed that no man known to be physically weak or otherwise incompetent is to be accepted under any consideration. Special arrangements are to be made for the enrolling of those engaged in special industries, such as brewery men, sawyers, &c." The St. James's Gazette, referring to this resolution, said: "Here is protection of vested interests with a vengeance; and, if the Docker's Union is not a return to the Guild system of the Middle Ages, it is something very much like it."

August 20.—The London correspondent of the Birmingham Gazette, referring to the claim of Mr. John Burns that his 178 strikes had increased wages by £700,000, asked: "But how many millions have the 178 strikes cost? If the true cost of the whole number of strikes could be tabulated in plain figures the total would be appalling. It is said that the South Wales strike just closed has cost from half to three-quarters of a million sterling. Add to that the dockers' and gas workers' strikes in London, and the cost of these three will not be less than £2,000,000. Allow the very modest average of £1,000 loss on each of the other strikes, and we get a figure of about £4,000,000. But this is the lowest minimum. Directly and indirectly the country must have lost something like ten millions sterling on the 178 strikes about which Burns and his supporters are so jubilant."

Mr. Drummond, a trustee of the Docker's Union, and other gentlemen waited upon Mr. Coton, the Superintendent of the Tilbury Docks, in order to settle the dispute. Their proposal was that the Dock Company should recognise the Union men and be always ready to employ them in preference to non-unionists, and that no non-unionists should be employed while a union man remained disengaged. Mr. Coton was said to have accepted this arrangement verbally, but to have refused a signed agreement. The deputy Superintendent of the docks, however, declared that they had not yielded one iota, and that the Company would not make any distinction between unionists and non-unionists.

August 21st.—An early morning meeting was held at Tilbury Docks when Mr. Drummond and others urged the strikers to return to work, but only about a dozen expressed themselves

willing to do so. A deputation sent by the strikers to the Executive of the Docker's Union returned with the reply that as the men had gone out without the Executive's permission they must return to work.

Mr. Morgan, Secretary of the Docks Committee, wrote to the Press to say that the demand made by the delegates to the superintendent of the Tilbury Docks to the effect that the Company guarantee to employ only union men, and to give union men priority, had been refused, the Superintendent stating that he would show no favour to either side.

It was announced that as the result of a conference between the representatives of the various ship-owners' associations, a union of steamship owners was to be formed with a capital of

£80,000,000 to fight the Trade Unions.

The Daily Chronicle announced that the dockers' leaders were of opinion that the time for co-operation had arrived, and that the perfection of their organization justified them in attempting it. "They have a body of men capable of doing the work which is to be done, and it is now so strong that they have closed their books against other entries. Thus controlling the labour supply, they are in a position to negotiate with the Dock Company for the purpose of taking over the loading and unloading of ships, this being in effect the basis of the new scheme which is under discussion by the dock directors. . . . The scheme as yet is purely tentative, but as it is understood that all the directors view it favourably there is every probability that it will before many weeks are past be carried into practical effect." The object of this scheme was to abolish the middleman, the Executive of the Docker's Union contracting direct with the Dock Company. The Docker's Union would have become virtually a Labour Company, giving employment only to its own members or shareholders, and the Executive of the Union would deal as a principal with the dock directors.

August 22nd.—The strikers at Tilbury Docks returned to work unconditionally, the Dock Company having refused to yield to any of their demands.

August 24th.—Mr. John Burns, speaking at a meeting of dockers on Tower Hill, said: "The shippers were without the shadow of a doubt trying to emulate Livesey. These men said that if the tyranny of the Unions was to be continued they would organise gangs of police in the name of the law who were known in America as the 'Pinkerton Gang.' On behalf of the dockers,

not only of London, but of the United Kingdom, he said that the first gang of 'Pinkertons' who came into force in this country would have their hair lifted in less than 24 hours. . . . If the capitalists thought they were going to get a 'Pinkerton Gang' armed with bludgeons and revolvers in this country the game was up, and it would be bludgeon to bludgeon." With reference to the closing of the books of the Docker's Union he said they had been reasonable, and had let all the men have twelve months to decide which way they would go. "All the men who had not joined should have done so, and those who would not deserved to be kept out for the remainder of their lives. The dock gates had too long been the refuge of the criminal tramps, &c., who had dragged down the wages, increased the working hours, and greatly injured the docker's condition. When the docks were shut, and the men outside could not get work, they should go to the guardians and throw themselves on the shoulders of the capitalist class. If there were more men at the docks than there was work for, these men should go to Parliament and ask for relief work, and a legal eight hours working day, which would give work to the thousands and thousands of unemployed. They were not going to give 3,000 or 4,000 loafers work, and bring in ne'er-do-wells who outbid the legitimate docker, and brought his wife and children near to starvation. By closing their books they had done the very best thing possible, inasmuch as it would make the agricultural labourer know that the docks were not cess-pools, where anyone could go to from North, South, East, or West."

August 25th.—The Star said under the head of "Boycott and Blackleg": "The two Johns—John Dillon and John Burns—were very much in evidence yesterday, and their talk ranged over kindred topics. John the Irishman spoke in his eloquent, incisive way of the blessing of the Irish Union—the National League—in dealing with the Irish 'blackleg' by means of the peaceful 'boycott.' John the Englishman expatiated on the same subject with an English application. English labourer and Irish peasant have both the same end at heart, and are using the same methods to enforce it, and they have the same foes to fight. Clanricarde there, and Norwood here, are all for 'free'—that is, blackleg—labour. . . . The Land and National Leagues stopped all that. They did away with 'free competition' in flesh and blood by the simple method of the Union and the 'boycott' for 'blacklegs.'"

August 27th.—The Times stated that the establishment of a direct line of steamers between Hamburg and Calcutta as a result of the dockers' strike appeared likely to injure the trade of the port

of London. Two steamers of the new line, which was mainly supported by British capital, had arrived in Hamburg with full general cargoes of Indian produce, which had been discharged there. Before the formation of this line such cargoes were consigned to London, and the goods trans-shipped to Hamburg. Other boats were being built for the firm, which was an assured success, owing to the cost of working in Hamburg being less than in London.

August 30th.—The Shipping Gazette stated that it was doubtful whether the shipping interest of the port of London had even yet fully appreciated the effects of the recent dock strike. "The port of London, for reasons which are by this time pretty well known, is gradually but surely losing its position as the centre of the world's commerce. Even the trade of our own Indian Empire is leaving us. We now see that British capital, though it can never be independent of labour, cannot be cribbed and confined in its operations. It will seek channels where it has free and fair play, and where the ordinary laws of political economy are still more or less operative. Mr. Mann stoutly denied the other day that the dockers were giving a bad day's work for a good day's pay. We are sorry that we must disagree with him. We are in possession of facts and figures which show either that Mr. Mann is hopelessly ignorant of the true state of affairs or that he is deceiving the public upon whom he relies for moral if not for material support." The Shipping Gazette then proceeded to state certain facts, one of which was that a steamer which was discharged in 3 days and 19 hours in 1889 took 10 days and 3 hours to discharge in 1890, although she had 500 tons less cargo; another fact was that three steamers which were each less than 8 days loading in 1889 were in dock 10, 12, and 13 days respectively in 1890. In 1889 cargoes were discharged at the rate of 44 tons per hour, but at the rate of only 34 tons per hour in 1890. In the case of another line of ships which discharge their own cargoes, the rate of discharge was 44 tons per hour in 1889 and only 29 tons per hour in 1890. "These figures show that the docker, now he is better paid, works not better but infinitely worse, and that he has secured an advantage for which he has as yet given no return whatever."

September 5th.—The Executive of the Docker's Union issued a statement in which they said: "Many complaints have been received by the Executive from the Dock Company and shipowners of the delays caused through ineffective work and the

numerous petty disputes which arise. That our men are at fault to some extent is admitted. Hence the willingness of the Executive to seriously consider some other basis of working arrangement than that now in vogue. But after admitting this we are bound to say that a ship discharged, under the old nigger-driving method of a year ago, in 60 hours cannot be discharged under proper conditions in less than 75 hours, or one-fourth more time than under the old sweating system."

September 1cth.-Mr. Tom Mann, in the Dockers' Monthly, defended the action of the Executive in closing the Union books. He said: "The Dockers' Union has not shut its gates definitely nor does it intend to, but inasmuch as the Dockers' Union exists primarily in the interests of dock labourers, to justify its existence it must make the conditions of employment better for its members than if no such Union existed. . . . To go on enrolling members indiscriminately, even if all who presented themselves as candidates were physically fit, would simply mean that every extra man enrolled would seriously injure the position of existing members. By enrolling all who present themselves the chief value of unionism disappears and starvation again becomes boss. What law of morality says that the dock gates and the Dockers' Union must be opened to all when to do so means such terrible competition for bread that our last state would be worse than the first? None that we know of. And what is more we shan't do it. England for the English, and the docks for the dockers, is a maxim we believe in, and mean to carry out. Having helped ourselves by means of Unionism we shall use the power of combination and our voting power as citizens to do two things: (1), to reduce the hours of labour; and (2), to establish in large towns municipal factories and workshops, where all those who cannot get work under ordinary conditions shall have opportunity afforded them by the community, whose bounden duty it is to see that every person has the means of an honest livelihood."

September 26th.—A strike which had occurred at the Victoria and Albert Docks came to an end. Some of the labourers went on strike because other labourers refused to contribute funds towards the relief of the Australian dockers. It was announced that the Dock Company had gained a complete victory, and that "no attempt was now being made to make the contributions to the Australian strike fund any other than voluntary."

October 24th.—The St. James's Gazette said: "After a year's trial of the agreements made, varied, amended, and broken

between the dock directors and the dock labourers, it looks as if we were going to return to the state of things which prevailed before the great strike. The directors have been so bullied and cajoled, first by the leaders of the agitation, and then by followers whom those leaders could not control, that they have declined to renew the agreement and practically they will cease to recognise Members of the Union can take the work or leave it; they must work alongside the non-unionists or not work at all. Those who accept the directors' terms will be reasonably assured of permanent employment together with certain advantages after prolonged service."

December 20 .- The Star said: "Mr. Tom Mann pluckily announces that he will stick to his post through thick and thin. Not twenty votes of censure by the scally-wags whose only thought was booze, he said last night, would kill him as the leader of the dockers. It will be a cold day for the dockers if they are foolish enough to get rid of Mann. . . . Although he has been giving his life to the dockers' cause it seems that some of the Unions have passed votes of censure on him. Just now the dockers are more than ever in need of the guiding hand and the wise counsel of Mann. Many of them are out of employment, and work is growing scarcer."

December 22. The Star said: "The gloomy spectre of starvation hangs over the East-end. When the inhabitants of the West-end will this week be over-eating themselves thousands of the dockers, according to Mr. Tom Mann, will be at death's door for want of food. It is distressing to be told that there are just now 8,000 members of the Union out of employment, and that 3,000 are only working three days a week. And work is daily becoming scarcer and distress more intense."

The St. James's Gazette, referring to the above figures said: "The lack of work, and the consequent misery, which is felt more keenly at this season of the year than at any other, result in part from the folly of the Dockers' Union in doing their best to ruin the trade of the port of London. The men have only themselves to thank for their present position—a position which has been aggravated by the Australian strike, of which they set the example. Ships from Australia which should have arrived have been delayed by the strike, and thus retribution has come in a double sense."

January 17th, 1891.—A serious disturbance occurred at the Victoria and Albert Docks, where discontent had smouldered for some time, now and then breaking out in small strikes. In consequence of these continual disputes the newly-formed Shipping Federation introduced into the Albert Dock a number of nonunionists, who were boarded and lodged on a vessel—the Scotland. On this date a band of Unionists marched to the Scotland with the intention of attacking the Federationists; but the latter, armed with picks and shovels, soon routed their assailants. During the row three or four revolver shots were fired by a Federationist. The growing strength of the Shipping Federation greatly irritated the Docker's Union, and further disturbances were threatened, in consequence of which the Federation decided to coal as many of the boycotted steamers as possible alongside the Scotland in the Royal Albert Dock. Some of the men who struck because Federationists were engaged were receiving from 8s. to 11s. per day.

January 29th.—A docker wrote to the Star to point out that whereas the new Unionism had professed its intention to do away with sweating, to distribute more work, and to employ more hands, its new co-operative scheme would produce precisely the opposite effects, as it would give the younger and stronger men a monopoly of work and exclude the old and the weak; and this would be done by the very men who were always ready under the old system to accuse employers of boycotting if the old men were passed over.

At the half-yearly meeting of the London and St. Katherine Dock Company, Mr. W. E. Hubbard said that the results of the year's working were very unsatisfactory. "Goods were no longer brought to London alone for distribution. Goods went direct now to the country that wanted them. The labour struggles had given a great momentum to trade departing from London to the benefit of Antwerp and Hamburg. The threatened strike had caused great anxiety, but since October last there had been a marked improvement in this respect. The determination of the directors to hold to certain principles, and to engage suitable labourers regardless of the Union, had met with success, and some of the errors of the strike of 1889 had been remedied. The middleman had almost completely disappeared, but he could not promise how long the present arrangements would exist. In the summer the officials of the Union might fight out the question among themselves. To such a proposal the Board would offer a strenuous resistance, but they did not count a conflict. The Metropolitan police authorities were now giving them all the assistance they could desire." (It was announced a few days after this that the

Albert and the Victoria Docks were strongly guarded by the Metropolitan police in addition to the dock company's police; that the whole of the dock premises were closely patroled by the police in pairs, while three galleys of the Thames Water Police constantly watched the water ways; that strong guards were stationed at each entrance; and that outside the docks the police were also closely picketed and assisted by mounted men. Query—Why could not all this have been done eighteen months before, when the great strike was in progress?)

February 4th.—The shareholders of the East and West India Docks held their meeting, Mr. Hankey in the chair. He stated that the increase in receipts during the half-year had been £37,000, but he was sorry to say that the whole of it had been absorbed in increased expenditure. The increase of wages and salaries was £21,000, and the cost of labour was 20 per cent. more than it was before the strike. One reason of the bad times was the diversion of trade to Antwerp and Havre and other ports abroad. That diversion was owing to improved accommodation in continental ports, and to the labour difficulties here. Traders were frightened at the uncertainty that prevailed in London, and were thereby induced to send their goods as straight as they could to their destination. Mr. Meade, one of the shareholders, described the 20 per cent. increase in wages as "disastrous in the extreme."

February 17th.—The Strike Committee, sitting at the Wades Arms, Poplar, issued the following notice: "United Labour Council of the Port of London.—Notice.—On December 5th last a Manifesto was issued calling on all affiliated Unions to refuse to do any work on the boats of the following Companies, Shaw, Saville & Co., New Zealand Shipping Co., and British India Co., until they agree to sign on their crews at the shipping offices and to employ members of the N.A.S.F.U. only. This Manifesto is hereby withdrawn.—By Order of the Council." The ship-owners, who had amply provided themselves with free labour, stated that they were prepared to discuss any grievances the Unionists might have now that the boycotting notice was withdrawn.

February 18th.—It was announced that in spite of the with-drawal of the boycotting manifesto the blocking of vessels was still maintained, and that strikers declined invitations to resume work. In these circumstances the Shipping Federation continued its preparations for bringing in free labour, and it was expected

that there would be a thousand men located in the Albert docks before the end of the week.

February 19th.—The Executive of the Shipping Federation passed the following resolution: "That this Council adheres to the public notice passed and issued on the 13th inst., and is surprised that the withdrawal of the Wades Arms Manifesto has not been followed by the resumption of work. Subject, however, to the 'block' on the boycotted lines of other ships in London and outposts being removed forthwith, and the men returning to work, this Council will be prepared, if desired, to meet responsible representatives of the various labour Unions interested in ship work accompanied by actual workers interested."

March 3rd.-Mr. J. H. Wilson, secretary of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, requested Mr. Laws, secretary of the Shipping Federation, to inform him whether the Shipping Federation insisted upon Union men taking Federation tickets. Mr. Wilson said he was prepared to call the men out at all ports if this condition were insisted upon. Mr. Lawes replied: "The position is simply this: -- Certain riverside Trade Unions are boycotting vessels until the owners agree to employ scamen and firemen of one particular Union only, and although the Wades Arms Manifesto of the 5th December has been nominally cancelled the boycott continues, thus obliging the Federation to employ other labour. When the Unions withdraw from this position the trouble will end of itself. It is important to add that men, Union or otherwise, who desire to go to work will be employed so far as there are vacancies. They will, of course, have to accept work with those they find on board the vessels, without reference to whether the other workmen belong to any particular Union or to no Union."

March 16th.—For the first time members of the Docker's Union consented to work harmoniously with Federation men. The Federation engaged one gang of Union dockers and eleven gangs of Federation dockers for the British India steamer Tara, and they all worked agreeably together.

July 1st.—This being the stevedores' annual holiday, the men who were loading the P. and O. s.s. Mirrapore in the Royal Albert dock refused to continue work unless they received double pay. The Company refused this demand and obtained men from the Shipping Federation, who worked so well that the vessel sailed at her appointed time.

July 2nd.—The stevedores who had refused to work on the Mirzapore unless they got double wages were refused employment on putting in an appearance this morning, as the Company had determined to keep the Federation men engaged on the day previously. The Royal Albert docks were strongly guarded by police in case of any disturbance.

July 15th.—Mr. Ben Tillett stated before the Labour Commission that the relations between employers and employed at the docks were very much better for twelve months after the strike, but latterly the conditions of settlement had been departed from. "The Dock Companies had broken the agreement by closing the books. They should be made to keep all accounts that affected the men open to inspection. The co-oferative system at the docks had not been a big success. He believed in the principle, but the fact that the Companies did not favour the system had produced distrust amongst the men."

Mr. Welch, a member of the Docker's Union, complained to the Commission that "the promoters of the great strike had miserably failed. It was true that wages were better per hour, but there were fewer hours for the casual man. A larger number of men got permanent work, and the lot of the casual was worse."

July 16th.—Mr. Hubbard. Chairman of the Docks Joint Committee, stated before the Labour Commission that the capital invested in the docks was 16½ millions. There were 218 administrators and officers in the employ of the Joint Committee, 546 salaried clerks. 438 clerks on wages, 572 foremen, 1,438 other weekly servants, including 303 police and the dock-master's staff. Of permanent labourers there were about 1,750, and of other labourers usually employed there were 6,120. The total number of staff-officers and labourers was 9,333. Of the work at the docks 59 per cent. was piece work, and for this work the average weekly wage was £1 10s. 9d.; the remaining 41 per cent. was day work, for which the average weekly wage was £1 5s. 5d.

July 30th.—A general meeting of the East and West India Dock Company was held, Mr. R. A. Hankey presiding. Mr. Hankey, referring to the labour question, said that 60 per cent. of the Company's work was piece work, and the amount of wages

paid on the average to the men employed was £1 10s. 9d. per man; and the other 40 per cent. was day work, and the wages for that came out at £1 5s. 5d. per week per man.

September 13th.—Mr. Ben Tillett delivered two addresses in Belgrave Congregational Church, Leeds. He stated in the evening address "that the representative governing institutions of the country were at present practically monopolised by the wealthy classes, and contended that this was a condition of things which should soon be altered."

September 17th.—(Note. A strike commenced among the labourers employed at the Carron and Hermitage wharves, Wapping, on this date, and lasted till October 14. The strike was marked by a considerable amount of intimidation and violence, though the Metropolitan Police were much more alert than they were during the great dock strike. The strike was of a most wanton character, and was forced on by the leaders of the labourers without a shadow of justification. A detailed statement of the incidents which marked this strike from day to day would here occupy too much space. They will, however, be included in the Appendices to Vol. II.)

September 22nd.—The annual Congress of the Docker's Union was opened at Hull, under the Presidency of Mr. Tom Mann. The Report, which was read by Mr. Ben Tillett, the Secretary, was devoted mainly to criticism of the Shipping Federation. It stated "that if any evidence were necessary to convince the veriest addlepate of the necessity for active resistance to the attacks of the capitalists, the unscrupulous conduct of this body in bribing and deception practised upon all their dupes would surely convince those whose interest it was to maintain truth and fair play. It was an aggressive body, which, while whining about the brutality of the Trade Unionists, had yet armed men with bludgeons, revolvers, and a supply of intoxicants, to be guilty of the worst ruffianism. In every dispute the same demoralization had continued. Aided very often by the police, who were directed in their movements by the officials of the Federation in London, the most reprehensible conduct had obtained, and thousands had literally starved through the squandering of the shipowner's money in attempts to defeat the legitimate objects of Trade Unionism. In London, Cardiff, Gloucester, and Hull the agents of the Federation had established centres merely to induce men to leave regular work and a fair competence to serve their purposes and then to be cast adrift. Wherever the Federation had not been successfully resisted wages had come down, and more exacting and oppressive conditions of labour had been imposed, thus proving the aim and the object of the Federation to be the reduction of wages."

September 23rd.—Mr. Tom Mann delivered his address as President of the Docker's Union Congress. He condemned the low pay in the Yorkshire textile trade, stating that there were thousands of fathers of families in Yorkshire who did not average more than 16/- a week, while out of their labour employers were amassing large fortunes. He insisted that Trade Unionists should purchase only Trade Union made goods, and suggested that the way to insure this would be for Trade Unionists to ally themselves with the co-operative movement, and take an active part in its management. He had discovered that there was room for improvement in the conditions of labour in Hull, because he found in the Borough Engineer's department that persons were employed 66\frac{1}{2} hours per week (How awful!) If Trade Unionism was to complete its work it must bring about such changes in their industrial system as should throw the burden—if there must be a burden—upon the whole community and not upon one or two unfortunate sections. It was not practicable to give workers a wage that would keep them while they were not at work, but there should be municipal workshops, under Government legislation, to which people out of work could go. He stated that the special points which were urgently pressing for a solution were these: I, abolish overtime; 2, limit working hours to a maximum of 48 a week; 3, press for a solution of the intermittent employment difficulty; 4, pay close attention to the question of purchasing those goods only that are made and distributed under Trade Union conditions; 5, run an increasing number of workmen for Town Councils and on all local authorities; 6, press for a State Board of Arbitration; 7, take all necessary steps to educate each other in the true principles of industrial co-operation with a view to ultimately conducting the productive and distributive trade of the country on a co-operative basis. "When all this was done the labour question would have been solved, and they might then delve into subjects that should furnish them with new desires, new tastes, new aspirations and enjoyments, and which would be found by the endeavour to justify those tastes and aspirations."

Immediately after delivering this address Mr. Mann announced his resignation of the presidency of the Union, stating that his reason for taking this step was that he considered it "wrong in principle and unwise in practice for one having no status as a member to be connected as an official with the Docker's Union." (Why did not Mr. Mann perceive that his interfering in the concerns of the dock labourers was unwise and wrong at the outset? The unfortunate dockers would have been much better off if such men as Mann and Burns, who knew practically nothing of their work, would have left them alone). Perhaps the fact that the reports submitted to the Union spoke of a decrease of members, of "desertion and indifference," of "secessions," of a district which had "practically surrendered its title to be called a Trade Union district," of "lack of unity and trust," of men who had "lost touch and sympathy with the movement"—and so on, may have had something to do with Mr. Mann's decision to resign.

The Times stated in its leader that Mr. Mann "resigns the presidency of the Docker's Union, as he assumed it, without any

clear explanation of his motives."

September 24th.—The Mayor of Hull, Mr. Alderman Woodhouse, gave a reception to the delegates attending the Docker's Congress. In addressing the delegates he said they were the representatives of a great labour organization, which was called into being by a memorable strike-memorable alike for the success it had achieved, for the popular sympathy which it aroused, and the public support which it received. Mr. Tom Mann in an address of thanks on behalf of the delegates, said that the reception emphasized the contrast between the position which the working man had occupied in the past and the position which he occupied now. He added that "at one time he was opposed to all authorities, but he was less hysterical now, the result, no doubt, of close study of the labour problem. The conclusion that he had now come to was that the working men must work out their own salvation. What they wanted and meant to have was a higher culture, and they would not be satisfied until one of their number had become the occupant of a civic chair."

October 13th.—The Annual Report of the Executive of the National Union of Dock Labourers, an organization which was formed at Glasgow in 1889, about the same time that the Docker's Union was formed in London, was issued. The total receipts for the year amounted to £12,512. Among the items of expenditure were £2,306 for salaries, £353 for sundries, £83

"misapplied by branch officers and committees." The committee of one branch "misappropriated £25 is. 4d. to providing themselves with a public dinner at Christmas." The committee claimed to have shown that "the gross superstition of the dependence of the labourer upon the capitalist has been exploded, while the utter helplessness and uselessness of Capital without Labour has been demonstrated." They added: "There is no ground for doubting that the real relation of the employer to the workman is simply this—to secure the largest amount of the best kind of work for the smallest wages; and, undesirable as this relation may be to the workman, there is no escape from it except to adopt the situation and apply to it the common-sense commercial rule which proffers a commodity in accordance with the price."

October 15th.—It was announced that not only the Dock Companies, but also the wharfingers, of the port of London had come to the determination to substitute permanent for casual labour in every department. The Times correspondent, referring to this scheme, said that it would no doubt be decried as an attempt to "crush the Union," although it was nothing of the kind, as it had been formulated with an absolute disregard for the Union. "No man will be asked, I am convinced, whether he is or is not a member of any Union; but the promoters of the scheme are alive to the fact that, like Mr. Livesey's famous profit-sharing scheme, it may involve the extinction of the dock and riverside Union as an inseparable accident. It is, indeed, notorious that the Union leaders have always been opposed to the permanent system, for the obvious reason that a man in constant employment is not likely to join in a foolish strike for the sake of meddling with the business of other people, when by so acting he is throwing up a valuable situation. In fact it is not too much to say that the Docker's Union cannot maintain its present characteristics and co-exist with a system of permanent labour in the port of London. This the promoters of the scheme see clearly enough, but they are not inclined to go out of their way to cherish the Union. Their objection to it is, curiously but really, not its strength but its weakness. If you deal with the Amalgamated Engineers, for example, they say, 'you have to face a formidable foe; but an agreement made with them is effectual; an agreement made with the dockers' leaders is so much waste paper as often as not.' . . . Under these circumstances it would be rash to expect the scheme to be carried into effect without resistance on the part of the Union: but there is a strong determination to carry it out in spite of all resistance."\*

October 16th.—Mr. Ben Tillett, in a letter to the Times, said: "A special note of exultation is struck by the anticipated breaking up of the Docker's Union, arguing that we obtain our best constituents from the casuals. The position is exactly the reverse. The casual is our one weak point—a man who is not able to maintain his existence, leave alone subscribe to a Union.

. . We have not the desire to feed the class hatred of our men, or play upon their excitability, for a living, not even so much as the editor and reporter have over a class newspaper maintained by capitalist readers. . . The idea formulated

### LONDON AND INDIA DOCKS.

Memorandum of Engagement of \_\_\_\_\_ as Permanent Labourer at the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 189 -.

Engagement.—Terminable on either side at seven days' notice from any pay-day.

Wages. -24s. per week of six days of eight working hours, between 6 a.m.

and 6 p.m.; overtime pay at current rates.

Sickness.—Half-pay after first two days' absence, during pleasure of directors, on production of medical certificate, and proof that the subscription to an approved benefit society for sick benefit of 10s. per week is maintained.

Leave.—Three days annually in addition to general holidays.

Dismissal.—A permanent labourer is subject to summary dismissal for

misconduct.

# For the London and India Docks Joint Committee.

### SCALE OF PENSIONS. Per week. At any age, after completion of 15 years' service 6s. ,, 55 years of age 25 9.9 26 7s. 6d. 2.1 22 19 57 27 8s. 6d. 37 11 58 28 9.9 31 ,, 59 ,, 60 93 11 13 13 13 14 17 0.2 29 0.9 30 9s. 6d. 39 ios. 30 30 30 30 30 11 30 11 , 63 , 64 .. 10s. 6d. 99 .. IIS. 6d. .. I2S. 91 30 ,, 65

<sup>\*</sup> It may be well to quote here the agreement betwixt the Dock Company and their permanent hands, and also to state that five classes of labour are now employed in the docks—permanent men, weekly men, men who obtain preferential employment, men who keep to a particular department, and casuals. Since the strike the object of the Dock Company has been to diminish, and as far as possible abolish, casual labour. The agreement is as follows:

is too good to be true, bad as it is. The same dock directors, the same wharfingers, exist and control wharf work to-day as they did in 1889. Those who allowed such damnable conditions to fester under their noses are the same men that will not scruple to-day to mete out the same vile treatment. . . . We have tried to remove the prejudices of the men, but find a past full of sorrow, suffering, torture, the resentment of which does often oppose reason."

May 13th, 1892.—The Times stated that there were rumours of further trouble at the docks, although the managers stated that there was no ground for apprehending a general strike. "Measures have been taken to collect the opinions of the various officials on the spot at the various docks, and the result is the expression of a unanimous belief that the relation between the dock labourers and their masters has never been so completely peaceful and friendly as it is now. This result is due no doubt to the successful establishment of that system of permanent and semi-permanent labour which has always been advocated in the columns of the Times. The casual element has now been reduced so low that, of nearly 8,000 men employed, only a fraction over 15 per cent. are casuals."

July 28th.—The general meeting of the London and St. Katherine docks was held, Mr. W. E. Hubbard presiding, at which a dividend of 21 per cent. was declared. Referring to the state of labour at the docks, Mr. Hubbard said he was glad to be able to speak more favourably. The labourers were working well, and were giving a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. The Committee were persevering in their endeavours to organize employment so that it should be more regular and constant than in the past, and they had a body of 3,400 men, or about half the average employes, whose work was constant and who were ensured at least a full week's wages. The wages earned throughout the docks were well maintained, every man receiving something like 27s. or 28s. a week. The tonnage entering the docks had exceeded that of the same period last year by no fewer than 80 ships and 204,000 tons, showing an improvement of 13 per cent., and when compared with 1890, the figures were 16 per cent. better, and not less than 25 per cent. better than those of 1889. The increase of tonnage at the five chief continental ports had not been more than about 11 per cent.

September 26th.—It was announced that the Executive Committee of the Docker's Union had been compelled to give up their efforts to organize the farm labourers, as these efforts involved too great a drain on the funds of the Union. It was

suggested that the National Agricultural Labourers' Union should take over the work.

October 11th.—The half-yearly Balance Sheet of the Docker's Union stated that the branch receipts for the half-year were £6,270 8s. 4d.; that the membership was about 30,000; that the income had exceeded the expenditure by more than £2,000; and that the total assets of the Union amounted to £8,668 13s. 10d.

November 15th.—Mr. Charles Booth delivered an address to the Statistical Society on the subject of dock labour. He stated that the Docker's Union and the South Side Labour Protection League both arose out of the Dock Strike of 1889, under the excitement of which the two Unions probably had about 20,000 London members between them. Their membership had now decreased to 10,000. Mr. Booth submitted an elaborate scheme, the object of which was to more perfectly organize labour in the docks, so that over-lapping might be prevented. He estimated that his scheme would entirely dispense with the services of about 6,000 dock labourers, though he thought the change would act more in cutting off the incoming supply of labourers than in any other way, and that a great improvement would be effected in some of the poorer parts of London by the regular work being given to the dock labourers.

November 24th.—A meeting of dock directors, wharfingers, and warehouse keepers was held at the Dock House, Leadenhall Street, to hear a statement from Mr. Charles Booth with reference to his plan for organising riverside labour. Mr. Hubbard took the opportunity of showing what progress had been made at the docks in giving the work to permanent labourers, and pointed out that permanent employment was now practically secured to 3,200 men as against 1,400 a year ago, and that 60 per cent. of the work at the docks was performed by men on weekly wages.

December 15th.—A manifesto was issued and extensively distributed and placarded throughout the East-end by the Free Labour Association. It was as follows: "Fellow Workers—It is calculated that there are in London alone 100,000 men, with 300,000 women and children dependent upon them, out of employment at the present time. That this is a deplorable state of things all just and humane persons will admit, but, unfortunately, though for many weeks various schemes have been suggested, nothing has been uttered as to the real cause of a greater portion of the evil—namely, the continual strikes in all

trades during these last few years. Strikes which have driven tons of shipping into the hands of the foreigners; strikes that have displaced 20,000 men; strikes that have caused thousands of women and children to enter the workhouse, and sent their husbands to the doss house; strikes that have proved themselves the greatest curse that ever visited London; strikes that have cost the workmen of London during the last three years £952,000 in wages alone. Who are the authors of these strikes and their consequent starvation and ruin? The New Unionist leaders. Their policy produced every one of them—a policy which chiefly took shape in an attempt to crush dock-owners, ship-owners, wharfingers, in fact, everybody who demurred to their will. At the same time whilst with a loud voice they claim freedom of the subject and freedom of action for themselves, they do their best to stifle it in others. They and their agents mercilessly crush and debar from work all who are unwilling or unable to pay into their Unions. They stopped ships in the most frivolous manner, without any regard for the pecuniary loss of the owners or the inconvenience of the passengers. They called men out of the docks and wharves without any dispute arising, simply because some goods had arrived from a place where one was pending. 'On principle strikes' they call them. In fact they attempted to assume the position of dictators and tyrants of, not only the port of London, but of every port in the kingdom. The result of it all is that you—their tools and victims—are walking the streets starving while they are in good positions among the upper ten. Had they been men with practical knowledge of the causes and effects which govern trade, and in thorough sympathy with you, and not Socialistic agitators, who simply use the working man as a tool in furtherance of their programme, your position would be different from what it is to-day."

December 29th, 1892.—On this date a letter appeared in the Times signed by the Revs. S. A. Barnett, Canon Scott-Holland, H. Price Hughes, Peter Thompson, Messrs. J. W. Benn, M.P., S. Buxton, M.P., Percy Bunting, Sydney Webb, and other public men. This letter stated the results of an inquiry which had been made into the condition of the unemployed in London. It asserted that there was no evidence of any general lack of employment throughout London as a whole, beyond what was usual in the winter season, the building trades, indeed, which employed 150,000 men, being exceptionally busy. This statement was qualified, however, by the following observation:—"In marked contrast to the general evidence we find a consensus of authoritative testimony that the number of men without employ-

ment about the docks and parts of the river-side, east and southeast of the City, is considerably greater than is usual at this time of the year." The distress caused by lack of employment in the ship-building and engineering trades of London, which employ something like 65,000 men, was stated to be very acute. letter further stated: "The centre of the area of distress appears to be the docks, but we were surprised that there is no diminution in the average amount of work paid for by the Joint Committee of the Dock Companies this year as compared with last year. On examining the figures of the men employed each day from April 1 to November 30, kindly supplied by the Joint Committee to Mr. Charles Booth, the explanation of this paradox is found in the fact that the number of the men in permanent, or nearly permanent, employment at the docks has been considerably increased. The extreme fluctuations in the total employed from day to day have been mitigated. This better organization of labour is a fact of great hopefulness, but it brings with it the result that the casual labourers get even less than their former amount of work. . . . The Committee have also been informed, by good authorities, that the quasi-permanent staff both at the more central docks and at certain large wharves has been recruited to a considerable extent, not from the ranks of the casual dock labourers, but from men drawn partly from the country, partly from other quarters of London. Dock labour, then, in London is affected by two influences quite apart from the depression in trade which affects general labour—(1) Its casual labour is in course of elimination; (2) even some of its regular work is leaving London for Tilbury. . . . There is being effected, we may well hope, a permanent decasualization of labour at the docks. In fact, the situation in certain parts of East London is less analogous to that of 1889 than to that of 1886-7, when so much of the ship-building trade left the Thames." The letter indicated that the "essential fact" of the situation was that "the better organization of labour at the docks is permanently depriving whole classes of their means of subsistence," and it contemplated the removal of these classes from the neighbourhood of the docks to other places where work could be provided for them.

Note to the Reader.—The original plan of this work included a detailed statement of the incidents which have occurred in connection with all the principal strikes of the last two years in diary form, but as the work proceeded the author found, greatly to his regret, that the exigencies of space would not admit of this purpose being carried out. He has, however,

collected all the materials in connection with the strikes, and the facts will appear in the Appendices to the second volume. The value of such a detailed statement, in a concise form, for

the purpose of reference, is obvious.

The Dock Strike is, however, far and away the most important of all these strikes, as it was in fact their progenitor, and therefore it has been thought well to give an absolutely exhaustive statement of facts in relation to that strike. This, so far as the writer is aware, has not been done before. The doing of it here has taken up much valuable space, which the author would gladly have devoted to a fuller discussion of some of the important principles dealt with in the body of the work; but on the whole he is inclined to think that he has after all made the best possible use of this space, as he has placed within reach of all who are interested in these matters data which will enable them to form a clear conception of the nature of the Socialistic Labour movement, of which the Dock Strike is the most remarkable symptom.

It may be said in general that the other principal strikes, such as the Scottish railway men's strike, the dock and railway strikes in South Wales, the omnibus men's strike, the Durham miners' strike, the carpenters' strike, and the gas stokers' strike, were all marked by the same prominent features as the Dock Strike. They exhibited the same arrogant, intolerant, and aggressive spirit on the part of the Trade Unions and their leaders; the same hostility towards capitalists and towards the men who dared to exercise what used to be considered the most fundamental and indubitable right of a true Englishman-personal freedom; and the same ambition to subjugate society to the dictatorial and tyrannous rules of Trade Unions, which in spite of their swelling pretensions, do not represent more than one quarter of the working

men of the Kingdom.

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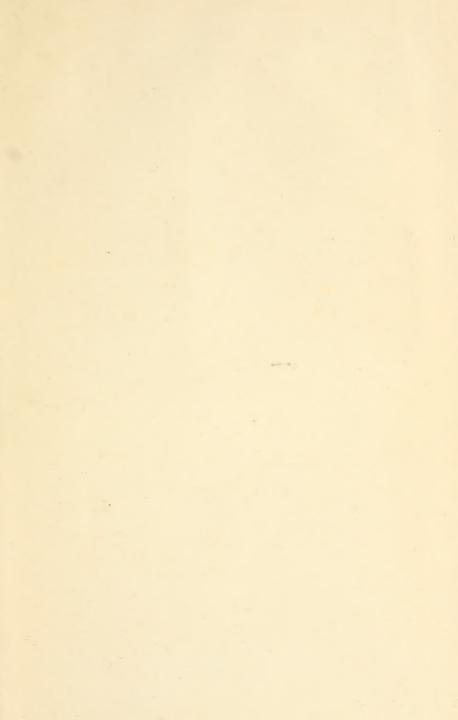
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